Giving with an agenda:
New Philanthropy's Labour in "Glocal" Education Networks of Governance

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Declaration

I, Marina Campos de Avelar Maia, declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

The provision of public services is increasingly shared in networks of governance with public and private actors, including business and philanthropy. Concomitantly, philanthropy is changing by incorporating business sensibilities, referred to as “new philanthropy”. Besides operating in service delivery, new philanthropists are working in policy-making, supporting policies that foment a corporate reform of education. This thesis aims to address the question of *how* new philanthropy operates in the network governance of education in Brazil, focusing on the labour invested by foundations in policy networks. Though having the main empirical setting of Brazilian institutions, this research analyses networks, policies and discourses that surpass national borders and considers their “glocal” dynamics, addressing how new philanthropists are connected to global networks and participate in global policy mobilities. The method of “network ethnography” is employed, with extensive online searches, interviews, and field observation. Throughout the activities, network graphs are built to identify relevant individuals, institutions and relationships. The method is supported by the approach of “following policy”, looking at the whos, whats and wheres of policy.

Three fundamental and interrelated modalities of labour are identified in the activities of new philanthropy institutions: labour to frame policy problems and solutions with policy entrepreneurship; labour to coordinate, mobilise and activate relationships and resources in networks; and labour to institutionalise policies and relationships in heterarchies. This means that first, new philanthropists aim at participating in education policy-making, and labour to frame policy problems and solutions discursively. Second, networks are created and animated with many activities, such as sharing resources and promoting meetings to foster relationships. Finally, policy ideas and relationships become institutionalised in heterarchies, in which new philanthropy and public authorities collaborate to exert the governance of education. Throughout these efforts, boundaries between public and private are blurred, and education policy is rescaled globally.

Impact Statement

New philanthropy has a growing presence in education governance in many countries, including Brazil. New unelected and in many ways unaccountable voices are having a significant say in determining the methods, contents and purposes of education. In spite of arguing they are working for the improvement of education and the public good, new philanthropists' policy agendas, aims and methods have no public validation and cannot be held accountable. This research shows there is urgent need make governance more inclusive and transparent as the participation in governance cannot be defined by groups (or individuals) possession of capitals (financial, social and network).

So the findings of this thesis offer contributions to groups outside academia, namely those in education policy-making, social movements and citizens in general that look for greater accountability in policy-making. Understanding how new philanthropy is working in education offers the possibility of, first, new philanthropies revisiting their advocacy practices and looking for more accountable ways of working, fostering debates in society instead of silencing opponents. Second, policy-makers can search for more transparent ways of doing policy, with wider social debates that can redistribute voice among social groups, especially unprivileged ones. Third, social movements can draw from the findings here presented to strengthen their own activism and advocacy. Finally, citizens can better understand how education policy is being done to demand more democratic, participative and accountable processes of policy-making.

Besides contributing to the empirical understanding of how new philanthropy works in education, this thesis also aims to offer tools to address the theoretical and methodological challenges involved in the study of education policy networks. Inside academia, the findings of this thesis might be of interest to education policy analysis, to social network analysis, and to social geography concerned with the global mobility of policies. I highlight as a contribution the systematization of the network ethnography method with the creation of an analytical frame and heuristic for the analysis of new philanthropy in education policy networks.

The analytical frame made possible a systematic cross-scalar (local to global) analysis of complex networks. The frame supports a data analysis that encompasses a wide context and understanding of network dynamics, together with an in-depth case with exhaustive accounts of network connections. This case promotes a deliberate tracing of "*glocal*" connections to identify the formation of global partnerships, with global discourses and policies shared across boundaries and scales. This frame can be employed in future research that is concerned with global policies in different areas, not only education. The analytical heuristic guided a focus on the discursive/ideological, relational and institutional labour invested in policy networks. This offers a theoretical contribution to better understand *how* new philanthropy is working in education governance. This heuristic does not attempt to be a typology, but can be used as starting point to guide future investigations.

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Introduction

Private actors from business and new philanthropy have a growing presence in education governance. Besides operating in service delivery, they are also working in policy-making, advocating for policies that aim to reform education according to the model of business. In spite of local specificities, the shift "from government to governance" in education policy, and particularly the increasing role of private actors, such as businesses, venture capitalists, corporations, and others within "new philanthropy" (Ball, 2008) is a global phenomenon. Echoing global trends, new philanthropy is increasingly active in the governance of education in Brazil as well. As one of the biggest economies in the world and a regional leader, Brazil is not a simple "emulator" of global policy models, but an active node in global networks of education policy-making.

This thesis aims to address the research question of *how new philanthropy operates in the network of education governance in Brazil,* focusing on the labour foundations invest in policy networks. Though having the empirical setting of Brazilian institutions, the present research analyses networks, policies and discourses that surpass national borders, and considers their "*glocal*" dynamics. Secondary research questions include: what are the new philanthropy institutions working in primary education in Brazil, and what are the most connected and influential ones? What mundane practices are employed to share policy ideas and create and maintain relationships in networks of governance? How are new philanthropy actors connected to global networks, and how do they facilitate global policy mobilities? In other words, this thesis analyses the mundane network labour of well-connected foundations that are working in primary education in Brazil, which are part of a global rescaling of education policy-making. So the analytical focus lies on the "various network strategies through which durability and mobility is achieved, always focusing attention on the tiny, often mundane exchanges going on within the complex commotion of materials and human action that we think of as educational life" (Olmedo, 2017, p. 117). To do so, I draw on recent studies that have been working to clarify *how* business and new philanthropy are operating in and through global polycentric education policy networks (Au and Ferrare, 2015; Ball, Junemann, and Santori, 2017; Ball and Junemann, 2012, 2015; Hogan, Sellar, and Lingard, 2015; Olmedo, 2014, 2017, among others).

The growing role of foundations in education governance is taking place amid three main contextual aspects. First, there is a changing role of the state, from hierarchical governments to network governance (Bevir and Rhodes, 2003; Bevir, 2013; Jessop, 2011).

This means the provision and management of public services is increasingly being shared between public authorities and private institutions. Second, philanthropy is incorporating business logics and sensibilities, being often referred to as “new philanthropy”. It has been adopting practices of impact, efficiency and profit, changing considerably from former ways of “giving” (Ball and Olmedo, 2011; Bishop and Green, 2010; Rogers, 2015). Finally, education is also being reformed according to business values, and following a “corporate reform of education” (Apple, 2006; Au and Ferrare, 2015; Saltman, 2010), with policies that promote the standardisation of education, and the use of large-scale and high-stakes testing (Sahlberg, 2011). In this scenario, new philanthropy organisations are becoming influential actors in the education policy-making arena. These contextual aspects are further discussed in chapters 1 and 2.

Although new philanthropy has been receiving a lot of attention from the press and public in general, it has not been receiving enough attention from researchers (Olmedo, 2014). The investigation of the work of new philanthropists in the governance of education has been limited to approaches that are “looking at only some of the places in which policy is being done” (Ball, 2012, p. XII). Examples include the perspectives of “*educationism”,* “*statism*” and “*nationalism*” (Dale and Robertson, 2009; Verger et al., 2018). This means researchers often frame education policy studies exclusively within the field of education, within the government/state actors and structures, and within national boundaries. These perspectives are limited in making sense of the current complex global networks of governance (Ball et al., 2017). As a result, “most education policy analysis is still locked into a nation-state, policy-as-government paradigm” (Ball, 2012, p.XII). So education studies still “pay little attention to the role of advocacy and philanthropy networks (apart from NGOs) in the flow and influence of policy ideas, but these groups and individuals often have very specific and very effective points of entry into political systems” (Ball, 2010, p. 162).

Therefore, to understand how policy is being done we need approaches that tackle networks, flows and mobilities, and apparently mundane activities. This is embedded within “a broad set of epistemological and ontological shifts across political science, sociology and social geography which involve a lessening of interest in social structures, and an increasing emphasis on flows and mobilities (of people, capital and ideas)” (Ball, 2012, p. 5). A network approach to policy studies seeks to remediate some of these analytical limitations. It focuses attention to the new actors that operate within governance, and avoids “methodological territorialism”, or “the practice of unreflectively understanding the social world through the lens of territorial geographies” (Larner and Le Heron, 2002, p. 754), by considering policy as something that extends beyond the boundaries of the nation state and makes possible the tracing of the global movement of policies. Also arguing for the study of networks, Wendy Larner (2003) claims “we need a more careful tracing of the intellectual, policy, and practitioner networks that under-pin the global expansion of neoliberal ideas, and their subsequent manifestation in government policies and programmes” (p. 510). Part of this effort involves investigating the labour invested in mobilising policy across countries. By paying attention to the apparently mundane practices, the labour, invested in (global) networks of governance, it becomes possible to offer “descriptions of the circulatory systems that connect and interpenetrate 'local' policy regimes" (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 229), and understand processes of “*glocalisation*” and the “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). The research method is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

Making sense of the participation of new philanthropists in networks of education governance is also relevant for strengthening democracy. Contradictorily, “educational philanthropy that appears almost exclusively in mass media and policy circles as selfless generosity poses significant threats to the democratic possibilities and realities of public education” (Saltman, 2010, p. 1). In spite of being portrayed as selfless generous donors, new philanthropists advocate and promote policies that endorse a corporate reform of education, which rely on the “transfer of innovation from the corporate to the educational world” (Sahlberg, 2011, p. 178). At the same time, the methods of policy-making are changing, within a congested and disputed arena in which policy is treated as a technical matter, not political, leading to the exclusion of traditional education actors, such as teacher unions (Ball et al., 2017). Hence, in spite of recognising the importance of understanding new philanthropists’ motivations, this research is concerned about the *hows* of new philanthropy’s work, not the *whys*. I agree with Saltman who argues that “the intentions of the venture philanthropists are less important than the effects of their actions on public education—how it transforms not only the control and ownership of it, but the very meaning it might have and its role in a society committed to public democratic values” (Saltman, 2010, p. 41). So here I focus on how foundations work in relation to education governance.

To address these empirical and methodological issues, this thesis employs the method of “network ethnography” (Ball and Junemann, 2012, Ball et al, 2017). This has entailed extensive and exhaustive online searches, interviews, and the participation and observation of events. Throughout the three activities, policy network graphs are built as a tool to identify relevant individuals, institutions and relationships associated to specific policies and networks. The approach of following policy is also used (McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and

Theodore, 2012), which encourages looking at the "whos", the "whats" and "wheres" of policy (Ball et al, 2017), supporting the focus on the labour invested by new philanthropy in networks of education governance.

Three fundamental and interrelated modalities of network labour are identified in activities of the new philanthropy institutions addressed: a discursive aspect of the labour to frame policy problems and solutions with policy entrepreneurship, a relational aspect around the labour to coordinate, mobilise and activate relationships and resources in networks, and an institutional aspect regarding the labour to institutionalise policies and relationships in heterarchies. This means that first, new philanthropy now aims to participate in education policy-making, and labours to frame policy problems and solutions, sharing policy ideas in many venues. New philanthropy operates as a united epistemic community that advocates for some policies and works in ways that exclude alternatives. This labour is explored in chapter 4. Second, networks are created and maintained with a series of specific and strategic efforts – and some of these are identified and analysed in the thesis, especially in chapter 5. In networks, foundations share labour and resources, while also blurring boundaries between public and private with boundary-spanners. Meetings are used to create and maintain relationships, and animate networks, whilst also offering a platform for the sharing of discourses. Finally, policy ideas and relationships become institutionalised in heterarchies, in which new philanthropy and public authorities collaborate to exert the governance of education (see chapter 6). With all this labour, new philanthropy brings together a "global community of policy-focused actors and organisations that is based on a shared policy episteme and is joined up by immediate, vital and evolving social relations" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 43). Through these efforts, boundaries between public and private are blurred, and education policy is rescaled globally.

Outline of thesis

The first chapter introduces the research context, which revolves around three main shifts: the changing role of the state, the change in philanthropy and the corporate reform of education. The first refers to the on-going shift from government, with a hierarchical state, to governance, which operates with a mix of hierarchy, markets and networks. The second concerns how philanthropy is changing by embracing corporate practices and discourses, referred to as "new philanthropy". The third revolves around bringing to education the sensibilities and logics of business (Sahlberg, 2011), and often involve the adoption of policies and practices that support defunding public education, marketization and reliance on non-democratically elected bodies to determine and implement policy, among other aspects (Au and Ferrare, 2015).

The second chapter discusses the three contextual elements in Brazil. It introduces a brief legal and historical overview of the shift towards governance in the country, with focus on the state reform of 1995. It follows with an overview of philanthropy in the country to then focus on how the corporate reform of education has “morphed” in Brazil, and how new philanthropies are related to it.

The third chapter presents the research methods and theoretical framing of the thesis, which are intertwined. This thesis employs a particular version of ethnographic research called network ethnography, prominent among the policy sociology scholars who are interested in the interactions among different groups of public and private actors in education policymaking. Network ethnography combines the basic elements of ethnographic research with techniques from Social Network Analysis (SNA). This research draws from Ball and Junemann's (2012) discussion of the method and thus uses Internet searches, interviews, attending events and building network diagrams. Complementarily, the perspective of “following policy” (McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2012) is taken, where one follows people, institutions, money and policy to trail where and how certain policies have moved, aiming to understand how they are made mobile.

The following chapters (4, 5 and 6) present the data analysis, and are all organised with the same structure. Each chapter analyses one modality of labour, namely, labour to frame ideas (chapter 4), labour to relate (chapter 5) and labour to institutionalise (chapter 6). All chapters start with the analysis of one modality of labour within the overall Brazilian new philanthropy network, drawing mainly from five pivotal foundations and their connections. This first chapter section aims to provide an account of the wide new philanthropy context in the Brazilian education, with rich and varied examples. In other words, it provides analytical width. At the same time, it aims to build up analytical concepts, heuristic devices that are operated as tools to make sense of the data. Second, all chapters advance the analysis by exploring the labour modalities in the work of the Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards (MNLS), an advocacy coalition in Brazil organised and supported by new philanthropies. This second section offers a detailed analysis of how one significant institution enacts each modality of labour. It thus provides analytical depth, with one in-depth case that connects the elements explored by the heuristic through the chapters. In other words, it illustrates how the three labour modalities are interconnected and how a single actor enacts them in different moments, places and spaces. Finally, each of the data chapters analyse the

MNLS's global networks within the chapter's labour modality. The third section provides a *glocal* perspective with insights on how the global penetrates the local and the cross-scalar aspects of the data (Peck and Theodore, 2010). Therefore, throughout the three data chapters, I go back and forth in the analysis, zooming in and out of networks, to connect global, national, local contexts.

Along these lines, the fourth chapter analyses the labour of new philanthropy in framing, defending and disseminating education policy ideas. It first analyses how new philanthropists have been operating as policy entrepreneurs in Brazil, creating a claim of being heard, sharing ideas in many spaces and investing different kinds of resources in this endeavour. Second, the Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards (MNLS) is introduced. The chapter then explores how this group works as a policy entrepreneur and frames education inequality as a policy problem and a standard curriculum in Brazil as the appropriate policy solution. Such ideas are persistently shared in many venues and channels to gain support. Finally, MNLS's labour to frame ideas, or its policy entrepreneurship, is analysed internationally, and the chapter specially considers its use of global consultancies and benchmarking. To conclude, I ponder on how new philanthropy actively participates in policy-making through efforts of shaping policy problems and solutions. New philanthropies have been building up their position of legitimate policy actors by claiming "expertise" in education, and forging a space for corporate actors to enact policy entrepreneurship.

The fifth chapter[1] focuses on how individuals labour to animate policy networks and, within this, it carefully looks at the relevance of events for the creation and maintenance of global education policy networks. The chapter offers an overview of some of the pragmatic and mundane activities that are carried out for the construction of network relationships. Namely, it focuses on the interdependence of actors in networks, as well as the "on-going chains of effort" (Fenwick, 2011) to coordinate policy networks. One seminar is closely examined to offer a glimpse of the complexities, meanings and relationships present in a single event. The seminar "Education Management", organised by one corporate institute is analysed with an exploration of its relevance for the policy debates at the time, for the mobilisation of MNLS and the coordination of global networks.

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[1] Some parts of this chapter have been published at Avelar, M., Nikita, D. P., and Ball, S. J. (2018). Education policy networks and spaces of "meetingness": a network ethnography of a Brazilian seminar. In Verger, A.; Altinyelken, H.K.; Novelli, M. (eds). *Global Education Policy and International Development* (2nd ed.). London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

The sixth chapter[2] resorts to "heterarchies" as a more defined concept to discuss how foundations participate in governance and closely collaborate with public authorities in the management of specific programmes and projects. New philanthropies now build a series of different relationships with public authorities that vary in format and intensity. These can involve pedagogical services and materials, as well as policy-focused services, that resemble consultancies. Thus, the chapter analyses how MNLS has built a profoundly intertwined network with the Ministry of Education, creating new policy-making spaces. Finally, it discusses how Lemann Foundation made possible an international triad between MEC, the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA[3]) and MNLS, and built global policy pipelines for a policy mobility between Australia and Brazil. Together, these sections illustrate how heterarchies work in practice first by discussing how foundations and governments collaborate in many ways in governance through many partnerships, second how individuals connect public and private sectors, third how new policy-making spaces are created, and fourth how global heterarchies make policy mobility possible. The chapter concludes with a reflection on how heterarchies work in practice.

Finally, the thesis finishes with reflections on conclusions, contributions and implications. The first section sums up the findings, and aims to mend the three modalities of labour explored, and somewhat separated, by the heuristic analytical device. So I discuss how the labour modalities are interdependent. I then deliberate on the thesis's contributions to theory and method, not necessarily offering answers, but opening up a set of issues (Lingard, Sellar, and Savage, 2014). Finally, I ponder the implications for practice, focusing on the dangers for democracy in face of the growing role of philanthropic actors in education governance.

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[2] Some parts of this chapter have been published at Avelar, M., and Ball, S.J.. "Mapping new philanthropy and the heterarchical state: The Mobilization for the National Learning Standards in Brazil." *International Journal of Educational Development* (2017).

[3] The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) was created in 2008 and its "functions include development of national curriculum, administration of national assessments and associated reporting on schooling in Australia." (ACARA website).

Chapter 1 - Governance, new philanthropy and the corporate reform of education

The shift from hierarchical governments to networks of governance has brought a new mix of actors into the provision and management of public services. Together with market organisations, new philanthropists are now participating in the governance of education. At the same time, philanthropy itself is changing, being both agent and object of change (Ball and Junemann, 2012). In this context, new philanthropists, when involved in education policy-making, tend to support a “new orthodoxy” in education (Sahlberg, 2011, 2016), a reform that brings corporate sensibilities to education. After discussing these three contextual elements, the next chapter introduces how these elements are played out in the Brazilian context.

1.1. Governance: changing relations between business, philanthropy and government

Public sector reforms initiated since the 1980s have brought about a shift from the welfare state government to neoliberal modes of governance, known as the shift “from government to governance” (Rhodes, 1996; Rhodes, 2007). Despite theoretical and methodological debates in the research field, government is done through hierarchical bureaucracies, and governance accomplished through diverse and flexible networks (Ball and Junemann, 2012). Centred on processes of deregulation, privatisation, and competition, these reforms have introduced new ways of organising and delivering services and policies. Such reforms have “contributed greatly to the broad shift from direct service provision by government to more complex patterns of governance incorporating markets, networks and private and voluntary sector actors” (Bevir, 2011, p. 9). Thus, hybrid patterns of management and a fragmentation of service delivery arose by incorporating private and voluntary providers in service delivery. Such reforms have led to a move away from state-centred systems of governing towards a *heterarchical* form that relies on networks of actors (institutions and individual agents) actively engaged in processes of policy-making, which is sometimes referred to as *network governance* (Rhodes, 2007). This means that new actors are increasingly involved in policy-making and service delivery, connected in complex, ever-changing, opaque and polycentric networks.

As a result, states increasingly share governing with societal actors (like private firms, non-governmental organisations, non-profit service providers), in such a way that decision-making processes and implementation systems that used to be mainly executed by the state are increasingly dispersed in a complex network of institutions. In spite of considerable variation, this changing relationship between the state and society is regarded as an international phenomenon (Bevir, 2011). Although governance can be used in different fields with different connotations, in this research *governance* refers to the changes in public management that have been taking place since the end of the 20th century and draws attention to the complexity of patterns of ruling (Bevir, 2011). It signifies “a *new* process of governing […] or the *new* method by which society is governed” (Rhodes, 1996, pp. 652–653). This “new process” refers to an on-going shift from a hierarchical and formal authority of the government towards an informal authority of networks (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller, 2003).

Governance has three main traits: its working is hybrid, multi jurisdictional and has plural stakeholders (Bevir, 2011). First, it combines established administrative arrangements with features of the market (market mechanisms and non-profit organisations). Forms of public-private, or only private, regulation are being developed, while previous hierarchical and bureaucratic structures still remain, but in a new balance between hierarchy, market and networks. Second, its processes combine people and institutions across different policy sectors, levels of government and are often transnational. The multi-jurisdictional aspect means that “the dominant mode of governance is characterized by networks that are formed by a hybrid mix of actors (individuals, companies, foundations, NGOs, governments, etc.) embedded in a system of national, sub-national, supra-national, intergovernmental, and transnational relations” (Olmedo, 2016, p. 58). Third, even though interest groups have long been present in policy-making process, now there is an increasing participation of non-governmental actors involved in policy-making. Arguably, there has been an increase of advocacy groups, third party organisations delivering public services and expansion of philanthropic work (such as Gates Foundation, or Lemann Foundation in Brazil). This hybrid and multi jurisdictional organisation, with multiple stakeholders, is linked through networks (Bevir, 2011). This is of great relevance for the study of education policy because “in policy practice, all this translates into changes in the way in which public services are designed and delivered” (Olmedo, 2016, p. 52), with a complex mix of “strategic alliances, joint working arrangements, networks, partnerships and many other forms of collaboration across sectorial and organizational boundaries” (Williams, 2002, p. 103).

While the public/private relationship wasn’t inaugurated in this particular time; on the contrary, boundaries between them have always been a thin line (Peroni, 2013), those relations have assumed a new shape and intensity (Ball and Junemann, 2012) with the expansion of "neoliberal modes of governance" (Olmedo, 2017). A new mix between state, market and philanthropy is being created, in which the three elements are also reworked. The state is being reworked as a market-maker, commissioner of services and performance monitor. The market is expanding to increasingly subject the social and the public to the rigours of profit. Philanthropy is being reworked by the discourses and sensibilities of business, adopting, for example, practices of impact, assessment, efficiency and competition (Ball and Olmedo, 2011; Bishop and Green, 2010). All these "transformations represent new forms of governmentality and power regimes and are deeply rooted within the political economy and political philosophy of neoliberalism" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 46).

Authors have been engaging in a controversial discussion around the social implications of the network governance. While some see potential for a democratic participation in such new ways of governing, others argue new governance creates a "democratic deficit", "as the processes of policy and governance become more dispersed and less transparent" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 58). A central issue is that "alongside the introduction of new actors and organizations, the shift to polycentrism also involves the displacement of some others, like trade unions and professional associations" (Junemann and Ball, 2013, p. 425).

Finally, the concept of governance also represents a change not only in the empirical practices of the state, but also in the theoretical perspectives about them. In all different perspectives and approaches, governance is opposed to the concept of the state as a monolithic actor or institution. So it also refers to "various new theories and practices of governing and the dilemmas to which they give rise. These new theories, practices and dilemmas place less emphasis than their predecessors on hierarchy and the state, and more on markets and networks" (Bevir, 2011, p. 1). The "reified concepts of the state" are challenged, and "theories of governance typically open up the black box of the state" (Bevir, 2011, p. 1). Thus, the complexity, and often messiness, of the policy-making process is embraced in the analysis. Different actors, interests and processes that take part within and beyond the state are analysed, in opposition to a concept of a state as a unitary and cohesive actor with unified interests and strategies. The governance literature accepts the challenge of revisiting the boundaries between the state, market and society, and to explain the complexity of its functioning with its many different participants.

1.1.1. Heterarchies: an organisational form between hierarchy and networks

Governance and networks have become "buzzwords" that are used in different fields to reflect different situations, and can thus mean different things. There is an extensive literature around governance, which has developed different theories with different epistemologies. This "ubiquitous term", as Bevir (2011) puts it, has been used in the disciplines of development studies, economics, geography, political science and sociology. It may refer to management practices, organisational issues and even global debates, such as the climate change that claims to be an issue of "global governance". Governance is then a disputed term and a loosely used one, permeated by theoretical, epistemological and methodological discussions, and generally mirrors broader debates in social sciences (Rhodes, 2007).

Considering how the idea of governance may now have too many meanings and thus mean little, the concept of heterarchy becomes useful to better conceptualise some aspects of the changes towards governance. It can help us go beyond the "babylonian variety of policy network concepts" (Börzel, 1998, p. 1) and "specify a set of dimensions, characteristics, relationships and functions that are embedded in new forms of governance, and the relations of power and actors roles that animate the work of governance" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 137). Heterarchies make it explicit that these are not "just networks" (Parker, 2007); but "latent structures that are taking on an expanding and evolving range of policy tasks and public service delivery roles" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 137).

A heterarchy is, first, an organisational form. The governance literature traditionally distinguishes three main organisational forms: market, hierarchy and network. These organisational forms have coordination models of reciprocal interdependence - namely exchange, imperative coordination and reflexive self-organisation - which differ to each other regarding their "operational rationale and instrumental logic" (Jessop, 2011). The market is an example of "ex-post coordination through exchange", meaning it is based on a formal rationality that is "impersonal" and aims at an "efficient allocation of scarce resources to competing ends. It prioritises an endless 'economising' pursuit of profit maximisation" (Jessop, 2011, p. 113). A hierarchy, of a firm or government, is an example of a "ex-ante coordination through imperative coordination" (Jessop, 2011). It has a "substantive rationality", which is "goal-oriented, prioritising 'effective' pursuit of successive organisational or policy goals" (Jessop, 2011, p.113). Finally, a network is a "reflexive self-organisation", with "on-going negotiated consent to resolve complex problems in a corporatist order or horizontal networking to coordinate a complex division of labour" (Jessop, 2011, p. 113).

In social network terms, the organisational forms of markets, hierarchies and networks can be represented as dyads, chains and triads, respectively. Markets can be thought as being a series of "dyadic connections (two parties) engaged in non-repetitive, disinterested transactions generally characterized as contracts" (Stephenson, 2016, p. 141). Hierarchies can be understood as a "chain" of nodes, with "command based in authoritative control with a well-identified leadership". Finally, a network is "a connection between three or more people" (Stephenson, 2016, p. 141).

However, heterarchies have been gaining prominence as a fourth organisational form, "an organisational form somewhere between hierarchy and network that draws upon diverse horizontal and vertical links that permit different elements of the policy process to cooperate (and/or compete)" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 138). In social network terms, heterarchies can be seen as a "connection between three or more hierarchies engaged in asymmetric, repetitive and sustained collaborations. Participating hierarchies intermittently lead and follow, suppressing a competitive drive in lieu of a collaborative ethos that benefits the whole network" (Stephenson, 2016, p. 141).

Further, Jessop (2011) focuses on the complexities of the functioning of heterarchies and goes beyond organisational description towards a deeper understanding of how heterarchies operate. He argues a heterarchy is a:

> reflexive self-organisation [that] is concerned to identify mutually beneficial joint projects from a wide range of possible projects, to redefine them as the relevant actors attempt to pursue them in an often turbulent environment and monitor how far these projects are being achieved, and to organise the material, social, and temporal conditions deemed necessary and/or sufficient to achieve them. It does not require actors to accept substantive goals defined in advance and from above on behalf a specific organisation (e.g. a firm) or an imagined collectivity (e.g. the nation). Instead it has a substantive, procedural rationality that is concerned with solving specific coordination problems, on the basis of a commitment to a continuing dialogue to establish the grounds for negotiating consent, resource sharing, and concerted action. To distinguish such an approach from the anarchy of the market and the hierarchy of command, governance in this narrow sense is often referred to as *heterarchich* (Jessop, 2011, p. 113).

In this diverse, temporary and ever-changing organisational arrangement, the messiness, unevenness and complexity are inherent characteristics of heterarchies, in opposition to the assumed order of hierarchies. They have characteristics of assemblages, such as being loosely-coupled, temporary and uneven. They bring together different elements, that may converge at points, and work differently according to local circumstances (Ball and Junemann, 2012). They are "to an extent imaginative and experimental and, to and extent, polyvalent, and often involve considerable stumbling and blundering" so "they are a policy device, a way of trying things out" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 138).

Complex heterarchies do not erase more traditional policy actors and sites. Instead, "new linkage devices and lead organisations are created over and against existing ones, excluding or circumventing but not always obliterating more traditional sites and voices" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 138). Thus, in heterarchies, public sector organisations may adopt many roles. They "are positioned sometimes as clients, sometimes as contractors, sometimes as partners and sometimes as competitors or private sector organisations" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 139). In the following chapters some of these different possible roles become clear through the cases explored. What this means is that public services are not being "taken away" from public sector control, but are being organised "through collaborations of various kinds with the public sector, although some are more meaningfully collaborative than others and not all rest on shared objectives or a balance of influence" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 139). These partnerships open a way for flows between sectors, flows of "people, information and ideas, language, methods, values and culture" and in this context the work of governance is increasingly dispersed and opaque (Clarke and Newman, 2009). All of this also involves the creation and use of new policy spaces, "in spaces parallel to and across state institutions and their jurisdictional boundaries" (Skelcher, Mathur, and Smith, 2004, p. 3). This can be specially seen regarding the work of MNLS and its operation as a policy-making space in its own right, operating parallel and across the Ministry of Education (see Chapter 6). In this new mix of markets, networks and hierarchies, new personal and professional connections across different institutions and sectors – public, private and voluntary – are established. Careers are forged in movement between and across these sectors by boundary-spanners, people who bring "unlikely partners together" break "through red tape", and see "things in a different way" (Williams, 2002, p. 109).

1.2. "New" Philanthropy: what is "new" about it?

In the context of new governance, different actors are being included in the management of public services. Researchers have traditionally paid attention to actors such as the "World Bank, UNESCO, the OECD, ABD, DfiD, USAid and others", which also "are actors within the network we outline" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 9). However, there is a growing need to also examine the work of “foundations, edu-businesses, think tanks, funding platforms, management service companies - whose participation in global education policy has been systematically neglected until very recently” (Ball et al., 2017, p. 9).

Business and philanthropy are also changing concomitantly to the changes in the means of governing. In spite of the philanthropic work not being new, contemporary philanthropy differs from previous modes of giving in some aspects, and “its functions and position within the social space have changed substantially” (Olmedo, 2016, p. 47). On the one hand, philanthropy is key in the shifting process towards governance, and “is currently a key device in the reconstitution of the state and of governance” (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 48). Indeed, philanthropy is “becoming a central explanatory variable to understand the recent changes and directions of national and international political agendas in different parts of the world” (Olmedo, 2016, p. 46). On the other hand, philanthropy is itself changing. It has been adopting market values and rationales and is often referred to as “new philanthropy” (Ball and Junemann, 2011, 2012; Ball and Olmedo, 2011; Olmedo, 2016, 2017). Hence, understanding the work of such organisations is key as they are both agent and subject of change in the public governance (Ball and Junemann, 2012), and they have been acquiring growing relevance in the making of public education. This section first discusses some aspects of new philanthropy, to then focus on the role it has been playing on education policy.

Mirroring a complex and diverse empirical scenario, there is a plethora of terms used to discuss and analyse new philanthropy. Regarding the philanthropic organisations that now participate in education governance, authors have written about new philanthropy (Ball and Junemann, 2011, 2012; Ball and Olmedo, 2011; Olmedo, 2016, 2017), corporate philanthropy (Au and Ferrare, 2015), venture philanthropy (Adrião, Pinto, Adrião, and Pinto, 2016; Saltman, 2010), and philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2010). In spite of the diversisty of terms, there are some characteristics of new philanthropy that are markedly different from the 20th century philanthropy, or “scientific philanthropy” (Saltman, 2010).

Fundamentally, new philanthropy institutions now function like business (Olmedo, 2014), where “philanthropy is being reworked by the sensibilities of business and business methods” (Ball and Junemann, 2011, p. 657). This shift is an example of how an entrepreneurial discourse is becoming fundamental in all three sectors, state, market and philanthropy, fostering principles such as competition and efficiency. The blurring between market and philanthropy is sometimes called “philanthrocapitalism” (Bishop and Green, 2010), in which philanthropy appropriates and adapts entrepreneurial discourses while the market also adopts philanthropic actions. For instance, the investment in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has emerged and grown as a moral device in business and politics, in which one understands that charity can be profitable or, at least, can propel a company' reputation (Bishop and Green, 2010). In philanthrocapitalism, business methods can be used to solve social problems, with an idea that benefactors are consumers of social investment (Ball and Junemann, 2012). Similarly, Rogers (2011) defines it as: "the use of business tools and market forces, especially by the very wealthy, for the greater social good" (Rogers, 2011, p. 376). In this sense, the author emphasise two characteristics of philanthrocapitalim: the blurring of sector boundaries, and the use of "private wealth to solve social problems" (Rogers, 2011, p. 377).

The blurring between market and philanthropy relies on a double shift, an "economic rationalisation of giving" (Saltman, 2010) together a "moralisation of economic action" (Shamir, 2008). The first leads to an "increasing use of commercial and enterprise models of practice within new forms of philanthropic organization and investment (e.g. venture philanthropy, due diligence, accountable donations, micro-finance, etc. (Olmedo, 2016, p. 47). The second aims to foment "a kind of rehabilitation for forms of capital that were subject to 'ill repute' in the public imagination" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 32). This double shift obscures how wealthy donors are actually part of the creation and maintenance of the social problems their donations claim to address, what Olmedo (2016) calls the "irony" in philanthrocapitalism:

> portraying themselves as morally compromised agents, the new philanthro-capitalists thin out the relationships between, on the one hand, the processes through which they amass their fortunes and, on the other, the roots of the social problems that they seem willing to address. That is, there seems to be no critical reflection on the "contribution" of capitalism, and, within it, the business practices of their own companies worsening of old and the creation of new forms of inequality and social injustice across the globe (Olmedo, 2016, p. 48).

In new philanthropy, "givers" are directly involved in the philanthropic action. New philanthropists adopt a more "hands on approach" and want to be personally involved in decisions (Ball and Junemann, 2012). Jorge Paulo Lemann is an unarguable example of personal involvement. The richest Brazilian and currently 29th richest person in the world (Forbes Ranking 2018), invests one third of his time in philanthropic activities at the foundations Lemann and *Estudar*[4] ("Study"). He and his two business partners personally

[4] Foundation created by him and his two partners Sicupira and Telles

take part in the selection of scholarship grantees, who will receive financial support to study in "global top ranking universities" (Correa, 2013). Lemann, Harvard alumnus himself, also makes use of his personal network in his philanthropic work. He acts as a "kind of ambassador" of *Fundação Estudar* in other countries. It is in great part due to his contacts in foreign universities that *Estudar* regularly brings representatives of elite universities to offer lectures to Brazilian students. For instance, in 2011 the president of Harvard, Drew Faust, went to Brazil at the invitation of Estudar (Correa, 2013).

With a "hands-on' approach", new philanthropists "have become key political actors involved in the design, negotiation, promotion, and delivery of policy processes, including the reorganization and enactment of public services, civic action, and community development" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 47). It is not sufficient to "give", but "they want to use their donations in a business-like way – that is, in the form of 'strategic investments' that should lead to 'good' measurable results" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 47). This is a considerable difference between scientific and new philanthropy, as "there was a distance between the donors and the end uses made of the donated money in education—once given, the money was not closely controlled and directed in its uses" (Saltman, 2010, p. 63). New philanthropists want to ensure funding is used in ways and for causes they support, in an attempt to "exert greater control by givers over the money spent on reform and the process of reform itself" (Saltman, 2010, p. 72). As a result, there has been a larger concentration in philanthropic action and funding, because "although educational philanthropy played a hegemonic role throughout the twentieth century, it was hardly unified in its approaches, and it offered funding for a wide variety of initiatives and projects that were not restricted to the conservative side of the political spectrum" (Saltman, 2010, p. 72).

Part of this hands-on approach is steered and informed by "outcomes". New philanthropists want to see "results" of their giving, which is not seen as as donations, but as social "investments" that are attached to outcomes and efficiency. Thus, evaluations and metrics to measure and demonstrate impact became a widespread practice among foundations. Institutional reports exhibit the results of assessments and are used to attract new "investors" and offer accountability to donors (Ball and Junemann, 2011). As Ball and Junemann (2012) put it, new philanthropies now "use forms of business research and due diligence to identify or vet potential recipients to monitor the impacts and effects of donations on social problems" (p. 52). Decisions are made based on the "the idea that resources should be used in a targeted and rational way based on data in order to identify and scale successful social programmes" (Rogers, 2011, p. 378).

The mobilisation and use of one's own capitals, in its many forms, is also part of the hands-on approach. New philanthropists, like Lemann, "are willing to mobilise their economic, cultural and social capitals in order to pursue their charitable agendas" (Olmedo, 2014 p. 585). In this sense, in mobilising their different resources, elite actors who engage in philanthropy are called hyperagency by Schervish (2005; 2003), which is "the enhanced capacity of wealthy individuals to establish control of the conditions under which they and others live" (Schervish, 2005, p. 62). In other words, hyperagents are "individuals who can do what it would otherwise take a social movement to do" (Bishop and Green 2010, p. 51). For instance, in 2015 there was a conflict between Viviane Senna and education associations[5]. Viviane Senna, sister of the racer Ayrton Senna, is the president of Instituto Ayrton Senna, one of the biggest institutes in Brazil, which is active in every state of the country. She is part of Todos pela Educação governance board, is influential in the national press and was listed amongst the "Ten most powerful businesswomen in Brazil" by Forbes[6]. She is a clear example of how philanthropic work has been turned into a "status symbol" (Handy, 2007), allowing Viviane Senna to be a well-regarded public figure. Recently, on June 2015, in an interview with Folha[7] (Brazilian newspaper) and the BBC[8], she stated education is "still based on opinions rather than being 'scientific based'". Less than a month later, six public education organisations replied in an open letter critiquing her statements. A small note was published in Folha, but not the entire content of the letter or an interview with a representative. Thus, using Schervish's words, Viviane Senna, as a "hyperagent", could do what not even a social movement could. This is also an example of how "new philanthropy is taking a more protagonist role in political terms, which is already contributing to the re-dispersal of political and moral authority" (Olmedo 2016, p.48).

New philanthropy also differentiates itself from previous modes of giving with global action. Both the agenda and work of philanthropic organisations have been globalised. These institutions act upon global "grand challenges", which draw from development agendas, with scalable solutions that are "applied independently of context as generic, technical solutions"

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5 http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/educacao/2015/06/1643231-educacao-e-baseada-em-achismos-nao-em-ciencia-diz-viviane-senna.shtml

6 It takes into account information from FORBES' lists database, as well as overall analysis for each woman listed, based on three metrics: money (2012 company revenue and market cap, where available, for business; and income), media presence (news hits, TV and radio appearances in the past 12 months, plus social media) and impact (in each woman's listed particular field)

7 http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/paineldoleitor/2015/07/1653031-presidentes-de-associacoes-de-educacao-protestam-contra-viviane-senna.shtml

8 http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/06/150525_viviane_senna_ru

(Olmedo, 2014, p. 587). Besides the globalisation of agendas and solutions, new philanthropy has a global reach through the international connection of elites as well, with technologies of communication and travel that made it easier to sustain a "networked life" (Urry, 2003). The spaces of "meetingness" (Urry, 2007, see chapter 4) are fundamental for the activation of global networks through formal and informal meetings. In this scenario, new philanthropy and policy networks have a global reach and ideas and discourses flow, in and out and around Brazil.

Finally, a fundamental change in philanthropy concerns how working with the state and acting in policymaking became a major goal of new philanthropists. Whilst previously philanthropic work would be mainly circumscribed to service delivery, like in traditional NGO's work, foundations are now also present in the "context of influence" and "context of text production" (Bowe and Ball, 1992), participating in policymaking work of various kinds. So new philanthropies "have become key political actors not only in delivery activities but also in the conception, advocacy and negotiation of policy processes" (Olmedo, 2014, p.583).

Part of this interest of new philanthropists on policy-making is based on "the idea that the wealthy, particularly the super wealthy, should take greater responsibility for using their wealth for the common good" (Rogers, 2011, P. 378), or the "moralisation of economic action" (Shamir, 2008) explored previously. In this idea, private institutions must work to solve "wicked problems" (Ball and Junemann, 2012). As the former Executive Secretariat of GIFE said: "in other words, the solutions will go through a new balance in this composition between public and private" (GIFE interview, 2016).

In this endeavour, new philanthropy concomitantly engenders "new methods of policy" and introduces new policy programmes (Olmedo, 2016). In other words, it involves new policy methods and contents, policy *hows* and *whats*. Regarding the methods, new philanthropies engage "new players to the field of social and education policy, repopulating and reworking existing policy networks" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 49). So while new philanthropies operate in the education field, they rework the field itself and its discourses, and provide "legitimacy to the role of business in the solution of social problems" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 49). Concomitantly, "a second dimension in the role of new philanthropy focuses on their direct involvement in the design and delivery of policy programmes" (Olmedo, 2016, p.53). In this regard, "new philanthropy is at the forefront of a right-wing movement to corporatize education at multiple levels" (Saltman, 2010, p.1) with a reform programme that will be later discussed in this chapter.

However, there is an imbalance between the power and controversy of the super wealthy in policymaking and the attention this has been receiving in research. As Rogers (2011) put it: "the most controversial aspects of philanthrocapitalism are related to the policymaking and agenda setting powers of the new global elite. These are issues that relate to what I term philanthro-policymaking and are not core issues of philanthrocapitalism as defined by its major proponents" (p. 377). Still, there is a relevant growth of studies being conducted about the topic.

In the USA there is growing attention being paid to the work of foundations in education policy. Studies have specially examined philanthropic investments in policy advocacy. For example, Reckhow and Snyder (2014) investigated giving patterns among the 15 largest education foundations in the USA and showed a growing support for national-level advocacy organizations, as well as a growing alignment of agendas among these large foundations. Ferrare and Reynolds (2016) conducted a similar study to analyse smaller foundations and their pattern of social investment, and the trend towards investment in advocacy was also identified. Both studies gathered data about foundation donations through the Form 990 tax documents, published online by the Foundation Centre. Other studies have also analysed how foundations can leverage a considerable participation in agenda setting and the approval of education bills making use of social network analysis, as Au and Ferrare (2014), for example.

In England there has also been a relevant study of the philanthropic involvement in education policy (Ball and Olmedo, 2011; Ball, 2010, 2012; Olmedo, 2017, among others), as well as its related global networks, which extend to the Sub-Saharan Africa and India (Ball et al., 2017). These studies discuss how new philanthropy composes networks that assemble an "'epistemic community' organised around specific interpretations of existing social problems, emerging business niches, and new policy solutions." (Santori, Ball, and Junemann, 2015, p. 24). In this sense, the authors examine more opaque ways in which new philanthropy participates in policymaking, playing fundamental discursive and relational roles.

A growing presence of new philanthropy in education policymaking has also been identified and analysed in Brazil. Adrião and Peroni (2008, 2010) have analysed how foundations in Brazil have been promoting a corporate reform of education (see next section), fomenting the privatisation of education services and the standardisation of teaching in public schools. Similarly, other authors have studied specific foundations and discuss how they have been successful in disseminating market-based policies in Brazilian education, including some organisations considered in this thesis such as TPE (Martins and Krawczyk, 2016; Martins, 2013), Ayrton Senna Institute (Comerlatto and Caetano, 2013; Peroni and

Comerlatto, 2017), and Unibanco Institute (Caetano, 2016; Monteiro, 2014; Rodrigues, 2016), to name just a few. New philanthropy has been a powerful actor in education policymaking, connecting nodes between non-profit, for-profit and state institutions. Although new philanthropy is growing in size and relevance in Brazil, currently it is not possible to conduct a study to track and follow the financial investments of foundations. The financial data of foundations is not publicly available in Brazil if these organisations do not make use of public investments. GIFE has been pushing foundations to publish their financial reports with the 'Transparency Panel" in their website. Nonetheless, few foundations make public their financial data. Arguably, this lack of transparency and accountability is a hazard for a democratic education. Although the move of new philanthropy towards education policymaking in Brazil cannot be financially analysed, there are practices that can be analysed, which is what this thesis is set to do.

In conclusion, the frontiers between public and private, state and market, philanthropy and business are increasingly blurry. In the global scenario of new governance and neoliberalism, philanthropy resembles the market in what some authors have been calling philanthrocapitalism. In these logics, giving has become tightly related to outcomes, givers want to be directly involved in the philanthropic actions and philanthropy works in a global network. Philanthropy now also acts strategically in and around policy, bringing about new policy methods and contents. Brazilian foundations echo the characteristics of new philanthropy in other countries, with a growing relevance of their work to education policy, which will be further explored in the next chapter.

1.3. Corporate education reform: global changes in education

In spite of variations, there is a "particular educational reform orthodoxy" that has emerged since the 1980s (Sahlberg, 2011, p. 173). Many terms have been used by the authors who have been analysing this new "educational orthodoxy", which include the "education corporate reform" (Apple, 2006; Au and Ferrare, 2015; Freitas, 2012; Ravitch, 2011), the "global education policy" (GEP) (Ball, 2012; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Verger et al., 2018), the global education reform movement (GERM) (Sahlberg, 2011, 2016) and "enterprise education policies" (Burch and Smith, 2015). Despite divergences, it is well accepted there is a neoliberal set of education policies and discourses that is increasingly becoming global in scale, while also going through translations and re-contextualisations to particular educational contexts (Cowen, 2009; Verger, Lubienski, and Steiner-Khamsi, 2016). These policies rely on a "transfer of innovation from corporate to the educational world" (Sahlberg, 2011, p. 178) to solve educational problems. In other words, the ideas and solutions from the business context are mobilised to the educational one. This process has been mediated and facilitated by international development organisations, new philanthropy and consultants, who adopted these policies as an "evidence-based policy agenda", which was adopted in Anglo-Saxon countries and embedded in the third way and spread globally (Sahlberg, 2016). Thus, together with the emergence of these policies there is the emergence of a global education policy field increasingly populated by private players, from both business and philanthropy (Ball, 2012).

The global education reform movement (GERM) can be traced back to the outcomes-based education, which became popular in the 1980s and was later followed by standard-based education policies in the 1990s, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries. Policymakers believed that "setting clear and sufficiently high performance standards for schools, teachers, and students will necessarily improve the quality of desired outcomes" (Sahlberg, 2011, p. 178). Consequently, from this belief were introduced centrally prescribed curricula with detailed performance targets, external testing and evaluation systems. Literacy and numeracy are seen as core subjects in the curriculum, and central targets of policies and tests, leading to a curriculum narrowing. In this context, the performance of schools became closely attached to processes of inspecting, accrediting, ranking, rewarding or punishing with test-based accountability policies. Arguably, this has led to increased control of schools, with a narrowing of teachers autonomy and creativity and resource to low-risk teaching (Sahlberg, 2011). In sum, the GERM revolves around the transfer of ideas from the corporate to the educational world, with a standardisation of education and test-based accountability, which lead to a focus on the subjects of literacy and numeracy, low-risk teaching and increased control of schools (Sahlberg, 2011).

The GERM development account, however, is somewhat limited to the field of education, in an approach that can be referred to as *educationism* (Dale and Robertson, 2009), which tends to "base education policy studies on approaches that come exclusively from within the field of education" (Verger et al., 2018, p. 7). However, "educational changes should be better understood as being embedded within interdependent local, national and global political economy complexes" (Verger et al., 2018, p. 7). Thus, neoliberalism should be considered the macro context in which arises this new educational orthodoxy. This means that education reform takes place amid the "neoliberal state evacuating its commitment to, and authority and power over, public education, only to be filled by a network of corporate interests associated with the neoliberal project" (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 9). Similarly neoliberalism is not only manifested in macro social structures. Instead, there is also "a neoliberal common sense", which advances "policies guided by free market assumptions" and "funding of organisations and projects in line with a neoliberal policy agenda" (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 9).

In broad agreement amongst scholars and activists (see e.g. Apple, 2006; Au and Ferrare, 2015; Fabricant and Fine, 2013; Hursh, 2000; Lipman, 2013; Saltman, 2010, among others), the corporate education reform is defined as policies and practices that support: defunding public education, private accumulation of public money via marketisation, deregulation of educational labour practices, access to public education as market, competitive evaluation with high-stakes testing, reshaping the discourse of education along the lines of businesses, narrowing of education purposes to economics, and reliance on non-democratically elected bodies to determine and implement education policy . In similar lines, Burch and Smith (2015) argue that in the context of "enterprise education policies", "market principles of competition and consumerism" have become "accepted policy strategies for improving social outcomes" (p.193). Marketplace principles are then the model for public management and public policy, where third-party organisations "play a much more central and government-endorsed role in designing, providing and evaluating government services. Government agencies become nodes in a market-driven network of vendors." (p.193).

The advocates for the corporate reform of education are referred to as "corporate reformers". However, in the field of education, the terms new philanthropy and corporate reformers are usually employed by different authors to refer to similar institutions. The latter seems more specific to foundations and institutes, while the former might include other actors from business and even civil servants that advocate for corporate reforms in education. Besides the different organisations they connote, there seems to also be a theoretical/methodological approach divide between the authors that use the two terms. New philanthropy is mostly used amongst authors with a post-structuralist approach, that are concerned with understanding the discourses and practices fostered by new philanthropy in education policy-making (Ball 2012, Ball and Junemann, 2011, 2012, Ball et al, 2017, Olmedo, 2012, 2017). Corporate reformers, on the other hand, is a term mostly used amongst authors with a more structuralist approach, concerned with the power structures these organisations or individuals create or partake in. These two terms can direct attention to some aspects, while obscuring others. New philanthropy reminds us the work of foundations in education policy happens amid a wider change of governance and philanthropy. Corporate reformers, on the other hand, reminds us that foundations are part of a larger group that deliberately aims to effect change in education, with neoliberal tones. It stresses the will to reform through the investment of different capitals to steer policy in this direction. Both, however, analyse neoliberal market solutions for social problems, with a critical position towards the risks they present to equality and democracy.

Besides new actors, the global education policy field brings about new scales into education policy, as "in recent years the scalar framing of policy discourses and texts has extended beyond the nation, the context of policy texts is now multi-layered in scalar terms across the local, national and global, leading to a rescaling of politics (Lingard and Rawolle, 2010, 2011; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). With disputes and power struggles, this "field is far from a flat terrain" and "in the GEP field, not all of the actors have the same power and capacity to mobilize the different types of capital that are necessary to promote their interests and ideas" (Verger et al., 2018, p. 9). In the GEP field some actors have greater chances in framing policy problems and solutions, namely "key international players and policy entrepreneurs, with the capacity to transcend different scales at any moment, have more chance of introducing their ideas, preferences and languages in this field" (Verger et al., 2018, p. 9).

While the concept of GERM stresses the developments of the standardisation of education and is more specific about which policies are involved in it, it does not account sufficiently for the wider social and political contexts and actors that enable the GERM to arise. The corporate reform and the entrepreneurial reform of education, differently, stress the neoliberal context, with the economisation of education and importing of business solutions, while being somewhat less specific about what policies might look like. Finally, the GEP stresses the new scales of such policies, and understands it as a field. In this thesis I consider the GERM (the specific education policies, the agenda) as part of the corporate reform of education (the wider shift of values and discourses in education), which is related to the emergence of the global education policy (the rescaling of education policy). So the terms might be used in different parts of the text due to their different nuances. However, I will mostly use the "corporate reform" to describe both the agenda and work of new philanthropy in Brazil, which aims to use business solutions in education with outcome-based management, a standard curriculum, high-stakes testing, focus on mathematics and Portuguese, greater control of teachers and schools, and provision of teaching materials or solutions by business or third sector (such as software and books). The term makes clear the relationship between the corporate values and education policies, in the following way:

> The cultural aspect of corporatizing education involves transforming education on the model of business, describing education through the language of business and the emphasis on the "ideology of corporate culture" that involves making meanings, values, and identifications compatible with a business vision for the future. The business model appears in schools in the push for standardization and routinization in the form of emphases on standardization of curriculum, standardized testing, methods-based instruction, teacher de-skilling, scripted lessons, and a number of approaches aiming for "efficient delivery" of instruction. The business model presumes that teaching, like factory production can be ever-more speeded up and made more efficient through technical modifications to instruction and incentives for teachers and students, like cash bonuses. Holistic, critical, and socially oriented approaches to learning that understand pedagogical questions in relation to power are eschewed as corporatization instrumentalizes knowledge, disconnecting knowledge from the broader political, ethical, and cultural struggles informing interpretations and claims to truth while denying differential material power to make meanings (Saltman, 2010, p. 22).

The corporate reform of education has been supported by new philanthropy. In fact, **"**the origins of the shift from scientific to venture philanthropy in education thoroughly coincides with the broader neoliberal shift in education" (Saltman, 2010, p. 70). There is an alignment between the corporate reform of education and new philanthropists as foundations have "a focus on strategy, efficacy, and method, eschewing underlying concerns with the overarching values and goals of public schooling as well as with the contested ideological positions animating particular reform initiatives" (Saltman, 2010, p. 74). The corporate values of new philanthropists have implications both for the way they work and, at the same time, their agenda in education. Foundations not only "talk the talk", but also "walk the walk", they "practice what they preach" by operating with the corporate practices they aim to ensue schools with.

Thus, new philanthropists tend to support education projects that draw from a corporate worldview, leading to a: "steady expansion of neoliberal language and rationales in public education, including the increasing centrality of business terms to describe educational reforms and policies: choice, competition, efficiency, accountability, monopoly, turnaround, and failure" (Saltman, 2010, p. 64). In this context, education is treated as a "social investment" that requires a business plan, quantitative measures and be brought to scale (Saltman, 2010).

In the corporate search for efficiency, "perhaps, nothing succinctly illustrates this better than the incessant call for "what works" (Saltman, 2010, p. 74). The search for "what works" creates and reinforces global networks as new philanthropists have an "ambition of wanting to take on ‘grand challenges’ based on ‘silver bullets’” (Ball and Olmedo, 2011, p. 85). In this context, “silver bullets” focus on generic “solutions” that can be scalable and implemented in spite of local, national and international contexts (Ball and Olmedo, 2011). As foundations move, they create “generative nodes, that is, spaces aimed at facilitating new connections and linking opportunities between public and private actors. These are ‘new sites of policy mobilisation’ and “globalising microspaces” that operate between and beyond traditionally defined areas of policy formulation, such as localities, regions and nations” (Ball and Olmedo, 2011, p. 86).

New philanthropists, however, disregard fundamental differences between foundations and schools, specially the social purpose of education. Thus, “one of the most significant aspects of this transformation in educational philanthropy involves the ways that the public and civic purposes of public schooling are redescribed by VP in distinctly private ways. Such a view carries significant implications for a society dedicated to public democratic ideals” (Saltman, 2010, p. 64).

In this context, in spite of the relevance of understanding the rationale behind new philanthropy, Saltman (2012) argues it is more relevant to analyse the consequences of their work, or how it challenges democratic values in societies. Many critical researchers have been working to analyse the harmful effects these policies in education (Apple, 2006; Ravitch, 2011; Freitas, 2012, among others). For example, among the many identified issues raised, competition and high-stake testing often leads to curriculum narrowing (Au, 2007, 2009; Ravitch, 2011), increase of inequality and social segregation (Ernica and Batista, 2011; Freitas, 2012), reduction of collaboration between schools and teachers (Freitas, 2012), exclusion of poor performing students, or with learning disabilities (Nichols and Berliner, 2007), excessive time invested in testing and practicing for tests (Miller and Almon, 2009). These policy effects illustrate how “business assumptions are not universally beneficial. They are selectively beneficial for those at the top of the business. But public institutions have a mandate of being universally beneficial” (Saltman, 2010, p.78).

In Brazil, Freitas (2012) has significantly contributed to the analysis of the corporate actors discourses, and advanced the understanding of the harmful effects they bring to education. Freitas (2012) aims at reuniting empirical evidence that is often withheld by corporate actors in Brazil, mainly by systematically reviewing North American academic literature. He aims at warning against the risks of these policies “already demonstrated in research and educational practice” (Freitas, 2012, p. 398).

In this context of harmful market-based policies and great participation of corporate actors in policy, democracy and social justice are often raised as extremely relevant issues. In Brazil, characterised by social inequality and a recent dictatorship, the participation and privilege of private actors in social policy, including in education, worries researchers committed to the development of democratic institutions and relations in the country (Adrião, Garcia, and Arelaro, 2012). Similarly, Burch and Smith (2015) claim there are "deeply disturbing state-corporate ties that can serve to "lock in" the privileging of commercial interests as part of "public" policy. The embedded layers of corporate policy influence are complex and connected to large political and institutional forces" (p. 205). The authors say that these ties "overlap at multiple points in the system, creating new commercial spaces within school settings and in other ways, and under certain conditions, working against the democratic purposes of education" (p. 191). Likewise, Au and Ferrare (2015, p. 10) emphasise that:

> one of the central issues with this type of governance by corporations, corporate interests, and non-governmental organisations is that there is absolutely no mechanism for holding them accountable for what they do to public institutions, including public education. […] They are reconstructing public education along the lines of the neoliberal model, with many private entities making massive profits at the expense of public assets, and we have no way to recoup our losses and fix what they have done. This is the nature of network governance in the neoliberal state.

Thus, there is growing attention being paid to principles, values and discourses of corporate actors in education, their participation and activities, as well the harmful effects these policies present. However, less attention has been paid to understanding *how* they work. In spite of the valuable input of these researches, there is urgency in better understanding how these actors operate as a network; that is, their individual and collective networking.

Chapter 2. Brazil: new philanthropy and education reform

Since the 1990s, Brazil has undergone shifts towards governance, with concomitant changes in philanthropy and education reforms. Amid the global trends explored so far, a state reform was implemented in 1995, which explicitly aimed at sharing public services with non-state actors in the country, or fostering network governance. Since then, the third sector has grown substantially, with a recent expansion of new philanthropy supporting a corporate reform of education. This chapter aims to present the Brazilian context regarding, first, the governance reforms that enabled a growth of business and new philanthropy in education, second, the philanthropy situation in the country, and third, its educational system and recent corporate reforms. It also explores some of the literature around these issues and the relevance of studying the philanthropic work in education governance and reform in Brazil, justifying the research efforts presented in this thesis.

2.1. Brazil: general background

Brazil is the largest country in South America, with 27 federative units (26 states and the Federal District) and 5570 municipalities. There are 207,7 million inhabitants in the country (IBGE, 2017), with a larger concentration of 86,93 million in the Southeast region, which includes states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In spite of its large economy and fairly high index of human development of 0,754 (UNDP, 2017), Brazil is marked by social inequality. According to the GINI index, Brazil is the 10th most unequal country in the world, with a GINI of 0,515 (UNDP, 2017).

Brazil was a colony of Portugal between 1500 and 1815, a period characterised by the exploitation of natural resources, the extermination of indigenous populations and being one of the largest destinations of the traffic of slaves (Ribeiro, 1995). In 1822 Brazil became independent and was ruled as an empire until 1889, when it became a republic. Its republican history has been marked by periods of dictatorship, between 1930 and 1945 and more recently a military dictatorship between 1964 and 1985. In fact, the country has only had glimpses of democracy (Carvalho, 2001). After the end of the military dictatorship, a new constitution was formulated and signed in 1988.

The Brazilian political system is organised at a number of levels in set of a complex federal relations, within which the national government interacts with 27 states and 5570 municipalities. In this arrangement, the Brazilian educational system is complex and large: in 2017 there were more than 35 million students in primary and secondary public schools, in a system that combines municipal, state and federal levels of management.

Education is organised in two levels, "basic" and "higher" education (*Educação Básica* and *Superior*). The first encompasses early years education (*educação infantil*, 3 months to 5 years of age), fundamental education (*ensino fundamental*, from 6 to 14 years of age) and middle school (*ensino médio*, 15 to 17 years of age). Students that have completed middle school have access to higher education, with universities and colleges. In this system, education is a shared responsibility between the federal entities, in the so-called "collaborative regime", according to the 1996 Education Act, named Law of Directions and Basis of Education (LDB96). States and municipalities have relative autonomy within federal guidelines to decide upon different matters such as funding, curriculum, teaching methods, hiring teachers and developing their own public-private partnerships (Peroni, 2013). In this context, there are new philanthropy and for-profit organisations operating in all administrative levels of the federation.

The Ministry of Education (MEC in Portuguese) is responsible for education management at the federal level, and creates the national guidelines for all other entities, for example, regulations on funding and the National Plan for Education. The federal level also holds the main responsibility for higher education. MEC has two main decision-making spaces, the Minister's Office and the National Council of Education (NCE), with a functioning that mirrors a president and a house of representatives. The NCE is composed of two chambers, the chambers of 'basic education' and 'higher education', and there are 11 members in each one. In MEC's hierarchy, below the Education Minister and NCE, there are 6 secretariats, amongst which the Secretariat of Basic Education (SEB) is the most significant in relation to the learning standards that have been recently approved with strong support of new philanthropy.

However, in, through and around this bureaucratic and hierarchical structure, there are networks, or heterarchies, with non-state actors that partake in the governance of education. Since the 1990s, the shift from *government* to *governance* has been encouraged in Brazil, especially after a state reform enacted in 1995. The following section explores the key legal documents that made possible the participation of new philanthropy in education governance.

2.2. Governance in Brazil: historical and legal context

The current Federal Constitution, signed in 1988, and the 1995 State Reform are stressed in the literature as the turning point towards governance. The 1988 Constitution is regarded as a significant advance in the social rights scenario in Brazil, while also reaffirming principles of public/private cooperation in public services. Seven years later, in 1995, the State Reform plan was signed and is considered a critical moment towards governance in the country. At the end of this section, I present some considerations about the dangers of overstating change in time, and similarities between places in the study of education governance.

2.2.1. 1988 Federal Constitution: advancement of social rights in neoliberal times

The Federal Constitution (*Constituição Federal*) is the fundamental legal document in Brazil. After a number of previous constitutions[9], the current one was signed in 1988 and is considered to be the most democratic constitution in Brazilian history. Referred to as the "Citizen Constitution" (*Constituição Cidadã*), it introduced novel civil, political and social rights in the country (Carvalho, 2001). After 21 years of military dictatorship in Brazil, the 1988 Constitution (CF/88) was signed amid a struggle for "redemocratisation", when popular movements and civil society organisations were mobilised for social rights (Peroni, 2013).

Education was established as a social right in the constitution's second item, titled "Fundamental Rights", together with health, work, leisure, security, social pension, protection to maternity and childhood. Remarkably, "for the first time in our constitutional history, the Social Rights Declaration is made explicit, with primacy to education" (Oliveira, 1999, p. 61). Education is further addressed on Chapter 3 - Section 1. In the article 205, education is ratified as a right to all, and a duty of state and family, which should be promoted in collaboration with society. Further, article 213 states that "public resources will be assigned to public schools, and might be allocated to community, confessional or philanthropic schools", as long as they are non-profit organisations.

However, the democratisation process did not unfold without contradictions. By the end

[9] Brazil has had several National Constitutions: 1824 (Brazilian Empire), 1891 (First Republic), 1934 (With social rights), 1937 (Vargas Dictatorship), 1946 (Democratization), 1967 (Golpe in 1964) and 1969 (Amendas a antiga) and finally 1988, when "Social rights were integrated for the first time in a Brazilian Constitution as fundamental rights" (Pires, 2013, p.164)

of the military dictatorship, in the 1980s, neoliberal[10] policies and state reforms were under way in many western countries, which influenced the Brazilian CF/88 document. While introducing social rights not previously present in Brazilian legislation, public/private partnerships (PPPs) are presented as commendable tools for managing public services, which were further encouraged seven years later with the 1995 State Reform. Thus, some authors claim that while the CF/88 established education as a fundamental right and presented great progress in relation to previous documents, it also asserted that education would be provided by the state in collaboration with private actors (Oliveira, 2009; Peroni, 2013; Peroni et al., 2013). Being written in a context of national "re-democratisation" and, concomitantly, the international rise of neoliberalism, the CF/88 ensures both: a "democratic management" of education (*gestão democrática*) with the participation of local communities in the making of education and school management, and also opens space for the participation of private providers of educational services, specially the "confessional sectors" (Pires, 2013).

So the CF/88 internal disputes are related to an international context of neoliberalism and also a tense national consensus around the "democratisation" of the country. In spite of agreeing upon the value of "re-democratising" the country, right and left wing groups did not necessarily agree upon the terms of the transition (Carvalho, 2001). Further, it should be marked that the allowing of private providers of education in the Constitution is not necessarily evidence of neoliberalism. The running of schools by non-profit private entities has been present through history in Brazil as in most countries, which will be further discussed at the end of this section.

2.2.2. 1995 State Reform: non-state institutions in social services provision

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, from the PSDB[11] party, was elected in 1994 amid an economic crisis and social instability. One year later, the Ministry of Administration and State Reform (MASR) signed a state reform, which is recognised as a turning point of the

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[10] Here understood as: "Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can be best advanced by the maximisation of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterised by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2007, p. 22) and "an ensemble of economic and social policies, forms of governance, and discourses of ideologies that promote self-interest, unrestricted flows of capital, deep reductions in the cost of labor, and sharp retrenchment of the public sphere. Neoliberals champion privatisation of social goods and withdrawal of government from provision for social welfare on the premise that competitive markets are more effective and efficient." (Lipman, 2013, p. 6).

[11] Partido Social Democrata Brasileiro (Brazilian Social Democratic Party), a centre-right-wing party

shift from *government* to *governance* in Brazil. Both the President Cardoso and the Minister of the State Reform, Besser Pereira, were advocates for the Third Way (Peroni, 2013). A "new" state definition was announced by this reform through the document Director Plan of State Apparel Reform (DPSAR) ("*Plano Diretor de Reforma do Aparelho do Estado*"). It stated "the state reform should be understood within the context of *change of the state role*, which *ceases to be directly responsible* for economic and social development through the production of goods and services, to become stronger in the *function of supporter and regulator* of this development" (Ministério da Administração Federal e Reforma do Estado, 1995, p.17, emphasis added). Thus, the reform aimed to change the state role from "direct responsibility" to "regulation" in more complex networks of governance with new actors.

This state reform project indicated three privatising strategies to be adopted throughout all ministries: outsourcing (*terceirização*), privatising (*privatização*) and publicising (*publicisação*). The first is the transfer of auxiliary services to private sector providers and the second is the selling of state companies to private owners. Most importantly, the third, "publicisation" refers to the transfer of social and scientific services previously executed by the state to non-state institutions, indicated in the document as "non-state public sector" (Peroni, 2013, p. 20). The education sector (with schools, universities, research centres and child care facilities) was amongst the services partially transferred to the "third sector", composed by non-governmental institutions. As a result, the principles of network governance were also manifested in the education legislation. In 1996, the Law of Guidelines and Bases for Education was signed (LDBEN 1996) and presented the state as a provider of education together with civil society (Krawczyk and Vieira, 2008; Monteiro, 2013).

After the 1995 reform, the Brazilian third sector went through an intense growth of 215% between 1996 and 2005. It later slowed down to 8.8% between 2006 and 2010 and reached 290,700 non-profit private foundations and associations in Brazil (FASFIL, 2010). Besides introducing three privatising strategies, the state reform project also reinforced the general principle of managing public services according to market ideals: "these are competitive services and can be controlled not only through managerial administration, but also and mainly through social control and the constitution of quasi markets" (Bresser Pereira, 1997, p. 12). The 1995 reform was later reaffirmed with a change in the constitution in 1998 (the 1998 *Emenda Constitucional*). Both documents advance the premise that the state should not be the main (or only) promoter of social services and policies. Instead, it should work with civil society though public/private partnerships (Pires, 2013).

2.2.3. Dangers around the interpretation of change and similarity

The 1988 Constitution and the 1995 state reform have created fruitful conditions for the shift towards network governance in Brazil, with the sharing of public service delivery and policy-making with non-state actors. Currently, there are many private institutions, for and not-for profit, operating in social services, including education, as will be explored throughout this thesis. Nonetheless, there are two remarks to be made regarding the study and analysis of education network governance in Brazil, which present dangers and challenges to make sense of change and permanence, of similarity and difference in this context.

First, there is a danger in overstating the "change" in governance and the "new" participation of private actors. It is important to stress that the participation of private actors (including corporate ones) in education was not a novelty of the end of the 20th century (in Brazil or in other countries). For instance, in 1821, Dom João, King of Portugal and Brazil (United Kingdom at the time), established that any citizen could open a primary school (Peroni, 2013). Cury (2008) explains that the public body, considered insufficient to universalise primary teaching, authorised partial funding of private school offer at the time. Since then, Brazilian legislation has considered legitimate the freedom of teaching, while at the same time reaffirming the state as the fundamental power that authorises and grants school education (Peroni, 2013). In another public-private dynamic, during the military dictatorship corporate actors participated in educational matters and were influential in education policy-making, especially through the organisation IPES (*Instituto de Pesquisas Economicas e Sociais*, or Institute of Economic and Social Research) (Souza, 1981). In this realm, one should be careful with interpreting any non-state action in education as neoliberal (which can be a common reasoning in Brazilian research, see point 2.4 for a discussion on this topic). There were private actors in education before neoliberalism, and there are now, in neoliberal times, private actors that resist neoliberal reforms. What we see now, however, like in other contexts, is a new form and new intensity of public/private relationships (Ball and Junemann, 2012).

Second, contrastingly there is a danger in overstating similarities and not seeing differences between Brazil and the places where the literature on governance has been produced, namely the United States of America and Europe, specially the United Kingdom. The shift from government to governance in Brazil happened in a very different context from these countries. While the Brazilian state is also changing its role and seeking to share social responsibilities with other actors from civil society and the market, new governance in this case does not indicate a shift from a "welfare state”, as portrayed in the Anglo-Saxon literature. Instead, the turning point of the change in the means of governing takes place in a context in which the country was (and is) struggling with ensuring universal social rights, when social movements had high hopes for the re-democratisation and promises of the 1988 Constitution. So while in 1988 the United Kingdom was signing its new Education Act, regarded as an important turning point towards a corporate reform of education, with accountability measures (Ozga, 2009) , in Brazil, at the same year, the new Constitution was being signed, which is regarded as a relevant moment of social rights advancement, in spite of the changes later propelled by the 1995 state reform. Thus, if on the one hand there are similarities and analytical insights to be drawn from the European and North American literature, on the other there are empirical specificities that must be attended, which cannot be overwritten with theoretical concepts from elsewhere. One might ask then if it makes sense to talk about a ‘shift’ from government towards network governance in Brazil. I would argue that if such a shift is understood to refer to a change from bureaucratic forms of social management to heterarchical ones, then it is a useful and coherent concept. However, there is a caveat to be made about what a previous hierarchical "government" looked like, as it would be a mistake to imagine European-like welfare state before a shift towards governance in Brazil. Hence, the concerns, debates and dangers regarding the participation of business and philanthropic organisations in the governance of education are different and, perhaps, more intense in contexts like the Brazilian one in contrast to (so-called) Western countries.

2.3. New philanthropy in Brazil: the big picture

Since the 1995 State Reform there has been a growth in number and relevance of the third sector in Brazil. There was a growth of the number of institutions since 1988, which expanded in 1995 and skyrocketed between 2001 and 2009 (see governance section). In the same year the Group of Corporate Foundations and Institutes (GIFE in Portuguese) became institutionalised, which was an informal group since 1989. This group brings together 137 institutions including businesses and philanthropy from corporate, independent, family, and community backgrounds. GIFE surveys its members biannually, which is one of the few instruments available to assess the third sector in Brazil. The survey conducted in 2014 and published in 2015 had 113 respondents (90% of the total membership at the time the survey was conducted). The Foundation Centre, a similar institution from the USA, has collaborated with GIFE to write the document "Key Facts on Brazilian Social Investment", which is also used in this chapter. The Foundation Center provides data about philanthropy in the USA, which has been used by north American researchers to analyse foundations' work around education policy in the country.

Together, the 113 GIFE survey respondents have invested R$3 billion (or US$1.35 billion, according to 2014 exchange rate) in 2014. Together with another relevant survey (BISC Comunitas), philanthropy made a total social investment of US$1.7 billion in 2014. In spite of more than 25% of members having a budget greater than US$8.5 million, the total investment is quite concentrated. The top 13 investors[12] (with a budget larger than US$20 million) accounted to about 2/3 of the total. Furthermore, the top investor, not disclosed, has invested the prominent value of R$537,311,200.00 (approx. US$1.69 billion). Although being a high value, it is much smaller than the US$60.1 billion invested in the USA in 2014 by US foundations (Foundation Centre).

Amongst GIFE's members, 85% have education as their priority investment (against 78% in the US), and 89% claim their work is somehow related to public policy. 58% aim at influencing or supporting policymaking. Regarding the ones that invest more than US$20million, 75% claim to aim at policy. Thus, there is considerable social investment from philanthropy in Brazil, which is mainly focused on education and aims to influence policy. Along these lines, the former Executive Director of GIFE argued in an interview that "to understand the social investment in education is to understand the private social investment in Brazil" (Interview GIFE, 2016).

The GIFE members have a markedly "hands-on approach". Only 18% of respondents primarily fund other civil society organisations, 37% run their own programmes and 45% do both. This scenario is considerably different from the United States one, as according to the Foundation Centre, in the US 96% primarily fund the project of civil society organisations. In spite of data limitations due to sample and definition of institutions, this data points to the possibility that sharing labour is just as important as sharing funds in the Brazilian new philanthropy network which reaffirms the need to analyse the work and practices of the biggest organisations directly, as this thesis does, instead of advocacy funds, as north American authors have been doing.

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[12] More than R$100mi: one company, 2 family foundation, 2 corporate foundation.
Between R$50 to 99,99 mi: 2 companies and 6 corporate foundations

2.4. Education and corporate reform in Brazil

The corporate reform of education can be materialised in different formats in different places, "as it moves, it morphs" (Cowen, 2009). In Brazil, the corporate reform of education does not sustain a privatising model with charter and academy schools and vouchers found in places like the USA, England or Chile. Nor does it focus on low-fee schools found in low-income countries (see Srivastava and Walford, 2016; Srivastava, 2016a, 2016b). Instead, the corporate policies and new philanthropy agenda revolves around a results-oriented education management, with a standardisation of education, large-scale assessment and focus on STEM disciplines (Arelaro, 2007; Krawczyk and Vieira, 2008).

2.4.1. Large-scale evaluations, PPPs and standard curriculum: the "morphed" corporate reform of education in Brazil

Since the 1990s, corporate education policies have been gaining currency in the country. There has been a shift in the forms and intensity of relationship between public and private organisations in education in Brazil, specially after the 1995 state reform (see the governance section) (see Peroni and Adrião, 2008 for a detailed analysis of the public/private relationship in the Brazilian education, and for a historical analysis see Pires, 2015). In spite of particularities of the Brazilian state, large-scale assessments and managerial principles work as important guidelines for the work of the state in education (Rossi, Bernardi, and Uczak, 2017). Large-scale evaluations, PPPs and the establishment of national learning standards are highlighted as the most relevant policies within the spectrum of the corporate reform of education in Brazil.

First, large-scale evaluations became central in the Brazilian education since the 1990s (Bonamino and Sousa, 2012; Coelho, 2008; Freitas, 2004; Hypólito, 2008). The formulation and enactment of these evaluations are organised in the System of Assessment of the Basic Education (*Sistema de Avaliação da Educação Básica* - SAEB), which was created in 1988 and implemented in 1990. It changed its format and priority during its first decade, from a formative assessment, with participation of teachers in its formulation, to the production of a comparative indexes (Lima, 2016). From 1995 it became a central policy in education, with support of the World Bank and funding from the United Nations Development Programme Development (UNDP) (Lima, 2016). It "gained strength in the last years, through the implementation of other assessments in the system, as well as its attachment to the Index of Development of the Basic Education (*Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica* - Ideb). This policy mobilises an expressive amount of financial resources from the government, and involves a great number of state and non-state actors" (Lima, 2016, p. 35).

From the 1990s onwards, Brazilian businessmen started to organise and promote events and formulate documents that presented an interest to build up an education reform agenda to create a competitive economy and workers with the necessary skills for it (Rossi et al, 2017). In this effort, corporate reformers have been working towards consensual education goals in Brazil, which have been historically supported by social movements. However, such goals have been reframed and shifted with corporate methods, as Rossi et al (2017) explain:

> Working with the discourse of 'education for all and all for education', they incorporated and re-signified historic demands of the fight for the democratisation of education, giving it a new framing. They present proposals for the sake of improving education's quality, defending more time in schools, the universalization of schooling, large-scale assessment, promoting external partnerships to support educational activities, among others. This discourse of qualifying and amplifying the schooling is a social consensus and refers to historic demands from social movements. Businessmen, however, included them, proposing a different way of executing them, having as a method the corporate management (Rossi et al, 2017, p. 360).

Researchers have been specially concerned about the implications of private actors in education for the democratic management of education in Brazil. The discussion of corporate policies and democracy is especially relevant in the country, with two aspects that aggravate the issue. According to the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the main education law, LDBEN 1996, education should follow the principles of "democratic management", which means that school management should be locally determined in partnership with local authorities and schools' communities (Peroni, 2013). Thus, authors emphasise the contradiction between corporate policies, with standardised measures and a managerial model, and democratic management (Arelaro, 2006). Further, this contradiction is intensified by the national context of an unequal population and a problematic educational system (Arelaro, 2006), Brazil is greatly diverse and unequal, making the use of standardised solutions, such as the ones presented by Ayrton Senna Institute and Unibanco Institute more problematic.

Thus, researchers have been addressing the question if such institutes, with a "managerial" approach to education, can support and enact a democratic management of education, established by legislation in Brazil (Peroni and Comerlatto, 2017, p. 10). This discussion, critique and investigation are especially relevant in the current scenario of a conservative turn with a non-democratically elected president in the government. Since 2016, when the former president Dilma Rousself was impeached under controversial circumstances in what some authors have been referring to as a parliamentary coup (Arelaro, 2017), severe austerity measures (namely the PEC 241/55, which limits the public expenditure for 20 years) and corporate education policies (namely approving a standard learning standard and reforming the curriculum and organisational structure of middle schools) have been put in place. In spite of the resistance of social movements, new philanthropy has reacted to austerity measures with silence, and supported authoritarian corporate reforms in education.

Second, PPPs have been increasingly used as a tool for public education management (Adrião et al., 2017; Adrião, Peroni, and da Costa, 2005; Antunes and Peroni, 2017; V. M. Peroni and Adrião, 2008; A. Rossi, Helo, and Uczak, 2012). Namely, the most common formats of PPPs concern the provision of early years education through a voucher-like system, and the provision of a complete school management model with teaching material and assessments (Adrião, Garcia, Borghi, and Arelaro, 2012). However, private actors, from business and philanthropy, have also been active in policy making. They partake both in the provision of services, or the "rowing" in governance, as in the decision-making, or the "steering" (Peroni and Comerlatto, 2017; Rhodes, 1996). For instance, the positioning of Todos pela Educação has been decisive in the formulation of the National Plan of Education of 2007, issued at the same time as the Plan of Goals of the Commitment All for Education (A. J. Rossi et al., 2017), which indicated an assimilation of the corporate movement at the time (Evangelista and Leher, 2012; Oliveira, 2009; Saviani, 2007).

Third, the Brazilian Learning Standards have been formulated and approved amid the growing relevance of large-scale assessments and participation of private actors in education policy. Although the debate around a national curriculum in Brazil is not new, the current document has been formulated and approved in Brazil between 2015 and 2017. The discussion around a national curriculum was initiated in 1997, during the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The proposed reform was named at the time National Curricular Parameters (NCP, *Parametros Curriculares Nacionais* – PCNs in Portuguese), and the NCE was responsible for its formulation.

In a broader perspective, at the time, there was an international movement towards centralised curricula in Europe (Ball, 2013; Bowe, Ball, and Gold, 1992), Australia , and the USA (Apple, 1993, 2006), with similar debates evident in parts of Latin America and Africa (Macedo, 2016). In these latter regions the World Bank and BID wrote documents with guidelines that clearly encouraged the centralisation of curriculum and assessment (Macedo, 2015).

However, in Brazil there was resistance to centralised curricula, especially from academics and teacher unions. The biggest issue was that decentralised policies were seen as more democratic amid the context of the process of "redemocratisation" (the military dictatorship officially ended in 1985 and the new Federal Constitution was written in 1988) (Arretche, 1996). The NCE, then, developed a somewhat generic document with curricular guidelines that were proposed but not imposed on local authorities, thus maintaining states and municipalities' autonomy over their curricula (Macedo, 2015, 2016).

Later, between 2008 and 2010, MEC created more detailed instructions in the form of a five-volume document named "*Indagações Curriculares*", although it did not articulate a comprehensive 'curriculum' as such (Macedo, 2016). At the same time, the National Plan for Education was being discussed, a national document with aims and goals for the following 10 years. After a long debate with a wide participation of civil society, the National Plan for Education was signed in 2014 with an apparent consensus about the need of national learning standards: "Thus, 20 years after the first attempt of establishing a national curriculum in Brazil, it seems the dispute is coming to its end. […] Although the federal system has its set of shared responsibilities, the process of national curricular centralisation seems to have become hegemonic" (Macedo, 2016, p.6).

From 2014, after the National Plan for Education had established the National Learning Standards (NLS) as a "strategy for improving education in Brazil" the debate about the form and content of the NLS gained momentum and increased public attention. The NLS is strongly supported by new philanthropies in Brazil, who have been concerned with standardising the curriculum in order to make it comparable across the country, facilitating large-scale evaluations and the control of teachers' work. This case echoes how

> the venture philanthropists' approach to schooling emphasizes standardized testing, standardized teaching, and the standardization of curriculum at the expense of an emphasis on individual and social contexts, the relationship between knowledge and authority, and the possibilities for acts of interpretation, dialogue and debate to form the basis for social intervention and social transformation (Saltman, 2010, p. 9).

A corporate approach to education creates a fundamental tension (or irony, as Olmedo, 2016 says), where children are not to be taught to think critically about the power relations present in society, which are often maintained by the very organisations/companies/foundations that propose such education reforms. As Saltman

(2010) puts it, they:

> offer no way to critically analyse such representations and the visions and values that they propose. Venture philanthropists push standardized testing and standardization of curriculum at the expense of critical pedagogical approaches that emphasize the crucial connections between the curriculum in schools and what is taught and learned outside of school including from other pedagogical sites such as mass media (p. 12).

The corporate reform assumes standards that describe what teachers should do are sufficient to lead to education improvement. In this sense, it "assumes that the most effective way to improve educational systems is to bring well-developed innovations to schools and classrooms from outside, often from the business world" (Sahlberg, 2016, p. 137). In this case, new philanthropists support the NLS with the expectation this will enhance education in Brazil, in spite of the resistance of teachers, researchers and representatives from unions, exemplifying how the corporate reform can lead to a de-professionalization of education and teaching.

The creation of the learning standards is strongly supported by new philanthropy in Brazil, especially through the group named Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards (MNLS, or simply "Mobilisation"), one of the most prominent participants in this debate. The MNLS is one of many new "complex and contradictory spaces ripe for critical interrogation" (Peck and Theodore, 2012, p. 21). Throughout the thesis I examine what this group is, how it was created, its goals and agendas, and its composition. Other well-connected and influential foundations are also examined, all supporters of MNLS, namely Todos Pela Educação, Lemann Foundation, Ayrton Senna Institute, Unibanco Institute and Natura Institute, which are presented in following table and are analysed in the following chapters.

Table 1. New philanthropy organisations

Todos pela Educação (TPE)	Todos pela Educação (TPE) was created in 2006 and claims to aim to "contribute to ensuring an education with quality in Brazil until 2022 (the 200th anniversary of independence)". In 2014, it became an OSCIP – an "*Organisacao da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Publico*" (Civil Society Organisation with Public Interest). Claiming to be "a movement from the Brazilian society", the TPE is not connected to any political party and has representatives from all social sectors, including public managers, educators, parents, students, researchers, media representatives, businessmen and professionals from social organisations that are "committed to the guarantee to the right to quality education". TPE, unlike the other foundations, does not maintain or execute any projects of its own (with public-private partnerships, for example). Instead, it focuses on policy-making, and operates like a think tank. It was created to gather different social sectors in favour of education, but has established itself as a corporate movement (Rossi et al, 2017, p. 360).
Lemann Foundation	Fundação Lemann is non-profit family organisation that was created in 2002 by the businessman Jorge Paulo Lemann, who is currently the richest Brazilian citizen and 24th billionaire in the world (Forbes). He has graduated in economy at Harvard University and worked for the Credit Suisse. His fortune was built with different investments, but he is currently known as one of the main holders of AB InBev, the biggest beer company in the world (with Belgium Interbrew and Budweiser). He also owns the fast food group Burger King, and other investments. He usually does business with his two partners Marcell Hermann Telles and Carlos Alberto Sicupira, also amongst the richest Brazilian citizens and his collaborators in philanthropy. The foundation develops and supports "innovation programmes in education", does research to "support public policy in the sector" and offers training to education professionals. Its goal is to contribute to "innovative and high quality solutions for education, aiming to reach 30 million people, more than 200,000 teachers that will ensure learning for every student, and 65 leaders, that will promote social transformation of high impact" (Lemann Foundation website). It has a sector to influence education policy, which argues that "in order to information and evidence is always accessible to these who do education policy, here we make available research and data to support the daily practice of public managers ahead of education".
Ayrton Senna Institute (IAS)	Created in 1994, the Ayrton Senna Institute is now present in 1300 cities in Brazil through public-private partnerships, or 25% of Brazilian municipalities (Comerlatto and Caetano, 2013). After the death of the Formula 1 pilot Ayrton Senna, the institute was created and directed by his sister, Viviane Senna. The institute claims to act through "social solutions directed for human development, research and production of knowledge to enhance the quality of education". The organisation has a council made of several corporate sectors in national and international level (Peroni e Cormerlato, 2017). In its "education solutions", the organisation uses large-scale solutions to entire cities and states, with a control of teaching method and contents that is supported by online management system. Its work "covers formal education, complementary education, and education and technology. The solutions announced by the Institute are based on the training of managers and teachers, as well as the use of didactic materials, such as handouts and assessments" (Peroni e Cormerlato, 2017, p.116). With global connections, the IAS is integrated in the education network of UNESCO (Peroni e Cormerlato, 2017)

Unibanco Institute	Created in 1982, the Unibanco Institute is a large foundation operating in the Brazilian education. It is a corporate organisation, whose funding comes from an endowment managed by the bank Itau. It is focused on "improving the results and production of knowledge about high schools". So the organisation "produces and implements management solutions – in the education system, in the school and in the classroom" (Unibanco Institute website). Researchers have been concerned with how it "enters, influences and materialises in public sector" (Monteiro, 2013, p.276). They offer teaching methodologies, as well as school management technologies. It establishes partnerships with governments, businesses, NGOs and academic institutions. The institute has been working towards the endeavour to transform its programmes into public policy, by becoming a Federal Government partner, and then expanding it to the entire country.
Natura Institute	Natura, a Brazilian beauty products company, created the Natura Institute in 2010 with the rationale that "every company has the commitment with society that goes beyond its corporate action" (Natura's website). The Institute aims to enlarge the social investments of the company that have been enacted since the 1990s (Natura's website[13]). The institute's funding come from the selling of one line of products named "Crer para Ver" (Believe to See). The Institute works with education projects through public-private partnerships and supporting third-party initiatives. It focuses on "improving educational systems" by "incorporating best practices into the Brazilian education systems, also supporting the re-design of public education management systems" (Natura's website). It also aims to "radicalise education models" by proposing "innovation in educational practices", and to "mobilise society for education", "being a pro-active actor that articulates, connects and integrates an immense network of relationships that works for life-long learning" and "a network that waves together and aims at a legitimate transformation of education" (Natura's website).
Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards (MNLS)	The Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards defines itself as a "non governmental group of education professionals", which has been advocating for a national standard learning standard since 2013. It promotes "debates, studies and researches with head teachers, teachers and students, and investigates cases of success in many countries" (MNLS website) It is funded by the Itau BBA bank, the Lemann Foundation and the Natura Institute, and brings together a network with representatives of new philanthropy and business, as well as representatives from federal, state and municipal governments. In spite of being organised and funded by private organisations, the MNLS has worked as a boundary-spanning node in the learning standards policy network.

[13] https://www.natura.com.br/a-natura/sociedade/instituto-natura

2.4.2. Note on resistance to the corporate reform of education

This research analyses the work of new philanthropy in promoting a corporate reform of education, which results in a lack of analysis of dissident voices as a "self evident and self-fulfilling" (partly due to the method and approach, see chapter 3) (Ball et al., 2017, p. 9). These voices are nonetheless present in other places and spaces, and include teachers, students, parents, workers unions, scholars, journalists, activists, NGOs and other third sector organisations (sometimes even funded or related to corporate philanthropists), that work for alternative and more democratic education projects. Thus, although this research does not include the analysis of resistance to the corporate and philanthropic actors and networks, it is fundamental to temper the present account with a brief note concerning the resistance to such corporate reforms described so far.

First, in spite of privatizing efforts and advances, public education (as offered by the state) in Brazil is still free of charge and available to all. This is established by the Brazilian legislation through the Constitution and the fundamental education bill LDBEN 1996. This is the case throughout the entire educational system, from early years education to universities.

Second, many actors, namely teachers, students, unions, and researchers have publically displayed resistance to corporate policies (such as funding cuts and the current curriculum reform). As an example, a series of teacher strikes have been frequently organized all over the country and in different spheres[14] (Basic and Higher Education). Students have also organized protests, especially through the "occupation" of schools. This form of protest gained prominence after students occupied more than 200 schools in São Paulo in 2015 to resist a regional reform of middle schools that would result in a higher ratio of students per teacher, as well as a federal reform of middle schools curriculum[15].

Third, there is evidence of struggles and disputes within the government itself, including at federal spheres. For instance, after a long process of formulation, Cesar Callegari, former president of the Learning Standards Commission at the NCE, quit the position in July 2018[16]. He claims the new learning standards will increase inequality in Brazil and argues it should be completely reviewed and discussed (see chapter 6 for further discussion on the relationships between the Ministry of Education and MNLS amid the curriculum reform).

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[14] https://novaescola.org.br/conteudo/10655/greves-de-professores-atingem-5-estados

[15] https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/saopaulo/2016/07/1787761-fortalecidos-apos-ocupacoes-secundaristas-de-sp-renegam-entidades-estudantis.shtml

[16] https://avaliacaoeducacional.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/carta-aos-conselheiros-do-cne.pdf

Finally, researchers are continuously writing about the corporate reform of education, aiming to analyse the dangers and pitfalls of these policies. With a critical approach to education studies, scholars in Brazil present strong criticisms towards these policies and are often engaged in social activism (see the next section for more details).

In sum, when considering the widespread efforts of new philanthropies in education, one might think this is a complete "take-over" or hegemony of private actors in education governance. These forms of resistance are a reminder that this is not the case. Nonetheless, it is also relevant to stress that in face of this resistance, new philanthropies have put in place extraordinary efforts to circumvent democratic processes and accomplished remarkable results, as the following chapters expose.

2.5. Why study new philanthropy in education governance in Brazil?

To conclude this chapter, in this final section I briefly discuss the question of why study new philanthropy in the network governance of education in Brazil. Fundamentally, Brazil echoes international trends concerning shifts from government to governance, from scientific philanthropy to new philanthropy and towards a corporate reform of education; and is thus part of the puzzle of understanding the "global education reform movement" (GERM) (Sahlberg, 2011).

Nonetheless, there is a lack of research in Brazil about the participation of new actors in education governance and policy-making. Despite the growing influence and relevance of corporate and philanthropic actors in education, there is still insufficient research about it. Two Brazilian research groups are highlighted as exceptions, with a relevant and growing research effort in this topic: GREPPE (*Grupo de Estudo e Pesquisas em Politicas Educacionais*, or Group of Research and Studies of Education Policy) in UNICAMP, and GPRPPE (*Grupo de Pesquisa Relações entre o Público e o Privado na Educação,* or Research Group Relationships Between Public and Private in Education) in the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. These groups have been performing considerable research on the changing relationship between public and private in the country, namely Theresa Adrião and Vera Peroni as preeminent authors.

Notwithstanding, the field of education policy in Brazil is marked by methodological nationalism, with traces of *educationism*, *statism* and *nationalism*. Most studies are designed as "case studies" of organisations, programmes, cities or states. For instance, research has been conducted about the initiatives of Ayrton Senna Institute (Adrião and Peroni, 2010; Peroni and Comerlatto, 2013), Unibanco Institute (Caetano, 2016; Monteiro, 2013, 2014; Rodrigues, 2016), and Todos pela Educação (Evangelista and Leher, 2012; Martins, 2013; 2016). These studies usually consider the goals of programmes and are focused on analysing the corporate discourses mobilised by these actors. However, they do not analyse how these programmes are enacted, or how they are operated in practice; nor do they account for the intricate network of business and philanthropy in education and their global connections. So philanthropic institutions are portrayed as if they worked separately, disregarding a network of collaboration, dependence and exchange of resources (material and immaterial); and almost no attention has been paid to understanding *how* they work. Thus, few studies consider new philanthropic actors in education policy and, when they do, studies do not offer sufficient depth or width.

The reviewed Brazilian literature also presents some dominant theoretical perspectives and assumptions underlying research about public/private relationships. With a modernist, and usually Marxist perspective, authors argue the state has "abdicated the responsibility" of being executor of public policies, and has delegated it to private actors. The "reduction" of the state is seen as a strategy to overcome the "capital's crisis" (Comerlatto and Caetano, 2013; Monteiro, 2013; Montano, 2013; Peroni, 2013). This structuralist perspective, however, precludes studies that are concerned with understanding how new relationships between public and private are fostered in practice in education. Thus, this thesis looks at mundane practices, here referred to as "labor" (see chapter 3), invested by new philanthropies in "glocal" networks of education governance.

A better understanding of new philanthropy in education in Brazil can also contribute to the field of education policy, not being limited to Brazilian authors. As a regional leader in Latin America and one of the largest economies of the world (yet brutally unequal), Brazil is not a simple "emulator" of global trends, but an active participant in global mobilities of policy. On the one hand, global actors aim at taking part in the network governance of education in Brazil, sometimes with profit goals. For instance, companies like Google and Pearson are already operating in the country, often in partnership with foundations. Another recent example concerns Sir Michael Barber, a well-known traveling technocrat or "thought leader" that has been working with Pearson (see Hogan et al., 2015), who went to Brazil in

May 2018 to speak at an event by invitation of the Lemann Foundation[17]. On the other hand, Brazil also takes part in the mobility of ideas and people beyond its boundaries. An example is REDUCA (*Red Latinoamericana por la Educacion*), a corporate/philanthropic network, which brings together actors of the region that work towards a corporate reform of education. Todos pela Educação, a central actor in Brazilian education policy, was the creator of this network. In spite of their relevance and international reach, efforts like these are under researched. Thus, understanding how new philanthropy works in and around Brazilian networks of education governance fits in wider efforts of understanding global mobilities and trends of education policy.

[17] https://fundacaolemann.org.br/noticias/sir-michael-barber-fala-sobre-gestao-publica-de-resultados

Chapter 3. Policy networks and mobilities: following policy with network ethnography

In spite of the growth of corporate and philanthropic action in public education, there still is "an enormous gap in the research field of education policy" (Ball, 2012, p. xii). Most research is still bounded by the nation-state and "policy-as-government paradigm" (Ball, 2012). Despite growing participation of business and philanthropy in relation to public sector reforms, the role played by these policy actors is underestimated in most academic research (Frumkin, 2008; Olmedo, 2014). The research presented here employs the method of Network Ethnography and the techniques of "following policy", to address some of the afore-mentioned limitations in the research field. Addressing these limitations implies epistemological and ontological shifts, with less interest in structures and more emphasis on flows and mobilities (Ball, 2012, p. 5). In this sense, the perspective of policy networks focuses attention on the new actors operating within new forms of governance. Such an approach also makes it possible to address the limitations of "methodological territorialism" by considering policy as something broader than the policy action of nation states. Additionally, the policy mobility approach offers a critical perspective on the global movement of policies, by drawing attention to the power relations and the labour invested in mobilising policy across countries.

This chapter presents the research methods and theoretical framing of the thesis, which are intertwined. First, it presents a brief history of "network thinking" in two different traditions, in social network analysis and in social anthropology. Drawing from Knox et al (2006), it argues there is potential for a cross-fertilisation between the network approaches, towards an anthropological take on network analysis. Second, it considers the perspectives of policy mobility and following policy, drawing from authors from human geography. Third, it explores how the method of Network Ethnography is being used by education policy scholars and aims to develop the cross-fertilisation between SNA and ethnography. Fourth, the procedures are described in more detail. Finally, drawing from the examined analytical perspectives, the analytical frame of the thesis is presented.

3.1. Network thinking: a brief history of SNA and networks in social anthropology

Networks have become of increasing interest in research in different fields and disciplines amid the search for methods that can account to the new social dynamics related to the growing complexity of institutions, as well as the advancement of the communication technology and globalisation. However, forms of "network thinking" have been present in social research at least since the 1960s (Prell, 2012, p. 19). Without a unified and organised development, this “network thinking” spans and incorporates at least three field traditions: social psychology, social anthropology and sociology (Prell, 2012). In what follows is a brief account of network thinking with a focus on two areas and their different epistemological characteristics - social network analysis and social anthropology. The first “marks a critical engagement with mainstream social science’s individualistic assumptions and championed a kind of structuralism” while the second “marked a critical engagement with structural functionalism and signalled a recognition of fragmentation and complexity" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 133).

Social network analysis (SNA) developed as an approach to study social relations, in which the “social network”, formed by actors and the relations between them is the investigation focus (Edwards, 2010). SNA’s crucial aspect is that “the actual data being collected are *relations between actors*" (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 11). Wasserman and Faust (1994) distinguish SNA from other forms of inquiry in the following ways:

> 1) Actors and their actions are viewed as interdependent rather than independent, autonomous units;
> 2) Relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels for transfer or “flow” of resources (either material or non-material);
> 3) Network models focusing on individuals’ view of the network structural environment as providing opportunities for or constraints on individual action;
> 4) Network models conceptualise structure (social, economic, political, and so forth) as lasting patterns of relations among actors (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 11).

Thus, SNA fosters a “network thinking” focused on the relational aspects of the studied social groups and phenomena. Data collection can take numerous possible forms, such as observations, interviews, questionnaires, or documents, making SNA complimentary to methods like ethnography and archival analysis or survey research (Scott and Carrington, 2011). In education, SNA’s theories and methods have been employed in the sociology of education, for instance, and has been used to “study ability and peer group structures (Hallinan and Sørensen, 1985), course-taking patterns (Friendkin and Thomas, 1997), classroom resistance (McFarland, 2001), and desegregation and interracial contact (Feld and Carter, 1998), among other topics" (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 11).

SNA became recognised for being an entire body of techniques that makes use of mathematical concepts such as those in set theory, graph theory, and matrix algebra. It also makes use of graph theory language: *graph* is the term for the object that represents a network, which consists of *nodes* (individuals, groups or organisations) and *edges* or *ties* (that connect nodes). Thus, SNA developed a high level of formalisation of network measures, with quantitative data that generates graphs and statistical analysis, mainly for the study of structural properties (Edwards, 2010). In this sense, SNA has been marked by its methodological development, with clear and formal procedures, more than a shared set of concepts or theoretical frames.

The formalisation of the study of networks has produced a tension with other network thinking traditions, especially anthropology. Drawing on relational principles, anthropologists have undertaken cultural analysis of life in industrial urban settings (Mitchell, 1969), transaction analysis (Barth, 1978), analysis of kinship in urban situations and a wider concern with questions of power and social change (Kapferer, 1973), and analysis of family life (Noble, 1973). However, there has been "a tendency for mainstream discussion of 'SNA' to have an implicit orientation to the more quantitative tradition" (Edwards, 2010, p. 5), and "the use of the term 'network' as a separate field of interest hides the fact that anthropologists have long been concerned with questions of connections between people" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 115). Indeed, network based studies have been used to analyse new relationships and social forms by anthropologists for many years. However, these studies did not develop an explicit methodology for identifying and analysing social networks as SNA did. In part this is due to the ways in which anthropology researchers have been more concerned with analysis than data collection, and less concerned with explanations and defining "causalities". This is why "this methodological expertise has made it possible for SNA writers to claim a monopoly on 'scientific' network thinking, by "providing them with a means of going beyond 'loose', metaphorical approaches to networks, and providing a range of formal tools for 'precisely' mapping networks" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 116).

Formal studies of social networks have, however, proved to be limited in terms of understanding how networks operate, and their substantive meanings, narratives and discourses. In the case of governance studies, in spite of the SNA's widespread use, it has been seldom used for understanding *how* networks work. SNA has been more often used to systematise and structure networks of governance, rather than "on *hows* and *whys*" (Ball and Junemann, 2012). Thus, there is a discrepancy between the attention networks receive and the knowledge we have about their general functioning (Ball and Junemann, 2012).

SNA's formalism and structuralism has prevented advances in the analysis of discourses and narratives, with tensions between formal SNA and approaches that aim to analyse flows, narratives and discourses. This tension includes both practical issues of data collection and imposing boundaries in networks, but also deeper research concerns and epistemic assumptions, as Knox et al. (2006) explain:

> Other ways of exploring questions of power, agency, and social action replaced the initial interest in network theories, and subsequently new questions began to be posed about how social worlds were constituted, could be described, and produced effects, that were antithetical to the rigorous scientism of formal social network analysis. As social anthropologists became more concerned with issues of representation, reflexivity, meaning, personhood, and identity, the theoretical and methodological potential of social network analysis to answer these questions diminished. *Methodologically then, the network came to pose different questions within anthropological thinking as it did in more formal SNA*. It was tied to wider questions over how to account for power and agency in descriptions of social lives, and how to account for human action and meaning in socio-cultural terms when ethnographic attention moved from culturally defined groups in delimited locations, to social settings where culture and stability were less important than conflict and change. The benefits of social network analysis were explored but the effect of networks to replace one kind of structural explanation with another led ultimately to their demise as a technical tool of investigation" (Knox et al, 2006, p. 118, added emphasis).

The social anthropological network tradition has always been concerned with power relations and new social forms. However, without managing to solve tensions between agency and structure and methodology, network analysis lost currency in this field after the 1970s (Prell, 2012). From this moment on, the "network" shifted in the field and "moved from a distinct methodological tool to a metaphorical device that pointed to and described the shifting contexts of social research" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 125). This shift from method to metaphor was related to the concomitant rise of networks in both non-academic and academic worldviews. As "social life is increasingly networked, mobile and at distance" (Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen, 2008, p. 656), networks proliferated then in common sense. With information and communication technologies on the rise, as well as the globalisation of trade and economies, with an intensification of the movement of people, goods and information (Urry, 2003), the idea of networks become used to describe the "networked" life.

Therefore, the use of networks in social sciences dates further back, and spans more traditions with more tensions than it is often portrayed in the social networks' literature. However, there is potential for a cross fertilization between formal SNA and the social anthropology approach to networks, moving towards an "anthropological approach to networks" (Ball and Junemann, 2012). This potential is also strengthened with recent developments in both fields towards a "cultural" approach to networks. On the one hand, the SNA field can considered to be in its "third generation", with interest on cultural and discursive approaches to SNA. On the other hand, recent anthropological studies of networks aim to understand "the place of discourse and narrative through which networks are produced" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 132). In this case, the interest is less in defining or delimiting networks, but rather "in tracing these definitions and operationalisations of the 'network' as an ideal-type or form of relating" with "detailed ethnographic description of the ways in which people articulate their relationships with one another as network relations, and are able to envisage those relationships through the use of pictorial and diagrammatic representation of networks" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 133).

In combining elements from formal SNA and an anthropological take on networks to account for and make sense of different aspects of social dynamics, networks present a triple usage: as methodological tools, as metaphors (or analytical abstractions), and as descriptions of empirically identifiable social forms (Knox et al., 2006). First, as a method, the network is used for data collection and analysis. Unlike other tools and objects, the network presents an opportunity to mix qualitative and quantitative methods "through its ability to collapse both the sign and the signifier into itself" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 135). Second, as a metaphor, "the strength of the network metaphor has been to encourage us to rethink questions of relatedness, and to consider how the implications of distance(s) of different kinds might be addressed by the network" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 134). In the case of current education policy networks that reach new places, spaces and scales, using networks as metaphors to challenge assumptions of relatedness is specially necessary and productive. Third, as a model, "the importance of the network is that it can be both a model and an object, that it can be turned, as Riles puts it, inside out. The inside of the network (the social relationships of which it is composed) is at the same time the outside (the representation or visualization)" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 133).

The anthropological approach to networks employs the three usages of networks, and aims to analyse narrative and discursive aspects of networks. These aspects are so relevant that the process of research is reversed in comparison to formal SNA procedures. Thus, instead of identifying "boundaries" and "populations" first, the researcher starts with the discourses and narratives of a social group. In this sense, “the boundaries for such domains can be identified only through the ‘stories’ which are associated with them, with discourse identifying the ‘insiders’ as those who belong to networks, their roles and identities” (Knox et al., 2006, p. 129). Then, as one follows and explores the discourses and narratives, the description of the networks already constitutes its analysis, as it plays out the complexities and hybridities of the networks. From the analytical description, the researcher can also develop a critical analysis that considers power relations.

Despite the potential, the use of networks presents limitations and dangers. First, there is a long-term tension between formal and anthropological approaches to networks. So it does not offer a coherent and simple theoretical foundation (Knox et al., 2006). For instance, while cultural SNA writers still strive to formalise their understandings of networks with support of mathematical techniques, anthropological writers do not share this concern (Edwards, 2010). Second, network metaphors present the danger of becoming "descriptors of structures rather than heuristic devices", or an "explanatory device" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 134). Third, the network, used to play out mobility, might in turn create new fixities and rigidities, in a different form. In this sense, networks "can challenge the received understanding of the spatial and relational dimensions of social life but, [...] as soon as it stops challenging and starts prescribing, then the productive capacity of the network is diminished" (Knox et al., 2006, p. 134).

In conclusion, in spite of long-term tensions between different traditions in the study of networks, some authors have been striving towards an anthropological approach to networks, with a greater search for meaning and context. It is within the context of cross-fertilizations between SNA and anthropological approaches to networks that recently policy sociology scholars have been adopting the method of network ethnography to analyse education policy networks, like Ball and Junemann (2012, 2015), Olmedo (2014, 2016, 2017), and Hogan, Sellar and Lingard (2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b), amongst others. The method and its procedures will be discussed in the next section.

3.2. Global Mobilities: moving people, ideas and policies in new places and spaces

With intense mobility of goods, people, ideas and policies the world is increasingly globalised as a result the relationships between the global and the local are changing, and notions of nationally bounded phenomena are troubled. There is an "emergence of both new trans-national spaces of policy and new intra-national spaces of policy", with new relationships between them and policies that move "across and between these spaces" with "relationships that enable and facilitate such movement" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 12). New research strategies, methods and perspectives are needed with the participation of new actors in the policy-making arena and the globalisation of policy, as "education policy analysis can no longer sensibly be limited to within the nation state – the fallacy of methodological territorialism. Policy analysis must also extend its purview beyond the state and the role of multinational agencies and NGOs to include transnational business practice" (Ball, 2012, p. 93).

Globalisation poses challenges for researchers, regarding theory and methods, and "in fact, taking globalisation seriously means the revision of the core questions that frame education policy research agendas and projects" (Verger et al., 2018, p. 9). Namely, there are three main theoretical and methodological challenges that must be addressed. The first is *educationism*, an approach that tends to analyse education policy without taking into account wider social contexts. Second, *statism*, an approach that is limited to the state in the analysis of policies, without considering other groups and actors that partake in policy-making. Third, *nationalism*, an approach that analyses policy within the national boarders, without pondering the movement of people and ideas that does not abide by such boundaries. It becomes necessary to "think outside and beyond the framework of the nation state to make sense of what is going on inside some nation states" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 12). This implies "extending the limits of our geographical imagination. It also means attempting to grasp the joining up and re-working of these spaces in and through relationships" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 17).

Researchers from the field of human geography have been specially concerned with the matters of how policy ideas travel globally (McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2010, 2012). Focusing on urban policies, they have developed concepts and methods referred to as the policy mobility approach, which is part of a "new generation of critical policy studies" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 169). Though heterogeneous, these critical policy studies are rooted in critical epistemologies and assume that:

> policy actors and actions are understood to be politically mediated and sociologically complex. As such, the beliefs and behaviours of policy actors are embedded within networks of knowledge/expertise (many of which are translocal and transscalar), as well as within more "'localised' socioinstitutional milieux (Peck and Theodore, 2012, p. 23).

This perspective opposes itself to "orthodox views of policy transfer" (Peck and Theodore, 2010), which assume rational-choice on the part of policy actors, with a tendency for good policies to drive out bad ones. Further, the research methods these approaches employ tend to be positivist (Peck and Theodore, 2010). Thus, policy mobility differentiates itself from the concepts of policy transfer, convergence or learning. The first, policy transfer, focuses "on decision-making dynamics internal to political systems" and aims to "address the role of agency in transfer process" (Stone, 2004, p. 547). The second adopts the concept of "convergence" to attribute policy transfers to structural forces "driven by industrialization, globalization or regionalization forcing a pattern of increasing similarity in economic, social and political organisation between countries" (Stone, 2004, p. 547). Lastly, policy learning, has been linked to epistemic communities (Haas and Haas, 1995), advocacy coalitions (Sabatier, 1988, 1991) and is articulated by Stone (2004) as a process that "occurs when policymakers adjust their cognitive understanding of policy developments and modify policy in the light of knowledge gained from past policy experience" (p. 548).

Peck and Theodore (2010) have enunciated some key characteristics of the policy mobility perspective. First, it is assumed that policy formation and transformation are socially constructed processes and fields of power. Second, actors are not seen as "lone learners", but members of epistemic communities. Third, mobile policies rarely travel as "complete packages", but are moved in bits and pieces. Fourth, policies move in a "complex process of nonlinear reproduction", mutating and morphing as they move. And fifth, mobile policies do not move across a flattened space of transaction, but they move in "cross scalar and interlocal" spaces, increasingly complex within new forms of uneven economic development. In sum, "in contrast with the orthodox literature on policy transfer, the governing metaphors in critical policy studies are not those of transit and transaction, but of mobility and mutation" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 170).

While not assuming "straightforward and lineal exercises of policy borrowing", the policy mobility aims to "identify the surface traces of policy flows or instances of circulating policies" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 57). This process happens in what can be referred to as the "'local globalness' of urban policy transfer" (McCann, 2011, p. 107). The analysis then aims to attend to the "complexities of *glocalization*—the interplay of global *forms* […] with local circumstances" (Ball, 2017, p. 30). This means the

> analysis rests on the need to think both about ways in which the 'global' impacts on the 'national', and at the same time acknowledge the extent to which the national is critical in the formation of global policy agendas. That is, the interdependency of actors and the movement of ideas across local, national and global settings (Ball et al., 2017, p. 11).

This approach is contrasted with a "nationalist" one (Verger et al., 2018) or "methodological territorialism" (Larner and Le Heron, 2002). So "the space of analysis is not defined by geographical entities, but by the space configured through the intersection of global and situated elements" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 12). This requires we "acknowledge that global activity can take place at multiple levels and on multiple scales, through complex, evolving network relations, with 'domestic' policy actors acting globally in their own right" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 12).

The study of the global mobility of policies is not abstract. Instead, besides highlighting the power relations present in the movement of policies, the mobility turn also emphasizes the role of mundane activities of policy work, the labour involved in the movement of policy. Thus, "instead of conceiving of the global economy as a disembodied and disembedded set of supra-human forces", "the analytical approach to what is referred to here as 'the global' responds to the set of discrete, identifiable and traceable practices (connections, transactions, meetings, travels, influences, and impositions, etc.), through which international economic and political relationships are enacted" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 46).

This approach follows the calls by Larner (2003), McFarlane (2009) and McCann (2008), among others, who urge us to look at "mundane" practices to understand how policy is being made, or the "labour" invested. Larner argues we need to be aware of "the apparently mundane practices through which neoliberal spaces, states and subjects are being constituted in particular forms" (2003, p. 511). McFarlane urges us to pay greater attention to "the labour of assembling and reassembling sociomaterial practices that are diffuse, tangled and contingent" (p. 562). McCann (2008) invites us to look at the role of expertise and apparently mundane practices in contemporary government. In other words, this is "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002), because "what we are dealing with here are new ways of 'neoliberalism in action,' that is a set of practices and processes, structures, and relationships, which constitute what could be understood as 'doing neoliberalism'" (Olmedo, 2016, p. 59).

In practice, this means shifting "from the study of mobile policy to the study of the practices through which policy is made mobile" (Roy, 2012, p. 35), and "this involves both giving attention to the labour of policy actors and concomitantly thinking differently about the labour of policy researchers—how we research policy" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 43). It is "by paying attention to these agents of neoliberalism [that] it becomes possible to think about how power and 'expertise' flow between nations and how policy entrepreneurs, NGOs, think tanks and commercial providers of education 'do' globalisation" (Exley, Braun, and Ball, 2011, p. 213). Drawing on these authors, throughout the thesis I refer to mundane practices invested in the maintenance of networks and the mobility of policies as "labour".

Part of this labour revolves around movement, travelling, and meetings. The mobility turn emphasises movement in its multiple configurations and variations, from physical movement of materials and people to digital or virtual movement of other goods (e.g. information, ideas, even of power). It "connects the analysis of different forms of travel, transport and communications with the multiple ways in which economic and social life is performed and organized through time and across various spaces" (Urry, 2007, p. 6). Thus, the movement and labour invested in different activities, including policymaking is stressed. This allows us to consider how "very 'costly' meetings, communications and travel through time-space" are central to networks, and are "necessary to 'form' and to 'cement' weak ties at least for another stretch of time" (Urry, 2007, p. 231). By "meetings'" Urry refers to "both the highly formalized with 'agendas', structure and timetables and the informal to where the specific space and time are planned in advance to where they are negotiated en route" (Urry, 2007, p. 232). In these spaces of meetingness, 'network members, from a range of backgrounds, come together, where stories are told, visions shared, arguments reiterated, new relations made, partnerships forged, and commitments made" (Ball, 2017, p. 35). The large seminars and small meetings described in this thesis are examples of how "the bases of such [physical, corporeal] travel are new ways in which social life is apparently 'networked'", that is "life is networked but it also involves specific co-present encounters within certain times and places" (Urry, 2003, p. 156). In this sense, "meetingness, and thus different forms and modes of travel, are central to much social life, a life involving strange combinations of increasing distance and intermittent co-presence" (Urry, 2003, p.155-156). Urry's *mobilities paradigm*, although primarily applied to social networks, pertains to "an alternative theoretical and methodological landscape" (Urry, 2007, p. 18), which can prove fruitful once applied to policy analysis.

In paying attention to people and policies in movement, mobilities research requires methods that allow us to observe social relationships and interactions. This means "observing directly or in digitally enhanced forms mobile bodies undergoing various performances of travel, work and play" (Sheller and Urry, 2006, p. 217). Options would include 'mobile ethnography', 'time-space diaries' and 'cyber-research', methods that stimulate the memory or methods that would capture the "atmosphere of place" or "transfer points" (Urry, 2007). The method of network ethnography, described in the next section, not only works with the cross-fertilisation of SNA and ethnography, discussed in the last section, but also echoes these aspects of the mobilities research.

Hence, as a primary technique of network ethnography, this research employs the approach of "following policy". This involves looking at the mobile people, policies and places (McCann and Ward, 2012[18]), or the "whos" and "whats" and "wheres" of policy (Ball et al., 2017). The first, people or "whos", means asking who mobilises policy, implying that "our work asks how policy actors circulate policies among cities, how they draw on circulating policy knowledge and how and for whom they put these engagements to use as they assemble their own "local" policies…" (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 42). The study of "whos" can be done by traveling or with documentary evidence of travelling, in "paying attention to the way stories about places and policies are told" (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 48). Second, the policies or "whats", means asking how policies are made mobile and what situations, "transit points" and "sites of persuasion" policies move through (McCann and Ward, 2012). This can be done through tracing movement and mutation of policies with documentary evidence, following policy models or policy actors, conducting oral histories of the spread of policies, attending "relational situations" like conferences. Third, the places or "wheres", requires asking how places become attached to models, and attending to the places and events in which the "past, present and potential futures of education co-exist" (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 48). As regards the "wheres", both "following policies and "studying through" the sites and situations of policymaking" are recommended. Part of it is concerned with how education is assembled "through policy actors' purposive gathering and fixing of globally mobile resources, ideas, and knowledge" (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 43).

Following policy "involves close attention to organizations and actors within the global education policy field (and their movement), to the chains, paths and connections that join up these actors, and to "situations" and events in which policy knowledge is mobilized and assembled" (Ball, 2017, p. 32). All of this requires "staying close to practice" (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 45), in such a way that network ethnographers become what Burawoy

[18] See annexes for McCann and Ward (2012) table that systematizes the approach

calls global ethnographers, that is, they “become the living embodiment of the processes we are studying” (Burawoy et al., 2000, p. 4). As network researchers we travel, we attend, we meet, we network – in order to research networks. Our practice is homologous to/with the networks researched. But it also means that we “examine policy in many forms: written policies, policy models and best practices, policy knowledge, policy responses to specific concerns, and the sociospacial manifestations of policy work”, in a way it "challenges policy as technical, rational, neutral, and apolitical" (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 42).

In practical terms, this has meant that although I began my research in Brazil concerned with Brazilian new philanthropy, in conception and execution, global connections and dynamics constantly cropped up in data collection and analysis. The dynamics of contemporary education policy in Brazil, which are narrated and analysed in this thesis, are shaped and shape the global movement of policies and ideas. So to understand how new philanthropists are operating on and within networks of education governance in Brazil, it was necessary to look at much wider global people, policies and places. To do that, I follow the whos, wheres and whats of policy, using network ethnography, which is discussed next.

3.3. Network ethnography: in search of meaning in education policy networks

As networks of governance grow in scope and effect, the focus on policy networks is increasingly relevant because “it gives primacy to social relations and embeds social actors within these networks of relations” (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 11). Along these lines, education policy scholars have been working with the method of network ethnography (NE) to tackle “the proliferation of policy-making sites and activities around the world and the increasing mobility and flow of education policy" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 18). NE is used as an appropriate method to especially investigate the interactions among public and private actors in education governance (Ball et al., 2017; Ball and Junemann, 2012; Hogan et al., 2015b; Olmedo, 2014, 2017). Drawing from Ball et al. (2017), the method of NE and following policy are intertwined in the approach of this research project, and stem from the recognition that “the portrayal and analysis of these complex, translocal, evolving and multimedia social relations requires an appropriate method of research” (Ball, 2017, p. 32). The nature of the policy networks studied demands methods that will appropriately account for new policy dynamics. As noted earlier, these efforts “involve a lessening of interest in social structures, and an increasing emphasis on flows and mobilities (of people, capital and ideas)” (Ball, 2012, p. 5).

Network ethnography is an assemblage of research tactics and techniques that addresses both the organisation and processes of network relations. Attention is given to new configurations of social life and relations, which are increasingly “networked” (Urry, 2003). The method follows the general principles of qualitative research, such as working in natural settings, with studies being subject to on-going design and redesign, a concern with social processes and meaning and data collection and analysis occurring simultaneously (Ball et al., 2017).

More specifically, NE proposes an ethnographic approach to networks, drawing from ethnographic research and Social Network Analysis (SNA). In practice, NE involves four main activities, as outlined by Ball and Junemann (2012): internet searches, interviews, field observation and graph building. First, “extensive and exhaustive internet searches” around the primary actors of the studied network. The use of online data steams from the "recognition that as our research settings are multiple, fluid and evolving, they are also to a large extent virtual" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 18). Second, interviews are conducted with individuals and institutions identified as highly connected, or relevant and influential. Third, researchers participate in and observe events as key sites of policy-making and network maintenance. Throughout the three activities, policy network graphs are built as tools to identify relevant individuals, institutions and relationships in relation to specific policies or networks. In these activities, the researcher pays “close attention to organisations and actors within the global education policy field, to the chains, paths and connections that join-up these actors, and to the "situations" and events in which policy ideas and methods are mobilised and assembled" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 19).

These activities do not imply fixed steps in a neat process. Instead, as the studied networks are “always in the process of being made … never finished; never closed” (Massey, 2005, p. 9), the method must be able to accommodate the complexity of the networks and its permanent changes. Network ethnography is then “necessarily open and flexible” (Olmedo, 2014, p. 576) in its operation, as the researcher needs flexibility to explore relationships in the network as one finds them during data collection. Indeed, "the method is appropriate inasmuch as it is flexible, evolving and adaptive in bringing ethnographic sensibilities to bear to the portrayal and analysis of the complex, translocal, evolving and multi-media relations that constitute global policy networks" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 19). The flexibility, adaptability and responsiveness of the method is also reflected in its understanding of settings and boundaries. Here, “in understanding a global policy network, the natural setting of the research study is neither geographically fixed nor singular - settings are multiple, fluid and evolving, in part virtual but also with moments of 'meetingness'" (Ball et al., 2017, p. 16).

The "network" is understood and deployed in a dual sense: as a method, "an analytic technique for looking at the structure of policy communities and their social relationships" and as a conceptual device that is used to "represent a set of "real" changes in the forms of governance of education, both nationally and globally" (Ball, 2012, p. 6). In a way, the latter conflates the metaphor and form of Knox et al. (2006), employing networks as "metaphors for understanding forms of relations and as descriptors of social forms" (p. 114). In some circumstances, "heterarchies" are used in this thesis (see chapter 6) as a very specific version of what Knox et al. (2006) call "form", as "analytical abstractions and descriptors of empirically identifiable forms" (p. 135). Thus, the "network", that is "uncanny" in including in itself multiple meanings (Knox et al., 2006), supports the rethinking of relatedness, distance and space, while also providing a way to go about the complexity of empirical policy settings.

The NE method enables researchers to capture details and meanings of policy relations, as well as interactions, practices and meanings policy actors share, together with their participation in the policy process (Ball and Junemann, 2012). The NE approach echoes the "inside-out" perspective of Riley (2001), with both network graphs and an analysis of the social relations that constitute the network, with an awareness of contexts and "an appreciation of the perception of the network from the inside and an appreciation of the content of the ties in terms of quality, meaning, and changes over time" (Edwards, 2010, p. 24). It involves the "identification and analysis" of both the "creation and operation of global education policy networks and the connections that constitute them" (Junemann, Ball, and Santori, 2018, p. 458). By identifying, analysing, and paying attention to the insider relations and the overall network, NE "allows for greater attention to the power relations that constitute the dynamic flows of material and symbolic resources" (Au and Ferrare, 2015, p. 15).

The formal procedures and concerns of SNA became less important in this approach and perspective. So measures, identification of boundaries, appropriate sampling and missing data are not the primary concern. I would argue such interests are likely based on a modernist assumption of discovering the truth or fundamental structures of networks. In a structuralist epistemology, missing a node or an edge would jeopardise all measures and explanations of a network analysis. Instead, here it is assumed there is no one truth to be discovered, but meanings, senses and interpretations to be made sense of within the inevitable limits and distortions of access to data. The researcher has access only to traces of unstable, opaque and ever-changing networks, with which one can make some sense of how they work. Therefore,

> drawing on these data, networks are addressed "narratively" and "discursively" with a focus on network histories and their evolution. The network graph becomes a research tool that supports the "following" of people and tracking of policy developments. The graph is not a research "product", or the end point of analysis in itself, it is not simply a matter of finding network structures and applying measures as in more orthodox versions of SNA (Avelar, Nikita, and Ball, 2018, p. 60).

In this thesis, NE involves deep and extensive Internet searches focused on institutes and foundations operating in the network governance of the Brazilian education, especially the ones that aim at education policy, as well as their partners and collaborators. This requires visiting countless webpages (webpages of foundations, the Ministry of Education - MEC, the National Council of Education - NCE, universities etc.), personal CVs, newspapers and related social media, blogs, and documents (such as official notes from MEC, NCE and the Deputy Chamber). MNLS's institutional website was also examined with support of an Internet archive[19] to access the list of the MNLS's individual members in different points in time. The data collected in these sources informed the building of network graphs and the selection of institutions and people to be interviewed, specifically those identified as highly connected and influential. Photos from fieldwork and images from websites were also gathered during data collection, and some are included in the thesis. These images are included because the issues discussed in this thesis are, at the same time, concrete but hard to grasp. On the one hand, they relate to mundane activities to "do" policy, such as trips, meetings and events. On the other, it is precisely this mundaneness that is challenging to convey in analysis and in writing. Images are able to bring a materiality to the discussion that words could not account for. In the next section there are detailed descriptions of the procedures.

3.4. Research procedures

3.4.1. Internet searches

Internet searches have been fundamental for this research. An extensive online research was conducted about the foundations and institutes working in the sector of public primary education in Brazil. Countless webpages were visited to collect and systematize the

[19] internet archive waybackmachine.org

publicly available information. These included institutional websites (pages of presentation, activities, partnerships, as well as the published reports), relevant personal CVs, especially from actors highly connected and the "*boundary-spanners*", subjects that move or moved between public and private sectors, and newspaper coverage. The network graphs were created and worked on throughout this stage and guided the work of following stages (and are open to changes).

The conduct of these Internet searches resembles a "snow ball" procedure from webpage to webpage. At first, exploratory searches are conducted with no specific concerns, searching for traces of relationships. Once something is identified (a person, an institution, a policy, a story, an event…), this is followed in an attempt to gather data, with details, evidence, and versions of it. Moving forwards on an online search can mean following a link that is available at the page, or conducting a new search with an Internet search tool.

Data collection and analysis then happen simultaneously, since choosing what should be followed already constitutes data analysis. Besides taking screenshots, saving PDF files, highlighting them and adding information in spread sheets, there are questions being asked and decisions being made regarding where to proceed. When visiting webpages, I try to understand the organization at stake - what it does, what are its values, who works for it, and with whom they collaborate. In this process, finding and understanding connections and relationships is just as important as understanding the institutions and people themselves. The names of people and institutions are not very telling at first, as the researcher does not know them *a priori*. However, as one visits webpages and lists the people and organisations, some patterns start to arise and key actors start to be repeated. This is one fundamental benefit of drawing on SNA. It is important to stress here, however, that the identification of such actors does not necessarily rely on quantitative methods, on identifying, for instance, nodes with higher values of density or centrality – although I did pay attention to both in reviewing and analysing my network graphs. Instead, it is a qualitative perception of relevance that is to the fore. One identifies relevant actors by seeing them repeated in different relevant situations, reports, boards, events and policy stories. This also serves to identify institutions that often work together, and on what type of initiatives, with what type of strategies, and mobilising which discourses. At the same time, graphs are built, but with no weights on edges or directed edges. It is a simple way of visualising connections that on tables are messy and unreadable.

Prior to the fieldwork, the online data collection was started from the organisation Todos pela Educação (TPE, All for Education). I documented partnerships at the time, which were made explicit in institutional websites in the list "our partners". The starting point was chosen based on its recognition in literature as the main private actor in Brazilian education (Freitas, 2012; Martins and Krawczyk, 2016). The following graph informed the beginning of the fieldwork, which then was responsive and carried out in a snowball format. In the following graph, created with the Gephi software, only institutions with two or more connections are represented.

The graph is now out-dated and incomplete, but is presented here as the tool that informed the first data collection steps. Central organisations in this network were identified and studied in more depth.

In the following table the online data sources are presented with some questions that are asked in the process. These questions are not limited to the online searches. Instead, they informed, and are carried, to the other activities as well.

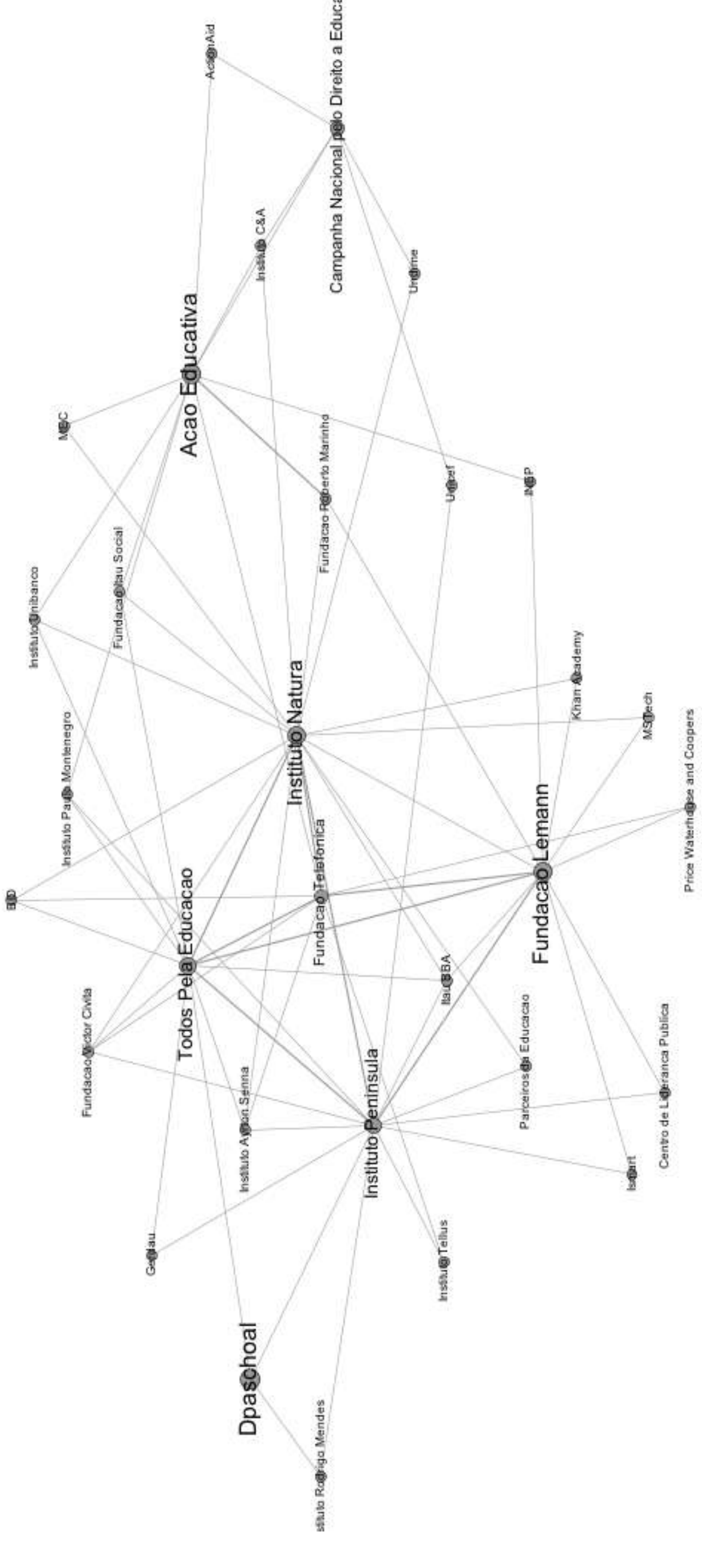

Figure 2: Preliminary data of new philanthropies operating in the Brazilian primary education

Table 2. Online searches

Types of online data source	Data collection and analysis
Institutional webpages - Public and private institutions	The analysis of institutional websites involves the exploration of numerous pages, including the goals and aims, the vision and mission, the projects, the partnerships, the videos, the available materials, and others. It also involves the search for people, names that are often repeated and names of the people in directive roles (foundation board, directors, executive secretariats). Questions: What does this organization do? What projects does it execute? What are its goals and aims? Which discourses are mobilized? Who is part of it? What are its partners? What events are organized by it? How are projects conducted in collaborations, or how are tasks divided between partners?
Institutional Reports - Mainly from foundations, usually published yearly	The analysis of reports enabled a better understanding of the work of new philanthropists, namely the projects they execute, partners involved and the discourses and policy stories that are mobilised. Reports are written with an extremely positive language and narrative, which retells only success cases and does not acknowledges limitations and problems. It is a piece of data that clearly articulates discourses and narratives. Questions: What did this organization do this year? What projects were executed, and how did change from previous years, and why? How are the results presented? Who participated in the initiatives? Who is the intended audience of projects and of reports? What events were attended and organized?
Personal CVs - Well-connected people, boundary spanners, head of foundations, speakers at events	Personal CVs were used to make sense of who are the people identified in other sources. This is not about having an "objective" list of work placements. Instead, CVs are also analysed as discursive pieces of data, in which people create a narrative of their career trajectory and the relevance of things they have done. Questions: Where has s/he worked? What are the connections between these former institutions? Has s/he, spanned boundaries between public and private, and how? How are new careers being created?
Event programmes - Meetings and seminars	Event programmes have been relevant to identify connections between people and institutions. In opaque networks, these events are spaces in which traces of relationships temporarily surface to the researcher. Questions: Who are the speakers? Why these, and not others? What connects them? What are the topics of discussion, and how are they framed?
Newspapers - Pieces of news about meetings and events, policies and new philanthropy projects	Newspapers were used to follow up on the findings of previous sources, with snapshots of momentary and opaque relationships. Newspapers often cover seminars and launching of PPPs, and to do so they offer a brief description of context, such as the involved partnerships and next steps. They also offer small glimpses of interviews, which can be useful to understand the people and discourses at play. They provided alternative narratives of new philanthropists' projects and events, and supported the tracing of networks developments. Questions: What is being covered, and why? How is it presented? Who is involved in it?

3.4.2. Interviews

Interviews were scheduled after some actors and institutions were identified as "central" (in terms of nodal density or ubiquity) in the network of new philanthropy in Brazil from the online searches and network graph building. The interviews aimed to add meaning and context to the data collected online. With semi-structured interviews, policy actors were not asked the same questions, but rather interrogations were based on the online findings, namely about the projects and relationships they foster. The questions were formulated to be as concrete and specific as possible. Online searches were thus vital for the creation of relevant questions and collection of pertinent and meaningful data. Nonetheless, there were themes and topics that cut across most interviews concerning how institutions create and maintain partnerships and how they use meetings to animate networks.

Additionally, each interview influenced the following one as I progressed with data collection. There was no assumption or intention of keeping myself unaffected by previous conversations. In fact, some interviews were chosen and carried out with basis on anterior questionings, including recommendations from interviewees about who should be interviewed next. It does not mean I disclosed sources and previous conversations to interviewees. However, I did allow myself to adjust questions in order to deepen my understanding of pertinent matters. As I progressed, some themes became clearer, and thus received more attention. Similarly, the relevant actors were also confirmed while on fieldwork, as interviewees continually pointed to the same set of institutions. Namely, Lemann Foundation, Todos pela Educação, Natura Institute, Unibanco Institute and Ayrton Senna Institute. 17 interviews were conducted in total, as presented in the table below.

Table 3. Interviews

Interviewees	Institution
1	Ayrton Senna Institute
1	Bosch Institute
1	Campanha Nacional pelo Direito a Educação
2	Campinas pela Educação
1	FEAC
1	GIFE
2	Intel (CSR)
4	Lemann Foundation
1	Muove
1	Natura Institute
1	Unibanco Institute
1	Todos pela Educação

Most interviews were conducted in foundations' offices. However, two were conducted online, and two in cafes. In this sense, going to the foundations was an experience in itself, that enabled me to observe foundations' environments, meet some other staff workers and observe its ambiance. In particular, it allowed me to add some materiality to my understanding of new philanthropy. The transcripts were translated into English, but some of the original transcripts in Portuguese are included in the appendix.

The interviewees were approached via email. Being a Brazilian white, middle class women with international credentials (from UCL) facilitated access to interviews. My past work experience also facilitated bonding (see appendix) and made interviewees comfortable and confident in talking about their work. They occupied different roles in the institutions, which are presented below. This has allowed me to have a wide view of the functioning of foundations, including representatives of boards of governance, head of organisations, head of departments and regular staff.

Table 4. Interviews

Interviewees	Position
3	Governance Board
5	Head of foundation (CEO, president or executive secretary)
3	Head of department
6	Managerial position – project manager and similar positions

3.4.3. Fieldwork

The relations I was aiming to understand are so opaque in blurry networks that one cannot attempt to make sense of them without "entering" them. And one only enters them by partaking in the very spaces and relations one is studying (Ball and Junemann, 2012). So fieldwork was conducted in São Paulo, Brazil, between March and May of 2016. It involved the observation of large events, small meetings, and observing the space of foundations (the ones I visited/conducted an interview in). These fieldwork observations provided an ethnographic experience that allowed me to better understand the culture of new philanthropy by observing the spaces, the corporate decorations of offices and events, the small talk held in between seminar talks, and how people behave in philanthropic spaces. Some field notes and pictures are used in the analysis, together with the data collected online and with interviews.

My fieldwork began when I attended a large event of the third sector in Brazil: the Group of Corporate Institutes and Foundations (GIFE in Portuguese) Biannual Conference, in São Paulo, in March 2016. I prepared myself extensively for this event, having studied the people that would be present and attend it, and then carefully selecting the presentations I should attend. During that event I was able to better define my research questions and object, and thus the institutions and people I wanted to interview by analysing the organisations that funded the conference, observing the physical organization of the conference space (with stands, publicity, folders…), listening to the references mentioned in the presentations and in informal conversations during the conference. Concomitantly, in interviews I asked interviewees about their main partners, and who they saw as the references and leaders of the network.

The event also helped me to develop a vocabulary that would ease my interviews: foundations have their very own set of words to refer to practices and discourses named differently in academic research, such as “alignment” (between philanthropy and business, and philanthropy and policy), partnerships, advocacy and so on. This supported the creation of a non-threatening environment for interviews, and relatable and intelligible interview questions. In this conference, I myself did some networking, and scheduled four interviews during the event. Indeed, one becomes part of the network oneself is researching (Burawoy et al., 2000).

There were other field observation situations that also supported my understanding of how new philanthropy operates. Namely, a three day long workshop on career opportunities in the field of “social impact”, one meeting in an NGO, three guided visits (one NGO and two foundations), one “networking breakfast” of social investment, and one launch of a report of social investment in Brazil. Besides physical visits, some events were “attended” or watched virtually. Some events I attended, for others I analysed the programme and watched the videos made available online. For the GIFE Conference I did both, physically attended the event and later went back to the videos to revisit some speeches.

3.4.4. Network graphs

Network graphs were constructed throughout the entire research, while conducting internet searches, conducting interviews, afterwards to organise data, and then finally to present it. They were fundamental in keeping track of the relationships found between people, institutions, policies and events. All data was organised in spreadsheets and translated into graphs regularly to verify the connections. Graphs often made possible the visualization of the emergence of connections and more defined communities in messy and complex networks, which would inform the following choices on how to proceed with data collection and analysis. As data collection demands a continuous back and forth movement, the graphs also supported the identification of what was relevant and the pursuit of a route, or following these people, institutions and policies. The data spread sheets were analysed with Gephi software.

The graphs were used with flexibility, as research tools to support data collection and analysis, so these networks can “be viewed as descriptive devices rather than analytical representations" (Hogan et al., 2015b, p. 44). This should be stressed for two limitations. First, the networks in this thesis do not follow the rules and rationales of formal SNA, but instead work with a qualitative take on networks, within the logics of NE and "following policy". So there is not a formal concern with measures, edge’s weight and formulas. Second, I agree with Ball (2012, p. 144) and Hogan et al. (2015a) who point out that "network maps of this kind freeze flows and flatten asymmetries of power" (p. 44). These graphs are limited to represent a complex, fluid, unequal and ever-changing reality:

> It is worth re-stating the artifactual limits of our network. It is a heuristic for understanding policy mobility and the construction of a new policy dispositif. It is not exhaustive. That is, in good part, as Temenos and McCann point out, a consequence of limited resources set over and against the evolving, dynamic and mutating nature of the network. With more time and more money we could have *followed* links and relationships further, through more disparate nodes, to more distant and more local points. These limitations also explain the absence here of any robust quantitative indicators of connectivity or concentration in our account. Any claims made on the basis of such indicators would be vitiated by the failure to exhaust the connections and establish a clear network boundary; although we would also claim that such a boundary is inappropriate here. The relationships and connections involved are continually expanding in number, scope and location. Which points up a further limitation of our network portraits and analyses. These are primarily static and inevitably dated by the time you read this (Ball et al., 2017, p. 11).

Although limited, the graphs not only have a pragmatic role of informing data collection and analysis, but they also operate in a symbolic and creative way that "foregrounds the importance of network connections” (Hogan et al., 2015a, p. 44). Network graphs remind us how connected and cross-scalar education governance is now, and in spite of limitations, are still useful, especially if compared to text and tables.

Thus, searching for better ways to use network graphs, I studied, tested and practised different types of graphic representation. Some of them disappointingly became confusing and did not represent what I wished to visualise. There were graphs that informed following research steps, but were later reformed and incremented with new data. Two types of graph were specially employed, straightforward partnership graphs (formal partnerships between institutions, see chapter 5) and affiliation networks (see chapter 6).

In SNA, the term "affiliations" usually refers to membership or participation data and co-affiliations are "opportunities for things like ideas to flow between actors", and "affiliations data consist of a set of binary relationships between members of two sets of items" (Borgatti and Halgin, 2012, p. 417). So data is represented in two sets, in this case a set of people and a set of institutions, with a relation that connects them, in this case "*being a member of*". In affiliation graphs, there are only connections across sets, and no connections within a set. So a person can be connected to many institutions (as "being a member of" many institutions), but not to other people. Similarly, institutions can be connected to many people, but not directly connected to other institutions. Here, in chapter 6 the affiliation data concerns MNLS individual members and the institutions to which they are affiliated through professional work, which has been collected online in a variety of websites (mainly institutional websites and publicly available personal CVs). In this regard, "an important advantage of affiliation data, especially in the case studying elites, is that affiliations are often observable from a distance (e.g., government records, newspaper reports), without having to have special access to the actors" (Borgatti and Halgin, 2012, p. 417)

When one is interested in the relationship between one part of the set, such as the relation between institutions – rather than between people and institutions – "we can in fact construct some kind of tie among members of a node set simply by defining *co-affiliation* (e.g., attendance at the same events, membership on the same corporate board) as a tie. Thus, affiliations data give rise to co-affiliation data, which constitute some kind of tie among nodes within a set" (Borgatti and Halgin, 2012, p. 423). Accordingly, in chapter 6 a dual-mode network (person-by-institution) was converted into a co-affiliation one-mode network (institution-by-institution), assuming that two institutions that have a member in common have a significant chance of ideas being exchanged from one to the other.

Identifying and categorizing these affiliations was challenging at times. These professionals have mobile and boundary-spanning careers (Larner and Laurie, 2010), some pursue more than one occupation, and others change jobs rather quickly. Thus, the graphs are a static oversimplified representation of complex and fast-changing network relations (Ball and Junemann, 2012). The affiliations considered refer to the individual's main employment, but in some cases two affiliations for one individual were included when these were meaningful policy-making roles (such as a being part of a municipal consultative body).

3.5. Building an analytical frame and heuristic

During fieldwork, supported by online searches and drawing on ideas and insights from literature, three main activities, mundane practices, or “labour modalities” as I refer to them in the thesis, started to emerge. New philanthropists stress three sets of practices as being the fundamental characteristics of their work. These practices are regarded as the characteristics that separate new philanthropists from charity work and enable them to partake in education governance. The labour invested in each one of these sets of practices is analysed and interpreted with support of some theoretical tools.

First, new philanthropists regard “advocacy” as being a fundamental characteristic that separates them from the work of charity. This involves executing or funding research projects that articulate policy ideas, which are disseminated in different forms, including the press, seminars and directly to policy-makers. The efforts, and funds, foundations invest in advocacy are essential to support their claim of having evidence-based education projects. I here refer to it as the labour invested in framing, articulating and disseminating policy ideas. To make sense of this labour modality, I draw from the policy entrepreneurship literature, especially in addressing the labour that goes into assembling legitimacy in the policy arena.

Second, new philanthropists stress the relevance of articulating relationships with other foundations and supporters of similar policies, which enables them to mobilise the required resources for large-scale projects. This involves having many meetings, small and large, formal and informal, to animate networks. I refer to this as the labour invested in relating and articulating networks. To make sense of this labour modality, I draw from the policy networks literature, namely concerning the interdependence and coordination of network actors.

Finally, new philanthropists highlight the work enacted with state and municipal secretaries of education through collaborative partnerships and relationships (often PPPs) as being the ultimate space of education governance and reform, and thus an imperative goal of foundations. This involves developing programmes that can be adopted by secretaries, the provision of consultancy services and a series of meetings to coordinate and negotiate relationships. I refer to these as the labour invested in institutionalising policy ideas and relationships. To make sense of this labour modality, I draw from the governance literature concerning heterarchies, namely the messy and uneven and on-going aspects of this organisational form.

This analytical heuristic is organised in the following scheme:

Figure 3. Analytical heuristic

These elements have been organised here as a heuristic device. It is not an all-encompassing description or explanation. Nor does it propose a clear-cut separation between practices, or labour aspects and modalities. New philanthropists do all three things; they are policy entrepreneurs, work in networks and partake in heterarchies. All practices involve discourses, relationships and institutions, with some policy entrepreneurship, networks and heterarchies in different ways, partly because of the empirical nature of the phenomenon, with blurry and opaque networks, partly because of the adopted theoretical perspective, with a focus on flows, mobilities and labour, instead of structures and explanatory models. In this sense, the description of the foundations activities may seem somewhat scattered, or perhaps messy. At points it is deliberately left like this, in an attempt to not inscribe order where there is hardly any, to overwrite messiness with simplicity. All of this labour happens at once - promoting events, participating in social meetings, campaigning with the press, funding studies, creating partnerships with different secretaries of education… They are diffused, operated in different policy contexts, reaching different audiences, impacting discourses, practices and policies in a cross-level and cross-space fashion. The sheer amount of work these foundations are able to carry out, in a variety of arenas and spaces, on different topics and with different partners, is indeed too large to encompass in one study, but is what produces the extent and degree of influence they have achieved in the education arena.

Nonetheless, for analytical purposes, separating the labour to frame ideas, to relate and to institutionalise ideas and relationships - or the labour of policy entrepreneurship, of network coordination and heterarchy management – has been productive to make sense of how new philanthropy is operating in networks of governance in the Brazilian education. The labour modalities meet and relate, but each chapter focuses on one separately to see how they are practiced and enacted.

Each modality of labour is also analysed in different scales, which is organised in an analytical frame. First, I analyse how these sets of practices are enacted in networks of Brazilian new philanthropy, focusing on 5 central foundations, Todos pela Educação, Lemann Foundation, Natura Institute, Unibanco Institute and Ayrton Senna Institute (and their contexts, networks and connections). This examination provides width for the analysis for considering a group of organisations with different projects, thus a rich variety of examples that still presents significant similarities regarding these practices. Then, I analyse how the same practices can be found in one more specific case, the Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards, which is supported by the 5 studied foundations. This provides depth of analysis, in which I can look at the data with more detail and attention to specific moments, spaces and situations of policy-making and governance. Finally, the practices are analysed amid the global connections of the same case, the MNLS, which makes possible a "glocal" analysis, which considers the trans-national connections of this group. The analytical frame is presented below.

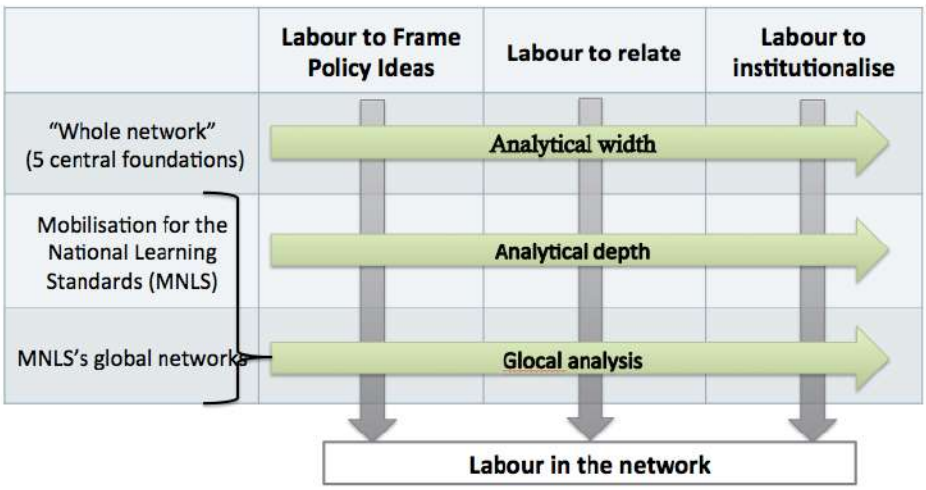

Figure 4. Analytical Frame

Although cutting the data to make it fit in a text has the risk of over simplifying and deforming it, this frame is used to organise the messy and overwhelming data. The limitations of the device are perhaps remedied with the MNLS section in each chapter, which provides a more bounded, in-depth and cross-theme analysis. Nonetheless, the MNLS scale is also challenging due to its global reach. Global networks of education governance are overwhelming, and impossible - and probably inadvisable – to be flatten and tidied up in simplistic typologies or explanations. What the analytical heuristic and frame set out to do, instead of an explanatory model or typology, is a tentative way to make sense of complex policy relationships, opening a way for questionings and reflections, and not closing down tidy accounts.

Chapter 4. Labour to frame policy: policy entrepreneurship to define policy problems and solutions

During the 2016 GIFE Conference, Denis Mizne[i], the Executive Secretary of the Lemann Foundation, described how the work of foundations has been changing in the past years. In a room full of people from business and philanthropy, he narrated how foundations have been changing their work from “charity”, with the provision of services that should be offered by the state, towards a focus on policy-making. He said, “if you look at the strategic plan of most of the organisations in the sector, you’ll see that they do not position themselves as substituting the state, but to help building policies”.

New philanthropists partake in policy-making as actors that defend certain policy ideas and frame problems and solutions in the process. This effort, referred to as policy entrepreneurship (Kingdon, 1984), revolves around investing resources to frame and share policy ideas, as well as participating in processes of policy change (Capella, 2016). In spite of the work of policy entrepreneurs not being new, and the existence of an extensive literature around policy entrepreneurship, the work of new philanthropists as policy entrepreneurs is somewhat new and still under-studied.

This chapter analyses the discursive and political labour of new philanthropy to frame, defend and disseminate education policy ideas. First, it analyses how new philanthropists have shifted from charity to a focus on policy, operating as policy entrepreneurs. Within this, it explores how successful entrepreneurs assemble an “authoritative voice” (Ball, 1993), with a claim to be heard, sharing ideas in many spaces and investing different types of resources in these endeavours. Part of it involves "defending" policy ideas through knowledge mobilisation. Second, the Mobilization for the National Learning Standards (MNLS) is introduced, and I explore how this group has been working as a policy entrepreneur and framing education inequality as a policy problem and a standard curriculum in Brazil as the best policy solution. MNLS persistently share policy ideas in many venues and channels, and gather and gain support from other policy actors in the process. Finally, MNLS's policy entrepreneurship is analysed internationally, with its use of global consultancies and benchmarking. To conclude, I ponder on how new philanthropy actively participates in policy-making with efforts to shape policy problems and solutions. New philanthropies build their position as legitimate policy actors by claiming "expertise" in education, and create a space for corporate organisations and actors to participate in education policy-making.

4.1. Policy entrepreneurship in education: from charities to authoritative voices

New philanthropies in Brazil are changing their work from charitable service provision to a focus on education policy-making. More than "advocacy", which infers the labour of policy-making "outsiders" trying to convince "insiders", foundations do policy entrepreneurship. This involves assembling an "authoritative voice" (Ball, 1993) to participate in the discursive and political definition of policy problems and solutions, and requires different investments in the hope of future returns (Capella, 2016). I present examples of foundations and institutes to illustrate the contrast between organisations that do traditional charity work and policy entrepreneurship. To better shape this concept, and analytical tool, I present a brief overview of how this term has been used by different authors to set the ideas that surround the image of the "entrepreneur" before I advance in discussing the more specific *policy entrepreneur*. In this sense, I highlight relevant aspects in the different definitions instead of a definitive definition of the term.

I then analyse the labour invested in becoming a successful policy entrepreneur, which requires legitimacy and investments. Namely, foundations fund or carry out research projects, collaborating with the press to promote their work, and making use of relationships to have conversations with policy-makers. To become someone who has a "claim to hearing" (Kingdon, 1984), foundations aim to construct the image of themselves as "specialist", or "experts". At the same time, through the activities carried out, policy problems and solutions are framed.

4.1.1. Shift from charity to policy entrepreneurship: framing policy problems and solutions

Among philanthropic organisations, both corporate or grass-roots, a contrast is drawn between philanthropic organisations that execute insular social assistance and the ones that aim at policy, as described by the former executive secretary of GIFE:

> It is a diverse group. In spite of being perceived as homogenous, it is not. There are institutions with very different characteristics. So there are institutions that fundamentally work in a 'charity' way, and there are institutions that work with a type of activity, which is absolutely strategic, of policy change. So you have a

> large dispersion, with a unitary vision or a vision of transforming the country (Interview GIFE, 2016).

As explained by the interviewee, aiming at some kind of policy effect is not characteristic of all GIFE members, and being a corporate foundation does not necessarily imply aiming at policy change. Nonetheless, partaking in policy-making is now not just one part of new philanthropies' activities, but the fundamental goal of some well-connected foundations. This is illustrated by the 2015 biannual survey conducted by GIFE, in which 89% of respondents claim their work is related to public policy, and 58% aim at directly influencing or supporting policy-making. Moreover, amongst the largest organisations, which invest more than US$21 million per year, 75% aim at influencing policy (see chapter 2). However, there are corporate foundations that do execute "charity-like" services. For instance, Bosch Foundation, in spite of being a "corporate foundation" created and funded by a large international company, operates as a local organisation that delivers services and does not seek to participate in policy-making. As a corporate foundation, but not a policy entrepreneur, this contrasting example sheds light on its opposite, of how large foundations work as policy entrepreneurs.

Bosch is a multinational German company, "supplier of technology and services", with more than 400000 employees in different countries, and generated sales of 78 billion euros in 2017 (Bosch site). The company was founded in 1886, and taken to Brazil in 1954. Now it now employs more than 8500 people in the country, with a liquid revenue of R$4.4 (Bosch Brazil website[20]). Its Brazilian office is at the countryside of São Paulo, in the city of Campinas. The Bosch Foundation is in the same estate as the company, next to the "Bosch Club", a space with barbecue areas, tennis courts and gym for the employees. The Bosch Foundation was created as a part of the corporate structure to care for employees and offer them motivation and a positive impression of the company, a classic example of Corporate Social Responsibility. The institute works locally in the cities in which Bosch operates. With a relatively small budget, reportedly R$1mi a year (Interview, Bosch Foundation, 2016), the foundation works with only a few schools in Curitiba and a single school in Campinas, which is close to the foundation. This school was the only one that welcomed Bosch's social project when the foundation sent out a call for applications through emails and phone calls. According to the interviewees, there was a lot of resistance from head teachers once they

[20] https://www.brasil.bosch.com.br/nossa-empresa/bosch-no-brasil/

learnt "the partnership proposal came from an institute" (Interview, Bosch Foundation, 2016). The school in Campinas that accepted the partnership invitation went through a series of meetings to identify the most pressing school issues. Having identified a reportedly weak relationship between teachers, parents and students as the largest problem, the foundation proposed a series of activities to promote bonding, including a day of games and a collective refurbishment, to which Bosch Foundation supplied materials and the community planned and executed the work.

Contrastingly, highly connected and prominent foundations describe policy-making as a fundamental aspect of their work. As David Saad, the Executive Secretary of the Natura Institute, asserts: "in general we believe one of the main roles of the third sector is to positively influence public policy. So in practically all we do we have a desire that it may become a public policy" (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016). Policy is both means and end for these institutions: they aim to partake in policy-making, and use influence and definition (of problems and their solutions) as ways of achieving the reform of education, in various forms and along different dimensions (curriculum, leadership, pedagogy, technology etc) (see chapter 2).

New philanthropists refer to the labour invested in policy-making as "advocacy". However, the concept of advocacy falls short in accounting for the efforts invested here. Namely, "advocacy" captures only the political (and more visible) aspect of policy work, concerning the convincing of audiences through the framing of issues in persuasive ways and building support networks. It does not capture the discursive aspects of policy entrepreneurship, which stress the active framing of problems and solutions in a way that demands action, and makes certain policies thinkable and unthinkable (Ball, 1993). Second, "advocacy" implies that the advocates, in this case new philanthropists, are somewhat "outsiders" to the policy-making process, who aim tirelessly to convince "insiders", or members of the government of ways of doing policy differently. As discussed throughout the chapter, and indeed the thesis, this outside/inside, or public/private, division is not as clear as one would imagine. New philanthropy now participates in "all aspects of the education policy cycle, from agenda setting, through policy production and implementation to evaluation" (Hogan et al., 2015a, p. 61), and collaborates in networks of blurred public-private boundaries.

Thus, the concept of "policy entrepreneurs" can better depict the new philanthropists who aim to reform education through policy. They aim to bring about or contribute to large-scale changes in the country through influencing education policy according to an agenda of corporate reform of education (see chapter 1). To do so, they are able to mobilise and invest large amounts of resources, such as money, time, and social capital to frame policy problems and solutions (Capella, 2016; Kingdon, 1984). Hence, in what follows there is a discussion and construction of the concept.

The study of "entrepreneurship" and "entrepreneurs" has been growing in the past decades in areas such as administration, economy and political science. The concept was first employed by Schumpeter (1983), who regarded the entrepreneur as an innovator, someone who does things differently. So an entrepreneur was not necessarily someone with financial investments, but with an idea and ability to turn it into something powerful and lucrative. The concept later shifted from economics to politics with the term "political entrepreneur" (Wagner, 1966), used to "designate individuals who employ time, energy and financial resources not only because they are concerned with the group's goals, but also because they see an opportunity to transform this investment into something personally gratifying" (Shepsle, 2006, in Capella, 2016, p. 488). In this sense, "the [political] entrepreneur makes possible the collective action through its expertise, knowledge and timing about the right moment to act, realising the potential for collective action, which would not happen without its intervention" (Capella, 2016 p.488). The "entrepreneur" has also been studied in the field of organisational studies, with the institutional entrepreneur, which is associated with the work of Paul DiMaggio (1988) within organisational new institutionalism. For the author, entrepreneurs promote changes in institutional arrangements to pursue their own interests intentionally. They have the required resources to do so, which can be analytical, political or cultural skills that allow one to develop new alliances and stimulate collaboration. The literature highlights the discursive aspect of this work, considering how language and narratives are used to convey beliefs and values to gain support for ideas. For some authors, such as Battilana et al. (2009), the institutional entrepreneur not only participates in inciting change, but is actively engaged in the very process of enacting the changes advocated.

Finally, drawing upon these former usages, the term has been employed in policy studies in the form of the *policy entrepreneur*, which gained attention in the 1980s. John Kingdon (1984, 2013) was one of the first authors to use this concept. With his model of "multiple streams", which is focused on agenda setting, he pointed to the relevance of individuals that defend and promote policy ideas, policy entrepreneurs[21]. This policy model considers there are three policy dimensions, or policy streams, that concern problems,

[21] For brevity, the terms policy entrepreneur and entrepreneur will be used interchangeably in this text

solutions and political dynamics. It claims that policy agendas change when the three streams converge, which creates concrete possibilities of shifts. In these moments, named "policy windows", "a problem is recognised, a solution is available, and the political conditions make the moment appropriate for a change" (Capella, 2016, p. 491). The policy entrepreneur acts in this process, by shaping the understanding of policy problems and solutions, and partaking in political relationships to create appropriate conditions for policy change (Capella, 2016).

Here, I draw on Kingdon's use of the concept of policy entrepreneurship, together with Capella's discussion of it. A policy entrepreneur is an actor that participates in policy-making investing resources to defend particular policy ideas and gain support for such ideas. In this process, policy problems and solutions are framed discursively, while at the same time the entrepreneurs define themselves as legitimate policy actors. A definition of policy entrepreneurs is then not dependent on one's affiliations, as they can be in different places in, out and around government (Kindgon, 2013). Instead, the policy entrepreneur is characterised by their activity around policy, as Kingdon (2013) put it:

> but their defining characteristic, much as in the case of a business entrepreneur, is their willingness to invest their resources - time, energy, reputation, and sometimes money - in the hope of a future return. That return might come to them in the form of policies of which they approve, satisfaction from participation, or even personal aggrandisement in the form of job security or career promotion (p. 122).

Policy entrepreneurship involves not only advocating for certain policy solutions, but perhaps most importantly, the participation in the framing of policy problems and defining their solutions. Entrepreneurs "are responsible not only for prompting important people to pay attention, but also for coupling solutions to problems and for coupling both problems and solutions to politics" (Kingdon, 2013, p. 20). So they not only "defend ideas", but actively participate in the framing of policy problems and solutions, connecting policy ideas to each other and to politics. At the same time other solutions are debunked or excluded from consideration.

In the process of defending ideas to bring about change, existing social conditions are framed in a way they become a policy problem that demands government action (Kingdon, 2013). Policy problems and solutions, then, are not understood to be a "given", or a "fact", but instead "policy discourses and technologies mobilise truth claims and constitute rather than reflect social reality" (Ball, 2015, p. 307). Policy entrepreneurs invest resources to participate in, steer and influence this framing and disseminating of policy discourses, or the promotion of a specific interpretation regarding a social condition. This framing depends both on the entrepreneur's interests and worldview, but also political contexts. Amid many interpretative possibilities, the entrepreneur strategically elaborates a point of view that will facilitate the support for certain ideas (Capella, 2016). Even if the solution pre-exists the problem, or they are not directly connected, it is up to the entrepreneur to argue and create new understandings of the problem/solution to favour his own view, in this case an agenda of reforming education with corporate values and purposes (see chapter 1).

4.1.2. Labour to assemble an "authoritative voice": establishing a claim to hearing, sharing ideas and investing resources

To achieve success in policy entrepreneurial efforts, part of new philanthropy's labour revolves around assembling the required resources and capabilities to frame and disseminate ideas. This involves practices and discourses that redistribute "voice" in the education policy arena, as Ball (1993) explains: "policy as discourse may have the effect of redistributing 'voice' […] so that it does not matter what some people say or think, only certain voices can be heard as meaningful or authoritative" (p. 15). The redistribution of voice is part of the "politics of truth", in which "advocates and technicians of policy change" (Ball, 1993, p. 15) partake.

To assemble an "authoritative voice", policy entrepreneurs invest some efforts, which will be examined in what follows. First, they establish a "claim to hearing" (Kingdon, 2013), meaning to have credit in the eyes of the general public and be seen as "legitimate" policy actors. Second, entrepreneurs foster political connections and employ skills of presentation and persuasion through which they articulate and disseminate their policy ideas. Third, entrepreneurs are persistent and are willing to invest considerable financial resources in the policy process, in all of its aspects.

4.1.2.1. Claim to hearing: creating the expert with knowledge mobilisation

To assemble a "claim to hearing" (Kingdom, 2013) new philanthropists invest in the production of "evidence" through their own funded research, by making links with and disseminating ideas through the press and other media and collaboration with chosen "experts" – those "on-message".

An interviewee from Lemann Foundation describes how the organisation has been working for the advocacy of a new standard curriculum in Brazil with the Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards (MNLS):

> "We started producing research here in Brazil *about the need* of having a common curricular base to Brazilian students … This is what we try to do, the focus of our advocacy is making sure that people can make *decisions based on evidence*, having subsidies to make the best choices. So this is what we do, we share information" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016, added emphasis).

With a clear agenda, studies are carried out to "demonstrate the need" of a policy solution, which is introduced as "evidence" to decision-makers and the general public. This evidence is used, cited and corroborated by other foundations, creating the "echo chamber effect" (Goldie et al., 2014), with an unfunded perception of consensus. New philanthropists work to "collect, package and promote, but not necessarily produce, research evidence aligned with the agendas of their funders" (Lubienski et al., 2016, p. 7). This work can be referred to as "knowledge mobilisation", which involves the "intentional efforts to increase the use of research evidence […] in policy and practice at multiple levels of the education sector" (Cooper, 2014, p. 29). It entails the production of research and studies, or support to like-minded organisations, to frame policy debates. The reports produced are used to create the discursive basis and justifications for their positions, proposals and activities. Carrying out such "studies" is fundamental to the systematisation of the "new" policy ideas that are put forward and to frame them in ways that can be regarded as or claim to be "evidence".

However, the evidence produced or selected is not "neutral". It is politically mediated both in its production and how this "evidence" is taken up in policy-making. First, philanthropic studies tend to prioritise and reinforce certain policy ideas over a substantial debate (Hogan et al., 2016a). Foundations differ from more traditional research organisations, such as universities, in being more willing to blur boundaries between research and advocacy (DeBray-Pelot, Lubienski, and Scott, 2007). For instance, the studies conducted and funded by new philanthropies tend to be based on the pre-existing epistemic positions of these organisations. Foundations hire staff, consultants, or research organisations that hold similar epistemic and political positions as them. This practice produces what Hogan, Sellar, and Lingard (2016a) call a "new policy genre", that over-simplifies complicated policy issues:

> This new genre reflects new kinds of interactions between governments and non-state actors such as edu-businesses and consultancy firms. The hallmark of this genre is a simplification of policy problems and the articulation of straightforward policy solutions, somewhat akin to a reductive 'what works' approach. This commercialisation must be understood in the context of

> comparison becoming a central element of new modes of state governance (p. 244).

In this dynamic, policy solutions may exist before the very policy problem they claim to address (Kingdom, 2013). For example, the Ayrton Senna Institute had a "full-time schools[22]" project before collaborating with the city of Rio de Janeiro in 2014 to bring a “policy solution” to the city, which was supported by the company Procter and Gamble (Interview, Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016). After this partnership, the project became established as a “tried and tested education policy solution" of the Ayrton Senna Institute, and it can be adopted through a PPP by any local and regional authority. About this policy solution, an interviewee from the Institute said, “is there a demand? If there is not, there will be" (Interview Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016). In this example, the Institute had already planned, formulated and tested a policy solution which was not yet “required” or “need”, but was likely to be as the increase of full-time schools was established as a goal in the 2014 National Plan of Education. To confirm the efficacy of the solution, the Institute claims in its website that "in the first school to pilot this proposal, the learning improvement has been 10 times superior than the average of the Brazilian student in the past decade. If all schools in Brazil had the same result, we would go up 30 positions in PISA" (Ayrton Senna Institute website)

Second, the selection and use of evidence in policy-making is also permeated by power relations, not all “evidence” is perceived as equally valid, as Verger et al (2016) explain:

> The *selection* of particular policy solutions by decision-makers is another key moment in education policy reform. It implies the identification of the most suitable interpretations of what the existing problems are, as well as the most complementary policy solutions. When it comes to selecting policy solutions and matching them to these perceived problems, more and more governments aim to base their decisions on scientific evidence, especially in moments of crisis and uncertainty. Scientific evidence helps policy-makers to 'make sense of the world and stabilize structures of action' (Jessop 2015). *However, not all types of evidence – nor all sources of evidence – are equally perceived and considered by policy-makers*, with some international actors enjoying a privileged position when it comes to, on the one hand, constructing social problems and their causes – what Jessop (2015) calls a global *aetiology* – and, on the other, guiding countries in dealing with the complexity of educational change (Verger, Fontdevila, and Zancajo, 2017, p. 760).

[22] In Brazil most schools are part-time. There is a long-standing popular demand to offer full-time schools to all students, which became part of the National Plan of Education in 2014 and should be implemented by 2024.

There has been a growth in the production of “research” by new philanthropies in Brazil since 2013. Before that year few reports had been produced, and since then most well connected foundations have been investing in the production of "evidence". These studies are done in an array of formats and sizes, including small exploratory efforts and large scale and heavily funded studies, which can include universities and scholars. In the first case, the research projects can be executed as a preliminary stage within a larger project, like Institute Natura did with the project "Full-time Schools". A representative from this institute affirmed that conducting exploratory research is a "necessary first stage of a project" (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016). On the other hand, studies can be more ambitious, executed by an internal "research" department in foundations or by a contracted partner. Ayrton Senna Institute has mostly executed its own studies, usually in partnership with other institutions. Differently, Lemann Foundation, Natura Institute, Unibanco Institute and TPE have contracted out reports to research organisations. Some examples are organised in the table below.

Table 5. "Research" efforts of new philanthropies

Institution	How research is done	Examples (since creation of org.)
Fundacao Lemann	Partnerships with universities	Columbia, Harvard, MIT, Stanford, University of Illinois, UCLA, Yale, Oxford
	Contracting out reports	Excellency with equity, Life Project and Conselho de Classe (with Itau BBA, Credit Suisse, TPE)
Instituto Natura	First stage of project	Full-time schools
	Contracting out reports	Mapeal (with CIPPEC)
Ayrton Senna	Develop their own studies (with partnerships)	Alfabetismo e competencias, Construindo uma Educação de Qualidade
	Partnerships with universities	University of Ghent, Insper
Instituto Unibanco	Contracting out reports	School management (for racial equality, and for gender equality)
Todos Pela Educacao	Presenting papers	68 presented articles in seminars, including academic events
	Writing papers	19 articles published in journals and proceedings
	Studies and research (including policy analysis and government documents)	93 documents
	Other productions	54 publications

The findings and results of these studies are usually presented in well-designed reports, with colourful outlines and info graphics. To disseminate “research evidence”, Unibanco Institute even has a fortnightly publication, the *Boletim Aprendizagem em Foco*. Created in 2015, its readership goal is focused on school head teachers and it aims to "deepen the debates about the Brazilian education context and bring to the agenda relevant themes for public policy. With a fortnightly publication, it is anchored in empirical evidence, disseminating research, studies and national and international experiences" (Unibanco website).

Figure 5. Example of Publication by Unibanco Institute

In this context, foundations also develop a close relationship to universities, especially Lemann Foundation and Ayrton Senna, to work with prestigious researchers who can produce robust and persuasive reports. The first has partnerships with Columbia University, Harvard University, Stanford University, University of Illinois, UCLA, Yale University and Oxford University; and the second with Insper, in Brazil, and the University of Ghent, in Belgium. Such relationships, in themselves, give credibility to the work of the foundations and to their publications (and are a source of income to the providers). Ayrton Senna Institute has also created a network of education researchers, the *Rede Nacional de Ciencia pela Educação*, or the National Network of Science for Education[23]. The network connects 88 research groups in Brazil, and aims to bring together researchers and practitioners to create collaborations that may support innovation and "evidence-based” policies. Also participating in research spaces,

[23] www.institutoayrtonsenna.org.br/content/institutoayrtonsenna/pt-br/Atuacao/rede-nacional-de-ciencia-para-educacao.html

including academic ones, TPE has been presenting papers in conferences and seminars, publishing papers in journals and conference proceedings, and partaking in different studies, including policy analysis work for the government [24].

New philanthropies can then claim expertise by associating their policy efforts with recognised “experts”, which may include researchers or experienced educators and practitioners. To justify their policy choices, foundations claim that an “expert” has designed their policy solutions and education projects. For instance, the large project *Conviva* alleges to have been created in response to the findings of a research project conducted by the higher education institution *Fundação Getulio Vargas*. The research investigated the policy support needed by municipal governments and found that secretaries of education required training in education management. Thus, an online platform was created with support of several foundations (including Natura, Lemann Foundation, Ayrton Senna Institute and others). It offers training to local secretaries of education, with several types of content, including readings, tutorials and video-classes that address the diagnosed needs (Natura Institute interview, 2016). Natura Institute, the manager of the platform, claims to "have one stream of work which is about content”, with which “we gather a series of *specialists* in the specific team and then these people build this content, content that we construct. These *specialists* are usually former secretaries of education" (Institute Natura, interview, 2016, added emphasis). Thus, in *Conviva*, "experts" participate in the creation of the content, or the “solutions”, besides partaking in the identification of municipal policy problems in this platform.

Lemman Foundation also employs the trope of the “experts” in the narrative of how its initiatives are developed. The foundation has an annual seminar with Stanford University, in which researchers from the university present their studies and discuss the foundation’s topics of interest. In 2016 the seminar concerned Brazilian national learning standards, and in this event there was "a round table of *specialists* from Stanford University that did a critical reading of the first version of the document" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016, my emphasis).

The “expert” is invoked to explain the creation process of a foundation’s initiative, in an idealised narrative, or to allegedly demonstrate the rigour of such a solution. “Experts” are also said to evaluate the foundations initiatives, to legitimise foundations' projects. Natura Institute has a department completely dedicated to evaluating its projects, which is run by an "evaluation expert" (Interview Natura Institute, 2016). In these examples, the “experts” are

[24] see complete list in https://www.todospelaeducacao.org.br/biblioteca/conteudo-tpe/

not named, nor are their affiliations or official credentials mentioned and made known in interviews. Nonetheless, foundations are still able to claim expertise through the employment of the imagery of “experts”.

In the process of “specialists” taking charge of the creation, development and evaluation of policy solutions, new philanthropies engage with policy as a technical matter, in which decisions are made based on technical evidence. Political discussions, positions, debates and dialogues are not considered in the processes and narratives, ignoring the political aspects involved in policy and governance.

The research effort undertaken by or for foundations is also fundamental to the maintenance of policy networks. Studies fulfil a role of providing or articulating meanings and discourses for the network, as "the work of practising policy networks is always constituted by a duality of material strategies […] and the ideological work of framing how policy is imagined and contested. These research and advocacy organisations thus serve as the meaning-making and framing arms of the policy networks cultivated by philanthropic foundations" (Ferrare and Apple, 2017, p. 26). Policy ideas, concerning policy issues and solutions, are shared in and through the policy network, framing how policies are imagined and framed, opening the way for certain policies and actors, while also excluding others as “once a particular problem comes to capture the attention of important people, some whole classes of approaches come into favour and others fall from grace” (Kingdon, 2013, p.115).

Complementarily, knowledge mobilisation also involves the sharing of the produced knowledge. Foundations have increasingly been portrayed in the media as "thought leaders" amid public debates, making use of this space to mobilise public opinion around education matters and working to steer the agenda around education. Education reform advocates turn to communication channels, including the press, to reach the general public and make the case for particular solutions – making use of available evidence and framing stories in a tactical way (Goldie et al., 2014; Lubienski et al., 2016). There are three main types of interaction between new philanthropies and the press in Brazil: writing for the press, training journalists and, the ownership of media vehicles, like magazines.

First, new philanthropists have a growing presence in the press as columnists in newspapers and magazines or by being invited to comment on policy issues. With a growing status of "experts", they occupy a central role in public debates about education. From TPE, Priscila Cruz is the writer of a weekly column in *UOL Educação*, from the large newspaper *Folha*. Viviane Senna (Ayrton Senna Institute) and Ricardo Henriques (Unibanco Institute) are often interviewed in major newspapers to discuss education policy issues. Similarly, the foundations' research efforts are often released in the press as well. Foundations even count "media hits" in their annual reports as part of their "impact". TPE proudly reported 12 published articles in press, 2000 press clippings, 600 interview requests and 100 journalists trained on "how to cover education in the press" in 2015. Similarly, Unibanco Institute reported 609 mentions in press, with 131 in the national press and 189 specifically mentioning with Ricardo Henriques, the Institute's Executive Superintendent. Arguably, this is beneficial for these organisations not only for the construction of the "expert" image, but also for marketing purposes within the logics of philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2010; McAlister and Ferrell, 2002). Except for TPE, the other four institutes carry with them the names of the funding companies or businessmen.

A second dynamic built with the press concerns the instructing and training of journalists to "properly cover education issues". TPE is the main example of this, with an axis of action named "Mobilisation and Communication". The organisation has been promoting courses to train journalists, which have been attended by more than 2000 journalists (Martins, 2013; 2016). Besides this, the organisation also compiles news and suggests information sources and experts for interviews for journalists (Martins, 2013).

A third relationship built between foundations and the press in Brazil concerns the ownership of communication vehicles. The Lemann Foundation and the Ayrton Senna Institute are owners and publishers of education magazines. Lemann Foundation became the proprietor of two "non-profit" magazines in education, *Nova Escola* and *Gestão Escolar*. These are the two largest magazines for teachers and educators in the country, with more than 120.000 magazines sold per volume, 45.000 subscribers and 2.5 million website access per month (*Nova Escola* website). Besides being a major vehicle of communication, influence and discourse sharing with teachers and head teachers, these magazines are also a space for the commodification of education. In spite of being "non-profit", companies can purchase advertisement space in the magazine, including the so-called "branded content". In this option, publicity is done through a "practical and informative content" (*Nova Escola* website), where the brand is displayed as the sponsor. Here, the selling of education products and services can be masked as "practical" and "informative" content, and as technical support for teachers.

The work of knowledge mobilisation, both the publication of 'research' studies and their coverage in the press, has been very important for foundations to gain credibility, be seen as legitimate by the public and thus become an "authoritative voice" in education policy (Ball, 1993). Relatedly, the press can be used to put pressure on governments, as is made clear by a Lemann Foundation representative in saying: "with the press as well, in a last case, if we truly believe in a cause and the Ministry of Education and the government do not abide by it, then going to the press is always a good opportunity" (Interview, Lemann Foundation 2016). By working with the press, new philanthropy is able to draw from their studies and perform public communication to build up an image of themselves as education experts, in spite of having no official position in the decision making process, or possessing more traditional "expertise" like education practitioners or universities. The claim of expertise is used as a discursive device to portray new philanthropy as an "authoritative voice" in the "politics of truth". This allows otherwise unlikely actors to partake in policy-making, such as a beauty products company, a billionaire businessman, a socialite, a conglomerate of for-profit companies, and others. "These experts are enacting particular forms of 'techno-politics' (Mitchell, 2002) that link knowledge and expertise to political power in diverse and distinctive forms" (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 223) (see chapter 5, with an example of MNLS's use of "experts" in meetings).

4.1.2.2. Sharing ideas in many venues

Successful policy entrepreneurs disseminate their policy ideas in many venues, and build up political connections and negotiating skills to gain support to such ideas, including from people that participate in decision-making processes (Kingdon, 2013). So entrepreneurs present their policy ideas in a plethora of ways and spaces to reach different audiences (Kindgon, 2013). This involves networking, in which the entrepreneur is connected not only to specialists or policy makers, but also the general public or particular working groups or organisations – like teachers, principals, teacher organisations, local government etc. In networking, entrepreneurs aim at convincing others about their ideas while also understanding how different groups interpret certain issues and learning ways to reframe their proposals to different audiences (Capella, 2016).

So new philanthropists share new policy ideas, backed by the "evidence" produced by foundations and their partners, with a variety of stakeholders involved in the policy field. Many venues, channels and spaces can be used, including introducing a bill, holding congressional hearings, with speeches, issuing studies, reports and other papers, personal conversations, public events and informal meetings. Time, money, effort and prestige are invested in pushing one's agenda forward, as "policy entrepreneurs do not leave consideration of their pet proposals to accident. Instead, they push for consideration in many ways and in many forums" (Kingdon, 2013, p. 201). As relevant as considering foundations' legitimacy gained through research, and their network and social capital invested in brokering policies, Kingdon stresses a basic, yet key, aspect in policy entrepreneurs' work, which is "sheer tenacity" in advocating for a policy:

> many potentially influential people might have expertise and political skill, but sheer tenacity pays off. Most of these people spend a great deal of time giving talks, writing position papers, sending letters to important people, drafting bills, testifying before congressional committees and executive branch commissions, and having lunch, all with the aim of pushing their ideas in whatever way and forum might further the cause (Kingdon, 2013, p. 181).

These foundations seem to be everywhere, in every seminar, every meeting, every public audition, bill voting, press release and so on. Lemann Foundation, both in its individual work and representing the MNLS, deliberately aims at reaching different groups and actors to gain support for its agenda:

> They do a bunch of meetings, a lot of conversation to help solving the main difficulties, exchange ideas, talk with the Movement. But also talk with deputies, talk with the writing team and talk with everyone that is important in this debate. […] So sometimes, no, not sometimes, we always include in this discussion the states and municipalities as well. We promote meetings with secretaries of education, municipal and state based … It depends a lot, it usually is with everyone that is important for that discussion, everyone that has some importance in decision-making over that matter (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

Talking to "everyone that matters" includes specific decision-makers. Lemann Foundation has an employee in Brasília, the capital of Brazil, who is part of the "government relations" team within the foundation. He stays in Brasília "creating dialogue with the congress and other actors" (Interview, Lemman Foundation, 2016). A member of the foundation's governance board described his work as "lobbying": "We hired someone "super", who is in Brasilia now, only doing lobby. But it is lobby for this kind of thing, you know? It is someone who has in his diary talking to people that have power, or that participate in the process of eventually having connectivity" (Interview, Lemman Foundation, 2016). Strategically, this "government relations" employee targets specific people to present short proposals based on Lemann Foundation research efforts:

> We work very closely so that when he arrives to the room of a deputy, or the president of a company, something like that, he always arrive with something ready, a "one-page" with the main facts of what we… our revindications and suggestions, matching the profile of the person he is going to talk to (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

This person has also been carefully selected, with the profile and professional experience of a “boundary spanner”: "He is really cool because he is someone who came from the public sector … he was in the government of Aécio with Falconi to improve the public management in different areas. Then he applied for a Lemann scholarship and went to Stanford for his masters" (Interview, Lemman Foundation, 2016).

As the example of Lemann Foundation makes clear, the policy entrepreneur’s work is not limited to framing and sharing ideas. Instead, "besides operating in the context of ideas, entrepreneurs pay attention to institutional arrangements that may restrict or incentivise decisions concerning the policy at stake" (Capella, 2016, p. 499). Thus, entrepreneurs pursue reform projects in other policy contexts like policy writing and enactment, as "they coordinate networks involving groups of people and organisations needed to guarantee change. Thus, entrepreneurs are not atomised individuals, on the contrary, they are, and must be, inserted in networks" (Capella, 2016, p. 499). Some aspects of this work are analysed in this chapter, but a further in-depth discussion of networks can be found in Chapter 5, as well as an in-depth discussion of working with decision-makers in the government can be found in Chapter 6.

Widespread action is essential to the success of policy entrepreneurship. Without the establishment of an extensive agreement, policies are less likely to be accepted when an opportunity, or policy window, happens. Hence, in addition to starting discussions of their proposals, they push their ideas in many different forums. These entrepreneurs attempt to "soften up" both policy communities, which tend to be inertia-bound and resistant to major changes, and larger publics, getting them used to new ideas and building acceptance for their proposals (Kingdon, 2013, p. 128).

4.1.2.3. Mobilising resources: leveraging limited funds and investing different capitals

To maintain the efforts of knowledge production and sharing, creating networks, disseminating policy ideas, entrepreneurs need persistence and a disposition of investing great amounts of resources. Investments of time, money, energy and reputation are required, and entrepreneurs are willing to invest different kinds of resources to push their policy ideas forward (Capella, 2016), as "persistence implies a willingness to invest large and sometimes remarkable quantities of one's resources" (Kindgon, 2013, p. 181).

In this context, and within the logics of philanthro-capitalism, policy entrepreneurship offers a better "return of investment" than “traditional” philanthropy with local education projects. New philanthropists may opt to invest in policy efforts "because advocacy grants could influence government spending" (Reckhow and Snyder, 2014, p. 2). The former chief executive of GIFE articulates how foundations use their private investments in a way to steer public investments, which are much larger:

> It is pointless trying to do what the state does by complementing it, because it [the state] comes in with 100 and you with 001. So it is more interesting that you guide your investment in a way that these 100 billion have more efficacy (GIFE interview, 2016).

Hence, working with the government and with policy is construed as a strategy to leverage philanthropy's limited funding. Instead of executing local projects, which are fully funded and operated by the foundation, new philanthropists see the public budget as an opportunity of leveraging their own investment and reaching results of a larger scale. In this context, a central argument revolves around the fact that philanthropy's budget is much smaller, they must steer the federal ministry money.

The leveraging of private investments rests on the prospect of steering public investments towards the policies new philanthropists see as desirable, namely, the corporate reform of education (see chapter 1). Drawing from a corporate view of public management, foundations aim to "teach" governments "good practices": "from the public manager we have a single goal: encourage and disseminate good practices of public management" (Natura Interview, Sao Paulo, 2016). Foundations are interested in disseminating corporate practices in education policy, with principles of effectiveness, performativity, economic development and competitiveness, so new philanthropy:

> treats giving to public schooling as a "social investment" that, like venture capital, must begin with a business plan, involve quantitative measurement of efficacy, be replicable to be "brought to scale," and ideally will "leverage" public spending in ways compatible with the strategic donor. Grants are referred to as "investments," donors are called "investors," impact is renamed "social return," evaluation becomes "performance measurement," grant-reviewing turns into "due diligence," the grant list is renamed an "investment portfolio," charter networks are referred to as "franchises," to name but some of the remodelling of giving on investment and particularly on venture capital models (Saltman, 2010, p. 64).

Complementarily, a member of the governance board of Lemann Foundation claims that, although challenging, working with governments is interesting not only for its "leverage" potential, but is a "necessary evil" to deal with structural problems that cannot be solved by philanthropy itself:

> The area of policy is one that, well, it depends a lot on the government. But it is something we judged essential to put effort in because of its potential of *leverage*,

> right? … So we think that in the area of policy we face these challenges of execution from the government, but these are things that if they work, they are very *multiplicative*, because it ends up being adopted in the entire country. If you spend "1" the result is "100". So that was a criterion we used to choose where we would put our effort, our money (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

After having started its philanthropic work through local projects, Lemann Foundation changed its working logics because "soon it became very clear for the foundation that there were structural obstacles to improve education, which could only be solved through changes in the federal policy. Then they decided to create an education policy team" (Lemann Foundation interview, 2016). Thus, Lemann Foundation created a department with a similar structure and size of previous ones, and later added a “sub team” of "governmental relations, with someone who stays in Brasilia building up dialogues with congressman and other actors" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). The foundation now has a group that works full-time on policy entrepreneurship, commissioning or carrying out studies, publishing, having meetings with different organisations, speaking in government hearings and so on.

Consequently, working with policy can be an instrument for foundations; a means to develop an education and social project, as David Saad, Instituto Natura, argues "we have the understanding that the education issue will never be resolved without the state, so working with public policy is indispensable for us *to attain what we want*". The work of new philanthropists brings about both a set of new policy contents and new methods of policy. They labour to establish an agenda of education reform conceived within the models and logics of business (Saltman, 2010), in doing so, they also rework the policy arena they partake in. They are “new players to the field of social and education policy, repopulating and reworking existing policy networks, and giving legitimacy to the role of business in the solution of social problems” (Olmedo, 2016, p. 49). In this reworking, “strategically, philanthropy has provided a ‘Trojan horse’ for modernizing moves that opened the ‘policy door’ to new actors and new ideas and sensibilities” (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 32).

New philanthropists can also invest social and network capital. To execute the work, Lemann Foundation has hired people who had previously worked in the public sector, in order "to know how governments work and do not work" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). These employees are boundary-spanners who bring to the foundation invaluable information and network capital, which “comprises access to communication technologies, transport and the social and technical skills of coordinating and networking more generally” (Larsen et al., 2008, p. 656) (see chapter 5 for a fuller discussion on network capital).

Similarly, Luis Norberto Paschoal's narrative of the creation of TPE is an example of how new philanthropists can make use of their social capital and gain access to decision-makers. Paschoal, credited as the main founder of the movement, retells how quickly the TPE was acknowledged by the Ministry of Education as an important group in Brazilian education. According to him, Paschoal and some colleagues decided to mobilise to become an active voice in education policy in Brazil after a political scandal was made public through the press, which involved the president at the time, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva. Within 10 days, the document "Ten causes and 23 commitments to education" was created by bringing together proposals and ideas from "recognised authorities", such as the Four Pillars of Unesco. Two days later, the group had a meeting with the Minister of Education, Fernando Haddad, to pitch their project shortly before a UNESCO social event. Immediately after their private meeting, Paschoal claims the following happened: "At the microphone, when he was going to speak about Unesco, Fernando Haddad said "Now I want to announce to you something interesting, unrelated to today's topic. I have the impression today the biggest commitment in the Brazilian history is being made, regarding education" (Interview FEAC, 2016). The group had the social and network capital that enabled them to quickly, directly and personally reach the Minister of Education, and have a private meeting with him to present policy ideas (see chapter 5 for an in-depth discussion of the use of meetings for policy entrepreneurship in policy networks).

In sum, to reiterate, foundations frame policy ideas making use of research in an instrumental way. This is especially relevant to build the image of the specialist and create a "claim to hearing" (Kingdon, 2013) and an "authoritative voice" (Ball, 1993). Policy ideas are shared persistently in many ways and venues, including more indirect ways, such as the press, and also approaching decision-makers and policy-makers directly. To sustain this widespread labour, investments of different types are mobilised.

4.2. The Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards: framing curriculum policy ideas

The Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards (MNLS) describes itself as an "advocacy movement" with a diverse membership that sees a standard curriculum as "a crucial step to promote educational equity and align the elements of the educational system in Brazil" (MNLS website). For the Mobilisation, creating a curriculum will work as "a dorsal spine for the learning rights of each student, for teacher training, for teaching materials and external assessments" (MNLS website). Concisely, in their principles they claim the learning standards must be focused on essential knowledge, skills and values; be clear and objective; be underpinned by "research evidence" and be mandatory for all schools in the country. On the other hand, they claim the curriculum should have diversity, respect the autonomy of the federal entities to build their curricula and that the learning standards should be formulated in a collaboration between federal, state and municipal governments (MNLS website).

The MNLS has been engaged in shaping discourses around the curriculum, working with policymakers and media, promoting events and funding advocacy studies[25]. At the same time, education organisations, such as teacher unions, including the National Confederation of Education Workers[26], universities and local authorities have been taking part in the debate as well. The opposing groups often present criticisms towards the MNLS and its policy ideas around the learning standards, arguing the MNLS's agenda leads to a narrow and impoverished school experience. They also argue these new Learning Standards, with the format defended by the MNLS, support the use of market solutions to education problems through the private provision of teaching materials, teacher training and assessment.

The MNLS consists of a network of individuals and organisations, a discourse community focused on the need for education reform. The group is made up of policy entrepreneurs, traveling technocrats and "thought leaders" offering solutions to education policy "problems". The members, in various ways claim a certain expertise and they are enacting particular forms of what Mitchell (2002) calls "techno-politics", that link expert knowledge to political power in diverse and distinctive forms (Larner and Laurie, 2010 p. 223). Its intersecting and overlapping relations and interactions are now part of the education reform process in Brazil. Nonetheless, this is a policy network that is *under construction*; "always in the process of being made … never finished; never closed" (Massey, 2005, p. 9). The MNLS's network draws on a variety of direct interpersonal social relations and high levels of interpersonal trust and is animated by various kinds of *meetingness* (Urry 2003). Conferences, workshops, discussion groups are occasions for the reiteration, reinvigoration, and re-affirmation of discourse and allegiances, a shared language is borrowed/developed to re-name the social.

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[25] See MNLS website http://movimentopelabase.org.br/referencias/

[26] Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Educação (CNTE in Portuguese), IE's representative in Brazil. It has recently held seminars about privatisation, marketisation and the national curriculum. They also have concluded two research projects about privatisation, focusing on the National Congress board on education, and education funding. This proposed study would complement well these two research efforts and strengthen not only the work of IE but also CNTE. (see http://www.sinprodf.org.br/educadores-contra-a-privatizacao)

The MNLS consists of both people and institutions. The 'institutional supporters' of the movement include new philanthropy organisations (family or corporate), research organisations and education civil servants associations. The Mobilisation's decisions are taken in group meetings, where all members can voice opinions. Lemann Foundation, Natura Institute and the bank Itau BBA fund it, and Lemann Foundation is also the 'executive secretariat', with the task of carrying out the decisions taken by the group. The institutional supporters are presented below:

Table 6. Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards institutional supporters

Type of institution	Names
Research Association or Organisation	ABAVE: Brazilian Association of Education Assessment CENPEC: Centre of Studies and Research in Education, Culture and Community Action, run by Maria Alice Setubal, member of the family owner of the conglomerate bank Itaú-Unibanco
Family Philanthropy	Fundação Lemann: Swiss-Brazilian investor Jorge Paulo Lemann Fundação Roberto Marinho: the newspaper Globo Instituto Ayrton Senna: the deceased racer Ayrton Senna Instituto Inspirare: the Gradin family, civil construction company Odebrecht
Corporate Philanthropy	Instituto Natura: the cosmetic products company Natura Instituto Unibanco: the conglomerate bank Itau-Unibanco
Education civil servants associations	CONSED: Council of State Secretariats of Education UNDIME: National Union of Municipal Directors of Education
Corporate advocacy coalition	Todos pela Educação: organisation with companies that advocates for education reform
NGO	Educational Community CEDAC

The Mobilisation was created in 2013, and "had at first the goal of bringing the theme of the national base into the agenda of education in Brazil" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). As a policy entrepreneur, the group started its work by labouring to bring attention to the policy idea of a standardised curriculum, and create support to it:

> So in 2013 we brought together a group of specialists, institutions, public managers and started to feel how this debate would go here, if it would go forwards, if people were interested in discussing it. For our surprise they were really interested, they really believed this theme had a great potential, as a structural reform of education, with great potential to make a difference and this group started to work together (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

The MNLS is focused on reforming education, and believe a systemic and wide reform can be started and promoted by a standard curriculum. The MNLS was able to formulate a "powerful supporting idea" (Baumgartner et al., 2009), one that is hard to refute, by framing the curriculum as a policy solution to social and education inequality. The members argue the learning standards would be a tool to ensure all children's "right to learn" through the country, regardless of one's social situation or the city and state they are from. This is an example of how "powerful supporting ideas" are "generally connected to core political values which can be communicated directly and simply through image and rhetoric. The best are such things as progress, participation, patriotism, independence from foreign domination, fairness, economic growth - things no one taken seriously in the political system can contest" (Baumgartner et al., 2009, p. 7). Opposing a policy, in this case a standardised curriculum, is made "unthinkable", rending resistance untenable or easily dismissed. As Macedo (2017) puts it:

> I have been working with the understanding that the political articulations for the definition of a learning standard are responsible not only for the proposition of a national curriculum, but for creating its need as well. In an even deeper level, the naturalisation of such a need lies on and supports the creation of an understanding of a curriculum, restricting the multiplicity of the term in the national and international literature. Such literature register that there are no conclusive studies concerning the impact of national curricula, rather over the quality of education or the reduction of inequality and growth of social justice (Macedo, 2017, p. 510)

The Mobilisation then became engaged in activities to "defend ideas" (Capella, 2016), advocating with "sheer tenacity" (Kingdon, 2013), or labouring to speak to a wide-range of audiences, in many different spaces:

> At first as I said, putting the topic in the agenda. So speaking about it in different ways, in the press, in events, in meetings with the government, with congressman, with all kinds of 'interlocutors'. Second, we started to produce research here in Brazil about the need of a common curricular base for Brazilian students, what this base would be like, what were the main concerns, what teachers thought about it, comparing the existing curricula in the states to see what we already have here (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

The MNLS has worked to reach a wide-range of groups and stakeholders, making use of a variety of strategies, tools and spaces (press, events, private meetings), and producing research with "specialists" to create a legitimate "evidence-based" case for its policy ideas. The group has invested considerable resources and effort in producing 'studies' of various kinds. In its website, over 50 reports and studies are made available, most of these are not produced by Lemann Foundation itself. Instead, they are contracted out to other institutions. Namely, ACARA and the Curriculum Foundation have written the majority of reports, but some national organisations and members of the MNLS have collaborated to the "research portfolio" as well, such as CENPEC, which produced a report comparing the curricula existing in Brazilian states.

In MNLS, as a network, resources and knowledge are shared, in such a way that a report produced by one member of movement becomes a "material" to be used by the entire group: "CENPEC is a member of the movement, so it is one of the studies the movement offers. […] As these organisations are also dedicated to research in the area of education, we end up gathering it all in the movement" (Interview, Lemann, 2016). Similarly, MNLS's members are organised in working groups, which are created according to identified needs. There is, for example, the working group of "knowledge production", which produces studies and reports regarding curricula: "there is a subgroup of people who are interested in the topic, who created a group that produces knowledge about the theme. So they do research, check with ACARA the high school formats in the world, discuss with MEC, create political arrangements and so on" (Interview Lemann, 2016). The MNLS then is not a single policy entrepreneur, it is a *policy network entrepreneur*, in which resources are shared, and each member contributes with something, each institution or person contributes with their own strengths and expertise.

The produced studies and reports are described as "policy inputs" ("*insumos"*) by the MNLS interviewees, documents that are used to reach, gain the attention of and influence policymakers. One representative of Lemann Foundation shows how he wished they were the ones writing the curriculum, and regrets they are not. Instead, the adopted strategy is to produce materials that may influence or steer decision-makers:

> I am a producer of education policy, so it is a proper work of advocacy. We try, but sadly it is not us who are writing the Learning Standards, but we try to produce inputs to help the ones who have the pen in their hands. It is about having influence over people with these inputs we produce (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016)

In this sense, the use of the word 'input' is telling about the foundation's view of policy. Coming from the field of economics, the term "input" refers to the products that enter the production line of goods or services. The MNLS sees its reports as an element that enters the "production line" of policies, which together with other inputs will make up the final product, demonstrating a technical view of the policy-making process, rather than political.

An example of an "input" provided by the MNLS to MEC is the "Curriculum Writing Guide". MEC recruited "subject specialists" to discuss, formulate and write the learning standards documents. However, according to a Lemman Foundation staff member, writing a curriculum is a "sophisticated skill in itself", which involves not only knowing the content and creating a teaching order, but also - and specially - writing it clearly through learning goals. Allegedly, this skill was not "available in Brazil", thus with support of ACARA and the Curriculum Foundation the MNLS created a guide: "ACARA and other partners produced a guide of how to elaborate curricula, a guide of thirty pages with tips and examples, very useful, very accessible, any person can read and understand "oh, I see now, this is how a curriculum has to be organised and this is how you write a learning goal" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, São Paulo).

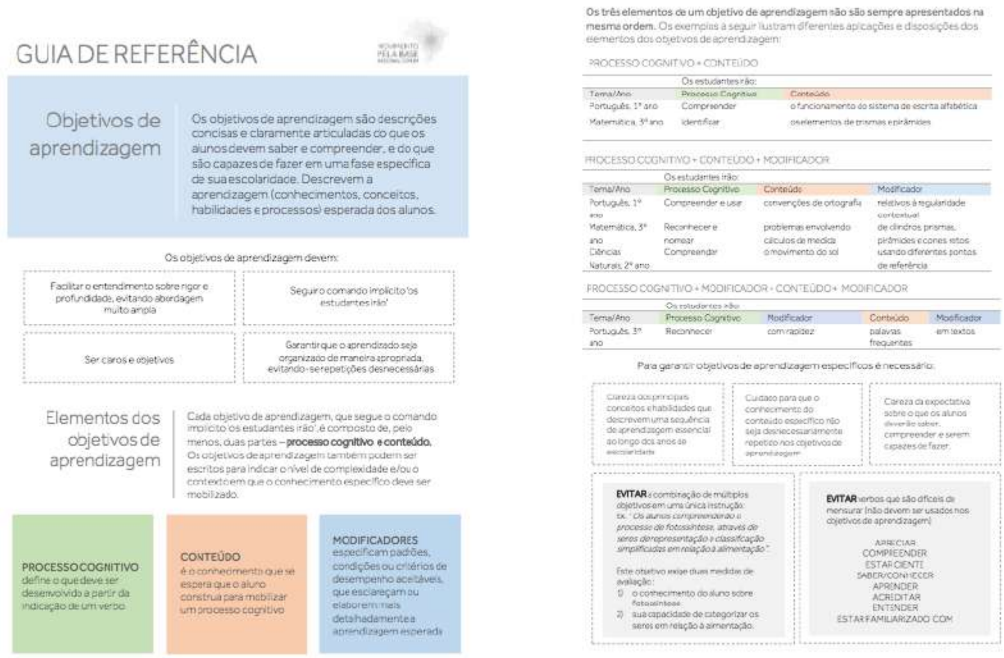

Figure 6. Curriculum writing guide produced by the MNLS with support of ACARA

Although the complete version of guide is not available at the MNLS's website, there is a two-pages long version titled "Reference Guide for the Writing of Learning Goals". The document describes simplistically and rigidly how a learning goal should be elaborated, including a list of verbs that should be completely avoided for being "hard to measure". In this situation, through the creation and provision of a "curriculum writing guide" from MNLS to MEC, the two organisations entered into a cooperative relationship, in which MNLS's "inputs" - which carry with them MNLS's view of education and curriculum - were directly used by MEC to frame and instruct the curriculum writing team. Differently from a traditional understanding of "advocacy", the "inputs" are not used as an external tool by MNLS, as an agent who tries to influence internal decision-makers. Instead, the movement is able to participate in the process of framing and conceptualising the curriculum and curriculum making. Not only the material was disseminated to the writing team, but through the creation of such "expertise", made official by the studies created and the network capital brought to bear, MCNB "trained" the writers of the curriculum.

Such internal access and participation raises questions regarding accountability. In spite of a short-version of the guide being publicly available, the complete document is not, like many other "inputs": "other inputs depend on the strategy of ‘influence’ and how receptive the ministry and other agencies are. Sometimes it is better not to advertise we are doing this work, you know?" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). Thus, whether or not documents and reports are made publically available depend on a political agreement between the actors, MNLS and the Ministry of Education. In other words, weather the parts see it as beneficial advertising the collaboration or not, depending on the material and context at the stake.

MNLS has shown "sheer tenacity" (Kingdon, 2013) in policy entrepreneurship labour. The Mobilisation has promoted countless events, including seminars and small meetings with deputies, representatives of MEC, of state and municipal secretaries, the writing team of the curriculum, and so on. The group has also invested in public communications, with email lists, YouTube videos, Twitter and Facebook posts:

> Yes, we mobilise whoever wants to help in the cause. Sometimes there is this direct dialogue with MEC, sometimes the writers of the Learning Standards, which are scholars that work full-time in public universities, so they are not part of the permanent team of MEC, so we have relationships with them too and other stakeholders, such as the teachers' union and the press - in a last case, in case the government does not abide (*acatar*), going to the press is always an option (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

The group creates relationships with many actors around the learning standards - MEC, university scholars that are participating in the process, teacher unions and the press. Such relationships build a network that is far-reaching and diverse, but also fragile, ever changing and temporary. The reach of the network is important for gaining legitimacy and is fundamental not only for framing problems and solutions, but also for bringing about change and disseminating a policy epistemology – the ‘how’ of policy and policy knowledge (Capella, 2016). Maintaining such networks, however, demands a lot of labour. Lemann Foundation has a small team solely focused on network building - which is also employed in MNLS (see chapter 5). The team has one manager and two coordinators - one focused on technical aspects and input production, and the other focused on communication and articulation, which is reported as having "the same importance as the technical side"

(Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). Thus, Lemann Foundation's institutional governance of "policy advocacy" reflects the two key aspects in policy entrepreneurship: framing policy ideas (with support of "evidence"), and disseminating such ideas through communication and networks (for a fuller discussion on how policy ideas are defended through networking, especially events and meetings, see chapter 4).

4.3. Global policy entrepreneurship: MNLS's international consultancies and benchmarking

In its effort to frame and disseminate policy ideas, the MNLS has drawn upon educational reforms undertaken in other countries, including the United States, Canada, England, Chile and Australia. Many of the materials produced by the group have an international character, either by deriving from institutions from other countries through consulting services or by comparing education reforms and curricula in different countries in search for “best-practices”, which is referred to as “benchmarking”. Namely, the Australian agency ACARA and the English organisation Curriculum Foundation have been MNLS’s official international consultants, which were hired to write commissioned studies. ACARA has provided, for example, the guide on how to write a curriculum, presented in the previous section. There are 14 documents in MNLS's website written by ACARA, about the Australian and the Brazilian curricula and many videos on YouTube. Representatives of ACARA have been to Brazil numerous times with different goals and have attended numerous meetings, events, and seminars with representatives of Lemann Foundation, the MNLS, the Ministry of Education, the National Council of Education, the congress and the senate, and the writing team of the Base:

> Only this year ACARA came to Brazil twice. … And they come and do a bunch of meetings, a lot of talks to help solving the main difficulties, exchange ideas, talk with the Movement. But also talk with deputies, talk with the writing team and talk with everyone that is important in this debate (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

Policy pipelines (McCann and Ward, 2012), are built through events, meetings and the production of reports, through which policies “travel”. Consultants make distant places close by creating such policy pipelines. Policies are made mobile with reports, presentations, seminar talks, and “the production of such artifacts involves work of “lifting out” knowledge from elsewhere and skillfully “folding” it into the municipal decision-making process" (Hurl, 2017, p. 186).

The Australian example has become especially important for MNLS. This country has adopted a standardised curriculum and claims to be a “policy model” (Lingard and McGregor, 2014) and is referred to by MNLS as a "case of success" that faced similar challenges as Brazil due to being organised in a federal system. As an interviewee from Lemann Foundation describes:

> It has been gaining space, we believe it is a very interesting reference indeed. They also created a curriculum by competences, so we believe an inspiration in this direction will favour a more modern curriculum. I believe they understand our difficulties, they have gone through similar challenges, and really I think the Ministry has identified itself with the Australian Curriculum, as a reference. We are happy because it is a good reference, which brought results (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

However, the selection of MNLS’s "international influences" (MNLS website) is not made solely based on their "curriculum models", but also previous connections the Movement had with "experts" from such countries. Regarding the USA, Lemann Foundation had previous partnerships with influential universities in the country, including Stanford, Harvard, Columbia, MIT, UCLA. Similarly, England is included in the “cases list” due to Lemann Foundation’s previous relationships with Oxford University. Regarding Chile, the University of Chile participates in an annual teacher-training programme in Stanford, which facilitates connections with Lemann Foundation. Thus, "it was kind of natural that we reached these people" (Interview Lemman Foundation, 2016). This illustrates how:

> Models, in this sense, do not simply designate place-specific processes of innovation or sites of creative invention, as the diffusionist paradigm might have it; *they connote networks of policymaking sites, linked by overlapping ideological orientations, shared aspirations, and at least partly congruent political projects* (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 171, added emphasis).

The policy models pointed to by MNLS are not selected in any simple way. Instead of being chosen due to their “success” or “innovation”, several aspects are engaged in this selection. These can include personal or institutional connections that have little to do with curriculum matters (and perhaps education itself) – shared interests, ideological affinities and so on. Concerning the Australian “case”, MNLS was especially interested and had “overlapping ideological orientations” with ACARA due to its standard curriculum, which can be easily measured and centrally managed.

These policy models are "creatures of dominant interests, traveling from centres of authority along politically constructed and ideologically lubricated channels" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 170). The creation of models involves two somewhat contradictory processes. On the one hand, policies are detached from their contexts and simplified in idealised abstractions; they are "externally projected as widely generalizable, if not wholly immutable and universal” (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 170). Hence, they have an "expectation of comparable results, despite obvious differences in institutional arrangements and political alignments between the places of policy innovation and the zones of policy emulation" (Peck and Theodore, 2011, p. 170). On the other, they are symbolically and politically grounded in one place to evoke credibility and desirability, because "models that (appear to) come from somewhere travel with the license of pragmatic credibility, and models that emanate from the "right" places invoke positive associations of (preferred forms of) best practice" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 170) – they are “what works”. Thus, policy models came from specific places, ones with "an ideologically palatable origin story" (Peck and Theodore, 2010) and “the reason why many models achieve mobility in the first place is that they have, in some way or another, been ideologically anointed or sanctioned. There is a pre-constituted market for lessons from Barcelona or Vancouver, locations that are consonant with prevailing policy fixes" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 171).

In this sense, although there are global trends of searching for silver-bullet solutions (Ball and Olmedo, 2011, p. 85), a development perspective that understands that policies from "the right places" (Peck and Theodore, 2010) need to be imported by "developing countries" sustains this policy mobility dynamic. In spite of changing international relations, there are persistent

> global governance discourses, which effectively enframe and organize the evolving normative consensus, [that] continue to bear the imprint of what Sheppard and Leitner call a "developmentalist socio-spatial imaginary," which preemptively legitimizes first-world expertise and which combines a stageist teleology with an essentially neoliberal vision of competitive leveling (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 171).

What is striking is that "these global development discourses are today less likely to be enforced by the blunt instruments of structural adjustment" but "increasingly, they travel in the form of favoured models of development and socio-technical fixes" (Peck and Theodore, 2010). These models do not "always originate from organizations like the World Bank, but instead are selectively harvested from the fields of decentralized governance, refined into development models and (best) practices, and purposefully re-circulated through global networks" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 172).

Indeed, some interviewees treated policy mobility as a developmental duty: "Anyone that comes to Brazil after being in Europe, sees quite quickly: Brazil's biggest need is education" (Interview Bosch Foundation, 2016). A global mobility of education policy is framed as a "need", and policy mobility is embraced as a duty to ensure development. The "need" of “importing” from other countries in order to develop/adopt/adapt certain policy solutions was made clear by a representative of Lemann Foundation, while explaining why MNLS hired ACARA for a series of services, including creating a guide and a training workshop on how to write curricula:

> That is what was missing in Brazil, because the country does not have experience in developing documents of this kind. So that is why we searched abroad and ACARA and other partners produced a guide on how to elaborate a curriculum. It is a thirty page-long guide with tips, examples and so on, very useful, anyone can read and understand "oh, I see now, this is how a curriculum has to be organised and this is how you write a learning goal". So we outsourced this work, because there was no expertise here in Brazil. We later translated to Portuguese and distributed it to MEC (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016)

In this quote, the underestimation of Brazilian teachers, educators, researchers, scholars, policymakers and other types of professionals that would be well suited for the job is striking. There is a contrast between the ones who were not considered in the process, like local practitioners, with ACARA, one that can be branded as an international expert, in spite of national criticisms towards current curriculum and assessment education policies in Australia (Lingard and Sellar, 2012). The ‘successes’ travel, the criticisms do not (Morris, 2012). Global power relations, informed by colonial views, are at stake here, which claim certain knowledge is not present in the entire country of Brazil, but "legitimizes first-world expertise" (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

In this global arena, ACARA, as the model creator, is also interested in the creation of this "policy pipeline" (Cook and Ward, 2012). The organisation aims to position itself as a global leader and example in education (ACARA Annual Report 2016). Thus, it must be able to enrol followers, because "a model can only become a model, needless to say, if it has followers, but it will not enrol followers unless it holds the promise of extra-local salience. Models that travel therefore reveal at least as much about "demand-side" needs, imperatives, and anxieties as they do about supply-side inventiveness" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 172). In this case, it seems Brazil was successfully enrolled as a follower. This is, in part, a manifestation of the concomitant state restructuring and new modes of governing in Australia, wherein state agencies are increasingly expected to be partly self-funded. In a globalised context, in which policies are cross-scalar and not limited to national boundaries, state reforms in one location can relate to and have effects to governing reforms elsewhere (see chapter 6 for a discussion on *global heterarchies*).

The framing of the curriculum policy problems and solutions advocated and undertaken by MNLS is not nationally bounded. Instead, it has been developed in and through global policy networks, through which information, discourses and resources flow. Indeed, the adoption of certain "policy models" reinforces and stabilises the framing of policy problems and solutions, as "substantially, models perform "formatting" functions (cf. Mitchell, 2002), in that they effectively crystallize not only a preferred bundle of practices and conventions, they also stitch together particular readings of policy problems with putative solutions" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 170). Similarly, the dissemination and communication of MNLS has also been influenced by these international connections, as they provide legitimacy to MNLS and leverage in negotiating and convincing other stakeholders (Kingdon, 2013).

4.4. Final remarks. Framing education policy with vast resources

New philanthropy has been investing high volumes of resources, including money, connections and time, in framing, defending and disseminating education policy ideas. To make it possible, new philanthropists have been assembling the impression of being "experts" to create a claim of being heard, and having an “authoritative voice”. Part of this effort involves sharing ideas in many spaces, such as the press, events, public hearings and others, working with "sheer tenacity" (Kingdon, 2013). Knowledge mobilisation is especially important in this context, done through published studies and the dissemination of ideas in the press, in events, meetings and networking. In this process, policy problems and solutions are framed, according to the foundations' corporate views of education and education reform interests.

The Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards has been a particularly successful policy entrepreneur. Having framed the need of a new curriculum as a solution to social and educational inequality and an opportunity for a wide reform of the Brazilian education, the MNLS created a "powerful support idea” (Baumgartner and Jones, 2009), one that is attached to widely held social values, such as social equality, making the policy solution unlikely to be dismissed. This framing has not been done within national borders. Instead, it has been framed within global policy networks, through which hegemonic discourses and ideas and resources flow. A consultancy service from the Australian agency ACARA has been especially relevant, making possible the mobility of a particular standardised curriculum "policy model".

The operation of these policy entrepreneurial activities requires considerable volumes of capitals of different sorts. With its corporate connections, new philanthropy is able to mobilise vast financial, social and network capitals that are not available to other policy actors, such as grassroots movements. At the same time, in creating a claim to being heard, new philanthropy has created a safe space for corporate actors to disseminate their policy ideas, including institutions and individuals. Having less resistance than for profit companies, "strategically, philanthropy has provided a "Trojan horse" for modernizing moves that opened the 'policy door' to new actors and new ideas and sensibilities" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 32). This "raises serious concerns regarding the disproportionate power of super wealthy individuals and their related philanthropic organizations relative to public education policy and the democratic decision-making process" (Au and Ferrare, 2014, p. 19). New philanthropy, with its vast and intense policy entrepreneurial efforts "is able to carry its reform agenda and ideology forward into fully realized education policy through sheer force of material and symbolic sponsorship, but with little public accountability" (Au and Ferrare, 2014, p. 19). So further research is required to better understand the flow of investments, material and symbolic, within new philanthropy. In Brazil, unlike some countries such as the USA, foundations are not required to publicly account for their financial investments. Some organisations, including Lemman Foundation, refuse to publicise the amounts and sources of their funding.

Chapter 5. Labour to relate in networks: coordination and interdependence

Policy networks join-up diverse actors in many ways and involve both pragmatic social relations and the constitution of moral and epistemic communities (Junemann et al., 2018). The maintenance and activation of these networks require "chains of on-going effort" (Fenwick, 2011), which involve communication and moments of meetingness (Urry, 2003). Thus, foundations invest resources in initiating and maintaining interactions both virtually and face-to-face, with frequent meetings through seminars, conferences and social events, that become key sites, or network nodes, for policy making. They are "sites of knowledge exchange" and "sites of persuasion" (McCann, 2008), where relationships are built or strengthened, and policy discourses are shared. Thus, it becomes fundamental that policy analysis pays attention to the "wheres" of policy (Ball et al., 2017).

A fundamental trait of networks is the exchange of resources, as “the work of these groups is based predominantly on forms of group exchange involving people, materials, resources, histories, and struggles” (McFarlane, 2009, p. 566). Different types of resources are exchanged in the coordination of networks. Namely, money, connections and labour are continuously exchanged in fluid networks. So among the diverse field of studies of policy networks, with its different theoretical basis and possible uses (to describe, explain, manage, interpret), the literature shares a concept of policy networks, in which, at minimum, authors agree they are characterised by interdependence and coordination (Enroth, 2011). First, interdependence is “commonly construed as mutual resource dependence, meaning simply that the actors in a network are believed to be dependent on each other’s resources - whatever resources - in order to realise their objectives” (Bevir, 2008, p. 114). However, network actors do not interact and collaborate solely on the need of resources. In addition, there is a need to reach common understandings on policy issues, or to pool resources to implement a policy (Enroth, 2011). Thus, second, coordination “occurs whenever two or more policy actors pursue a common outcome and work together to produce it”, which is “both a driving force of governance and one of its goals” (Bevir, 2008, p. 56).

This chapter explores *how* philanthropies labour to animate policy networks, with attention to the interdependence and coordination of these actors. Within this, I carefully look at the relevance of events for global education policy networks. First, the chapter offers a general overview of the pragmatic and mundane activities carried out for the construction of network relationships, analysing how on-going chains of effort are used to activate and coordinate policy networks. To offer a glimpse of how much happens in a single event, one seminar is closely examined - with an exploration of its relevance for the policy debates at the time, for the mobilisation of MNLS and the connection of global networks.

5.1. New philanthropy and education networks: resource sharing and labour to coordinate

Networks involve formal and informal relationships, material and discursive, with strong and weak ties. They involve both pragmatic social relations and the constitution of moral and epistemic communities. Pragmatic aspects revolve around the sharing of resources, and different kinds of labour, including meetingness. Networks are more unstable than we tend to imagine them, as

> despite some unfortunate metaphorical baggage of networks as self-contained linear pipelines or reified engineered linkages, networks can be envisioned as far more ephemeral and rhizomatic in nature. Networks are simply webs that grow through connections. The connections can be thick and thin, rigid and limp, close and distant, dyadic and multiple, material and immaterial. And the connections have spaces between them (Fenwick, 2011, p. 119).

Formal and more stable partnerships can be created to gather strength in the political arena, in large coalitions such as the Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards, Todos pela Educação and GIFE. Sometimes a project brings foundations together, such as Conviva (see chapter 4). These partnerships allow the sharing of labour, investments and knowledge. Foundations also use networks as a means to create capillarity, creating connections with people in different places and contexts. This can be done through fellowship schemes, such Lemann Fellows with former scholarship holders that keep in touch, or online platforms, like the ones organised by Ayrton Senna Institute and Natura Institute.

This first section discusses the labour invested in maintaining relationships in the network of foundations in the Brazilian education. First it discusses the interdependence of resources between network members, namely financial and network capitals. Second, it analyses the network coordination efforts invested through mundane actions such as the creation of programmes, scholarships, mailing lists and governance boards. Relatedly, the section closes with a discussion of how events are used to animate networks, and considers three examples to then focus on a seminar organised by the Unibanco Institute.

5.1.1 Interdependence and resource sharing: financial and network capitals

Financial interdependence and exchanges are a fundamental aspect of networks. Since 2013, the companies Procter and Gamble (P&G) and CODIN (Company of Industrial Development of the State of Rio de Janeiro) have been funding a project of the Ayrton Senna Institute and the Secretary of Education of Rio de Janeiro. When local authorities approached the institute, the former already had a “policy solution” to create an "innovative curriculum model" for “full time” schools (Interview, Ayrton Senna, 2016). The programme also included technologies of "management, training, follow up and evaluation” (Ayrton Senna Institute Website), and was first adopted by the city in a single pilot school. Now, this initiative has been implemented in 35 schools and is considered a public policy of the Rio de Janeiro municipality (Interview, Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016). As for the Ayrton Senna Institute, it has rolled out the project to the state of Santa Catarina and included the “policy solution” in its “portfolio” of technologies (see chapter 6). This PPP project that has grown into a multi-sited reform was made possible by the private funding offered by for-profit companies – including the multi-national P&G.

This funding model is not an exception, many public-private partnerships bring together foundations and secretaries of education, which draw on financial support from businesses. In a previous reform effort in the state of Minas Gerais, for-profit and not-for-profit organisations came together to fund a project of the Ayrton Senna Institute with a consultancy by McKinsey (Interview, Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016).

The flow of funding from companies to foundations and public secretaries of education is done in exchange of other benefits, such as marketing, as an interviewee explains:

> There is a lot of people who want to fund a project, who see that the Institute has good relationships… and people like to link their brand to the name of the Institute. In Minas Gerais, our project was funded by the Fundação Brava, that brought 5 or 6 partners to fund the coming of McKinsey there, including Lemann Foundation, Camargo Correa and others[ii] (Interview, Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016).

A complex network is created with an interdependence of money, expertise, reputation and work deriving out of for-profit and not-for profit organisations wishing to fund Ayrton Senna's projects in an attempt of benefiting from its public image. Here, simply being connected to the Ayrton Senna Institute becomes a good to be exchanged. Connections themselves are turned into "resources" that are shared in networks, in what can be understood as "network capital" (Urry, 2007). Urry (2007) defines network capital as “the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit" (p.197). Differently from social capital, "network capital is not to be viewed as an attribute of individual subjects … [It] is a product of the relationality of individuals with others and with the affordances of the "environment’ (Urry, 2007, p. 198).

Network capital depends on the active participation in networks, one that changes and is changed by the "environment". With a high volume of network capital, Lemann Foundation benefits from the shared connections of Jorge Paulo Lemann's companies[iii], such as Ambev, to reach its policy entrepreneurship goals, including lobbying purposes. Lemann Foundation and other foundations like it are able to “span boundaries" (Williams, 2002) and "tend to have high network capital because they are proficient at creating inter and intra-organizational social connections, including between the public and the private sector. Here *power becomes a case of who you know, not what you know* (Elliot and Urry, 2010)" (Hogan et al., 2015a, p. 46, added emphasis). As one member of this foundation’s governance body, explains:

> It is like “we need lobbying" - then "well, talk to that person in Ambev”, which is the person in Ambev responsible for I don't know what… So there goes Denis, talk to someone in Ambev who is the f****** man in that area… [it is like that] in any area, ok? So the foundation benefits because he (Jorge Paulo Lemann) does a lot of brain-picking in the companies of the group[iv] (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

There is a double blurring of public and private boundaries in sharing financial and network capitals. First, there is a blurring regarding funding, with money flows between private organisations, not-for-profit philanthropy and government institutions. Second, there is a blurring concerning people, with connections that are shared between for-profit and not-for-profit organisations. This enables foundations and companies to have access to people and spaces not possible otherwise.

Foundations develop high volumes of network capital in crossing and erasing boundaries between public and private, and are an example of how network capital is unevenly distributed. The distribution of network capital, or the “position in a network – and ultimately power” (Hogan et al., 2015a, p. 45) depends on *mobilities*. Here, it is understood that "mobilities are not necessarily about travel, but rather the movement of people, ideas, objects and information, what Appadurai (1996) referred to as 'flows'” (Hogan et al., 2015a, p. 45). To perform such mobilities, certain resources and competences are needed.

Particularly, network capital “requires the physical supports for networking — the infrastructure that enables mobility and connectivity — as well the embodied competencies of individuals and groups to gain advantage from these supports to different degrees" (Hogan et al., 2015a, p. 45). New philanthropies can span boundaries and use their easy access to the required tools for mobilities: both the physical support - with movements of people and ideas through trips, events, meetings and technologies of communication (and the required financial support) - and the embodied competences to use them - with the corporate practices and values of networking and building relationships. In doing so, new philanthropists work as boundary spanners, "movers and shakers" (Williams, 2002) — someone (or something) “who has the ability to connect and ensure cooperation within and across different networks by sharing common goals and combining resources" (Ball, 2017, p. 33). They bring "unlikely partners together" break "through red tape", and see "things in a different way" (Williams, 2002, p. 109).

5.1.2. Coordination labour: formal and informal efforts

Foundations employ formal and informal efforts to coordinate networks. The first includes initiatives that deliberately enrol members, like groups, movements or mobilisations, coalitions and platforms. The second involves on going efforts of meeting and talking, face-to-face or virtually, to strengthen ties and discourses in epistemic communities (Ball and Junemann, 2011), which are encapsulated by the idea of “meetingness” (Urry, 2003).

Formal efforts to coordinate networks

In a rather deliberate attempt to organize and coordinate policy communities, foundations try to create formal groups to bring together specific (and strategically valuable) actors, people with similar pre-occupations or interests. Examples include networks of researchers, educators, teachers, or scholarship fellows. These formal groups require some kind of “enrolment” or official affiliation, and create new spaces for collaboration and exchange. A lot of labour is invested in growing and managing these communities (which are named by the members as “networks”), to create and strengthen connections between people that would not meet or collaborate otherwise. Thus, these groups have email lists, annual meetings, seminars and workshops, online platforms and virtual seminars provided and organized by the supporting foundation to "animate" networks. In the table below there are some examples.

Table 7. New philanthropies' initiatives of formal coordination of networks

Institution	Groups	Enrolled actors
Lemann Foundation	Lemann Fellows Talentos da Educação Rede de Cientistas Conselho de Classe	Former scholarship grantees that studied in universities abroad Educators with "innovative" projects Education researchers Teachers from public schools
Natura Institute	Conviva Escola Digital Rede de Apoio a Educacao	Municipal secretaries of education Teachers and students Municipal secretaries of education
Ayrton Senna	Rede Nacional de Ciencia para a Educacao Gestores em Rede	Education researchers Head teachers

Lemann Foundation has a department solely dedicated to managing these groups, with a member of staff, a "network manager", with the responsibility of activating and coordinating Lemann Foundation's groups. He describes how the foundation "understands it is necessary to have a number of social leaders with large-scale social impact work". Thus, the foundation creates, organizes and animates different communities to recruit and enlist people, which ultimately enlarge the organisation's reach (and network capital) (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). He says:

> My area takes care of these networks. There's the Lemann Fellows network, [and] there's the *Talentos da Educação* network. We have scholarships for students [to go] abroad, but we [also] bring good people in the education field and encourage those people who want to do social impact on an even larger scale. So we seek these people with this profile, but also look for those who have the potential to develop something, to develop something on a larger scale, greater impact, and we offer a lot of support, and training accordingly [v] (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

He continued to describe how the Lemman Foundation labours to manage these groups and animate networks. The group "Talents of Education" (*Talentos da Educação*) brings together 58 people, and offers "scholarships to subsidize courses, as well as an "immersion" with high level speakers, well qualified" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). The "high level" training might include international speakers, like scholars from Yale.

Moderating and stimulating connections between members, the group is another effort undertaken by the foundation. Indeed, this is promoted as one of the benefits of participating in these groups, having access to a network of people in different professional fields, as the interviewee puts it "if they need support, articulation of something, we try to help, even within the *Talentos'* network itself[vi]" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). In other words, being a member of these groups represents having access to greater network capital. Network members can help each other, drawing from the shared resources of the network, and eventually have grater participation in policy-making together. At the same time, the foundation's network capital is also enlarged, since the members open access to new spaces.

The management of these groups is challenging: as when members change employment and occupations, the networks change as well. In this fluid context, Lemann Foundation maintains an effort to map and monitor its own networks and connections. Besides organising annual meetings of the groups, this Lemann Foundation staff member keeps track of people's employment affiliations and work activities, animates virtual communications and guides possibly beneficial contacts within the network, as reported from one member:

> One day in Lemann I received an email asking who were the most influential people in education that I knew by telephone or email. They were doing a network mapping of influence in education. […] In the *Imersão*, of the *Estudar* [Foundation], I am there in the list of people to talk in the events of *Imersão*[vii] (Ayrton Senna interview, part of a Lemann Foundation - *Talentos da Educação*).

With all these efforts of network coordination, Lemman Foundation operates as an active and reflexive node in wide and far-reaching networks. It occupies a broker position that joins up and articulates different parts of a disparate network.

This formal coordination of networks is also made clear in Natura Institute's work in mapping the interests, investments and programmes of different foundations in an attempt to create partnerships, straightening relationships and create efficiency in the network. Working from the assumption that the complexity of networks needs to be managed and contained, Natura Institute has an effort of building up partnerships to foster efficiency and efficacy in networks:

> The Natura Institute is an institute highly recognized for working with partnerships. I particularly believe the third sector has a huge waste of energy, because it has a lot of duplicated work, people who do something and find out two years later that someone else was doing the same thing. So there's a lot that is wasted energy. And since I was in the Victor Civita foundation, there was an idea, many people have this idea, this idea is not mine, but many people already had this idea "Come on, let's try to find some way to articulate all this", via GIFE for

> example. The truth is, nobody ever got it. So what the Institute Natura tries to do… we try to be this hub (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016).

In a deliberate and planned way, Natura Institute has been mapping the activities and efforts the organisation has in common with other foundations. In the long quote below there are details of mundane and pragmatic actions put in place to coordinate networks:

> So, for example, now we are in a round of meetings with institutes, the last thing we did was with the Ayrton Senna Institute. What we did is: we went through everything we do, they went through everything they do and we found synergies and next steps. And we're doing this with all the institutes so that we can get a mapping and so on and know what - not all, the main ones - what each one does, for us to be able to find synergy. This is daily, then when some opportunity happens we make a partnership and try to be an articulator. In this full-time school thing, we participate in the Centre of Reference, that belongs to the Aprendiz, Itau Social, SM Foundation and others ... we participate with the institute Sonho Grande, Itau BBA, of a group which discusses full-time school, right? I'm going to welcome someone from the Ayrton Senna Institute to talk about this subject. We work a little as a proactive hub in which we seek these partnerships[viii] (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016).

A series of smaller tasks need to be put in place for the maintenance of formal efforts of coordination, "chains of on-going effort" (Fenwick, 2009, p. 104), with a series of processes, bodies of governance, meetings, emails, online platforms, annual conferences and so on. These depend on the "infrastructure" and a lot of labour that is invested as "network participants need to act jointly in order to realise shared objectives" (Enroth, 2011, p. 27), with a series of mundane activities to coordinate, align and activate the network, which costs money and demands investments (see Chapter 4). For the coordination of the *Conviva* project, for example:

> We have a few rituals of governance. So we have this ADE that is the presidents of the institutes and foundations. They participate in a strategic meeting twice a year, about Conviva. Then afterwards we have another group, another space which is the COMEX, the executive committee with people of each institute and foundation that take care of Conviva. They meet three times a year. We also have the working groups for the project. So, for example, there is a group that regards communication, then the institutes and foundations that want to participate come and say 'I want to participate in communication group'. Then we have this group that will meet to make decisions concerning the daily routine of the project[ix].
> … The Natura Institute leads this project, so here we have a team that is paid by the Conviva, each one of the funders comes in with a part, you know? And this money pays for the execution of the project. We have a team here that runs the project, but this team does nothing that goes against the decisions made by the governance[x] (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016).

The interviewee describes in detail how a lot of labour is invested in a self-conscious and strategic approach (which might be uncommon), as in having meetings, organising working groups, emailing participants, enacting the decisions made and so on. In this context, this labour is divided amongst the participants. Similarly, financial resources are needed to maintain this network operating, to pay for the employees, meetings, communication activities and so on. The labour and cost of maintaining this coordination infrastructure might be high, but generates returns in that foundations can create large-scale projects, with national reach, and achieve impacts on education politics, policies and discourses. The project Conviva is an example this large-scale effect. Led by Natura Institute, it is supported by many organisations, including UNDIME, Itau Social, Lemann Foundation, Maria Souto Vidigal Foundation, Roberto Marinho Foundation, SM Foundation, Telefonica-Vivo Foundation, Victor Civita Foundation, C&A Institute, Itau BBA and Todos Pela Educação. In 2016, there were about 5200 cities that subscribed (about 93% of Brazilian municipalities), about 1700 cities use the platform frequently and 1200 attended the face-to-face training meeting (2016 Annual Report Natura Institute). *Conviva*, it is claimed by a senior representative of the Natura Institute was created to unite efforts in a large education project, as the interviewee reports:

> *Conviva* came about precisely from this desire to be able to articulate foundations and institutes in some way. As we could not do something with all the institutes, we choose to work with the main ones, the largest ones, with some classification they did at the time. Then they tried to identify a topic in which everyone is more or less interested. […] So it was a group that met informally, without a specific project, but seeking to find something to do together. […] They hired the FGV to do research and understand how we could help municipalities in this management issue and such. And then something came up out of this research and the plan was designed, so *Conviva* begun to be planned. The project was put together among all those partners that are from the governance group. And so there was some designing of the project, there was a process of "sewing" to understand what each municipality, every institute, wanted and such… The project was designed with an efficient governance to get everyone involved in some way[xi] (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016).

Informal efforts

The creation, use and maintenance of networks can be, to an extent, a deliberate and planned strategy. In other situations, temporary or informal partnerships and relationships are created, which are also fundamental for the maintenance of networks. Thus, part of the coordination of networks revolves around official groups and representations, such as the MNLS. Other efforts are more informal and continuous, with "chains of on-going effort", a myriad of activities that activate relationships in a network. A portion of such effort is done in spaces of "meetingness", or "moments of *meetingness* when network members from a range of backgrounds come together, where stories are told, visions are shared, arguments are reiterated, new relations and commitments are made, partnerships are forged" (Ball, 2017, p. 37). It is also where "a form of 'buzz' (is) generated by the co-presence of policy makers and practitioners from a range of different contexts" (Cook and Ward, 2012, p. 150).

In more informal ways of coordination, foundations use meetings and events as a tool, and a fundamental one in their operation. These are spaces deliberately crafted as opportunities and possibilities for policy conversations that involve the articulation and reiteration of carefully selected values. Seminars, for example, are planned to gather specifically chosen people: selected "specialists", who will articulate and reinforce the funder's beliefs, and provide a value-added to legitimacy. They bring together "everyone that is important in this debate" (quote from Lemann Foundation interview) – bearing in mind the crafted exclusivity of who and what is important - or the policy makers and supporters needed to advance the organiser's agenda. These seminars usually present the results of the studies mentioned earlier (chapter 4). In these spaces, discourses are shared, policy solutions are presented and public/private partnerships are created or maintained.

Meetings are central to networks, and are "necessary to 'form' and to 'cement' weak ties at least for another stretch of time" (Urry, 2003, p. 231). By "meeting" Urry (2003) refers to "both the highly formalized with 'agendas', structure and timetables and the informal to where the specific space and time are planned in advance to where they are negotiated en route" (p. 232). In what follows there are examples of small meetings - such as a local breakfast social event organised by a venture philanthropy agency in the state of São Paulo - Brazil, and two large seminars - the GIFE Congress and the Unibanco Seminar.

Most large foundations have their own seminar series, usually an annual and biannual meeting that gathers representatives from government, new philanthropy, business and research. For example, Lemann Foundation organises an annual conference with Stanford, in which all Lemann Fellows (research students funded by Lemann Foundation) present the results of their studies to an audience with representatives from diverse organisations. Another example is the seminar series organised by the Unibanco Institute, named "Quality of Education". The 2015 seminar gathered many representatives of the advocacy group MNLS and the Ministry of Education in a pivotal moment of debate about the creation of a standard curriculum in Brazil, which will be analysed in depth in the next section. These events also “announced” the standing and authority of foundations and key actors as, what are called in the lexicon of new philanthropy, “thought leaders”.

Table . New philanthropies events

Institution	Events
Todos Pela Educação	Congresso Todos pela Educacao (2011/13) In 2015: Supported 3 events and attended 28 events of partners
Lemann Foundation	Seminars: Stanford Lemann Centre and Transformar One-off events, like "Excellence with Equity" Lemann Dialogue series [27]
Ayrton Senna Institute	Edulab 21 2015: Desafios do Ensino Médio, Fórum Internacional de Políticas Públicas (with MEC and OECD)
Unibanco Institute	Seminar Gestao Escolar (2015/16)

These spaces of meetingness have both discursive and relational aspects. First, meetings are spaces for framing and sharing policy ideas. These are spaces attentively crafted for policy-making that involve carefully selected values, speakers and attendees. A representative from Lemann Foundation describes events as the following: "It is about working in the same way as the advocacy, we bring subsidies for the discussion, we promote exchanges, meetings, talking…" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

In a small breakfast of corporate investors to discuss venture philanthropic investments there was a poignant example of how discourses can be shared and reinforced in events. In a nice-looking room, inside a prestigious hotel in one central avenue of a large Brazilian city, about 30 corporate people gathered to have breakfast together. With a large table with breads, cheeses, fruits, juices and coffee, there were a few round tables and a little stage put up at the front of the room. Everyone was dressed in formal business clothes - men in suits and women with stiletto shoes. A new Venture Philanthropy company promoted the event, which was a space for networking and promoting their services. This organisation does management of social investment, just as venture capital managers would do. They search for investment opportunities, they classify them, create a portfolio to offer to buyers, and manage investments.

Here, a businessman from the audience shared bluntly his beliefs, using the space to articulate his ideas, which was received with claps from the audience:

[27] http://www.fundacaolemann.org.br/lemann-dialogue/

> Lets bring liberalism to Brazil, lets teach the children and teenagers that being a liberal is not a bad thing, nothing to be ashamed of. That having a small state is not a bad thing, that having private organisations in public services is not a bad thing.
>
> He continued.
>
> I am sure our goal here today is this one, to occupy this vacuum that is created in this fantastic country Brazil, and seize this opportunity to bring these "collaborators" [employees] to our side, and society as whole to our side. And show them that we are the one creating wealth, but now our wealth, a wealth we want to share with society to eliminate exactly what he mentioned, the social injustices, inequalities. That is why we need to educate the young to be less individualists, to believe in this liberal model, but respecting values […] Now is the moment (Field word notes, 2016).

At the same time, meetings and events have a relational aspect and purpose. Meetings combine social and discursive aspects in the coordination of networks. Besides sharing discourses, it is also evident that the social aspect of this meeting over breakfast was no less important. In this case, guests came for a rich breakfast with abundant food, and used that space to "talk and touch" (Santori et al., 2015), fostering trust in a policy network. Events reinforce weak relationships that are fundamental for the maintenance of networks of governance.

In a different context, a very large conference, the same two aspects, discursive and relational, are clear. GIFE organises biannual conferences that bring together representatives from the largest foundations in the country, as well as representatives from business and public organisations. In 2016 the event was held in a prestigious hotel in São Paulo, with more than 800[28] people attending the event. Its 3-day long programme was packed with about 100 presentations about different sectors, issues and trends in corporate philanthropy in Brazil, in Latin America and the world. The presentations were heavily attended, which required a somewhat expensive ticket of R$1000,00 (about £200), the cost of which was often financed by institutions.

As usual, in between talks and round tables there was plenty of time for coffee breaks and socialising. Indeed, the conference had a lounge dedicated for this purpose, which was decorated with sofas and stands of the main funders: Lemman Foundation, Unibanco Institute, Itau Educacional Foundation, Bradesco Foundation and C&A Institute. People chatted while walking between the displays. One could hear conversations that ranged from personal issues to comments on the talks attended in the conference.

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[28] https://gife.org.br/congresso-gife-2016-reune-mais-de-800-pessoas-em-sao-paulo-para-debater-o-sentido-publico-do-investimento-social-privado/

In the photos below, taken by me at the conference, the mixture of content and social relations fostered in meetings is made clear.

Figure 7. GIFE 2016 Conference - social lounge

Figure 8. GIFE 2016 Conference - social lounge

Figure 9. GIFE 2016 Conference - Plenary

Thus, networks are "held in place" with effort and labour. However, it is not only work, but as Marsh and Smith (2002) put it, "networks involve the institutionalization of beliefs, values, cultures and particular forms of behaviour" (p. 6). These are made up not simply of pragmatic relations, but also constitute “moral and epistemic communities" (Ball, 2017). These spaces can strengthen discourses and belief systems in networks, “holding them in place”, as they are “united by not only a corporate vision for education but a view of knowledge, curriculum, and culture” (Saltman, 2010, p. 6). Beliefs are fundamental, and they constitute epistemic communities in networks.

Policy networks are not just a set of connections between sites, but also represent a history of effort and various forms of materiality and performance (Ball, 2017). So these network are "always *under construction"* (Ball, 2017); "always in the process of being made ... never finished; never closed" (Massey, 2005, p. 9). As an example of how much effort, work and history of relations is present in a single event, in what follows there is an in-depth analysis of a single event, the seminar of Unibanco Institute of 2015.

5.2. MNLS's network creation and coordination: the use of meetings

The Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards has been frequently promoting meetings, seminars and events since its creation. This meetingness has created a privileged access to spaces of policy-making, but these efforts and engagement with policy remain mainly opaque and informal. In this section I will discuss how MNLS has been using meetings strategically by analysing its creation through a series of seminars. Second, I will explore how the MNLS was well represented at the Unibanco Institute Seminar “*Gestão Escolar*”, which was held amid debates over the needs and purposes of a standardised national curriculum in Brazil.

5.2.1. Seminars for the creation of the MNLS

MNLS used meetings and seminars as strategic spaces for policy-making since its creation. As examples of how meetings and events are used to activate networks, three fundamental seminars are highlighted in the creation of MNLS (in a long series of events), organised by Lemann Foundation. The first was held in April 2013 at Yale University, in

New Haven, USA, which is referred to by interviewees and on websites as the "creation moment" of MNLS. Titled "Leading Educational Reforms: Empowering Brazil for the 21st Century," the event gathered 35 participants, including members of Brazil's National Congress, state and municipal secretaries of education, officials from foundations and civil society organisations, and representatives of other stakeholders in Brazil's education system (Yale News). The Brazilian group heard talks from Yale faculty, school administrators, policymakers, and advocates who had been part to the development and promotion of the common core curriculum in the United States. According to the Yale News website, "during their time in New Haven, the participants discussed education reform in Brazil and developed an action plan they could implement upon returning home."

In October 2013 there was a 'follow-up' event in Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil. This time, the conference focus was specifically on the development of common core curriculum standards. The conference participants were given "insider perspectives on the development of the Common Core State Standards in the U.S. by Susan Pimentel and Michael Cohen" (Yale School of Medicine News). Pimentel was the main author of the Common Core for literacy and the vice chair of the National Assessment Governing Board that advises on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the U.S. national report card, and Michael Cohen shared strategic lessons from the Common Core State Standards Initiative (Yale School of Medicine News). Complementarily, on the very next day, another seminar was held in São Paulo, organised by CONSED and supported Lemann Foundations, held at Insper (higher education institution) with the scholar Michael Young, from England, as the main speaker.

In March 2015, a further seminar was held at Yale, again organised by Lemann Foundation. Titled "Leading Educational Reforms: Opportunities and Challenges Ahead," this second seminar, referred to in Yale website as a "leadership programme for Brazilian leaders", had 45 Brazilian public officials, as well as Lemann Foundation leadership and staff in a four-day seminar with lectures and workshops by "international education experts". At this moment:

> the goal of the programme was to create an understanding of and consensus around the importance of improving education among Brazil's new political leadership at the national and state levels. In closed-door sessions, Brazilian senators, congressmen, governors, and education leaders discussed the country's pressing educational issues and strategized how to affect change (World Yale News).

This series of events brought together a set of representatives from new philanthropy and academia with bureaucrats and politicians from federal, state and municipal levels. Lemann Foundation invited all of the attendees. In the quote below, from a representative from Lemann Foundation, meetings are described as one way in which the foundation does its policy 'work', and how it targets the actors they want to build a relationship with:

> MNLS surfaced in 2013[29] with the goal of bringing the national common base to the public agenda in Brazil. Since we started this process [with MNLS] we have organised many meetings. Twice already we have taken a group of about 50 people for a week-long immersion at Yale university. Back in 2013 that was how we started, we took a group of people to Yale to discuss curriculum, and there the Movement was created. Then last year [2015] we did it with people that were starting their mandates in January, state secretariats, federal deputies, state deputies, governors… These events are very common, [we do] many meetings, many talks to solve the main difficulties, exchange ideas, talk with the MNLS, but also talk with deputies, with the curriculum writing team, *talk with everyone that is important in this debate* (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016 – added emphasis).

These events are sites that support the creation, evolution and maintenance of an unstable and expanding policy network, within and through which new philanthropy and the state can interact. As noted, network relations are established and “held in place” by “chains of on going effort” (Fenwick, 2009) – meetings, events, conversations, visits, funding, alliances, etc. These are some of “the chains, circuits, networks, webs, and translations in and through which policy and its associated discourses and ideologies are made mobile and mutable” (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 43). MNLS seeks to "teach" decision makers about the importance of a standard curriculum, and clearly points towards the model of the USA Common Core. This series of events was aimed both at gathering support from different actors in different spaces and creating a shared belief in and commitment to the need for a national curriculum. Part of this ideological labour relied on the authority invoked by Yale University. This "teaching" of decision-makers demands the creation of "models" (see chapter 4), and the persuasion of the audience these provide examples to be followed, as Cook and Ward (2012) put it: "their place on the stage relies on their ability (and that of the organizers) to situate them within widely accepted and acknowledged successful examples" (Cook and Ward, 2012, p. 140).

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[29] in spite of claiming to have been funded in 2013, MNLS only shows public activities on the second half of 2015. The website of the movement was created in June 2015, it is possible to find a list of members from October 2015, which was dramatically enlarged after the second seminar at the end of October. There are no mentions in mass media about the group either.

Further, the social aspect of such events, and trips, should not be neglected. They propel conversations and the building of personal relationships and trust, which are essential for the coherence of networks. These are not simply pragmatic relations but also constitute moral and epistemic communities. Over time, members of this “community” have come to know each other well, they work together and share the values which inform their choices and commitments; and they generate and share persuasive arguments that can be used in more hostile contexts (Grek, 2013, p. 56).

5.2.2. MNLS in the Unibanco Seminar: one event as a case

In this section I look at one specific network of actors within the space of an event, a seminar called "Paths for the Quality of Public Education: School Management", which took place in São Paulo, Brazil in September 2015. In June 2015 there had been an on-going debate about "what", "how" and "who" should decide on teaching and learning in Brazil (Galian, 2014). This seminar, organised by a group of Brazilian new philanthropists and companies illustrates very well the use of events to promote the meeting of international representatives from government, business and philanthropy to discuss education policy. The data regards one seminar on education and the policy relations represented at this event.

The seminar entitled "Paths for the Quality of Public Education: School Management", held in São Paulo in September 2015, was organised by the Instituto Unibanco[30] and the newspaper Folha,[31] with the support of Insper[32] - that is, a big national bank and a large national newspaper, supported by a higher education institution that was created and is directed by new philanthropists in Brazil. The organisers were able to employ their financial and social capitals in the organisation of this event: the former, to fund the seminar, and the latter to invite (and fund) high-profile speakers and policy makers, and ensure intense media coverage.

This event was chosen as a focus of analysis for three reasons: the relevance of the organising institutions, the size and importance of the event and the presence of international speakers, the latter was strategically framed by the organisers as being the comparative aspect

[30] Created in 1982, this institute is part of the social investment of the bank Itau-Unibanco, which works mainly with secondary school.

[31] Brazilian newspaper, the second in circulation in the country.

[32] Non-profit private institution of Higher Education and research. Co-created by Lemann, Sicupira and Telles, in its councils there are relevant new philanthropists.

of the seminar. According to the official website, the seminar aimed at "promoting the dialogue between the Brazilian experience of school management and international cases that reached relevant improvements in student learning results". It is an interesting example of “meetingness” in education policymaking, within a large event that promoted the encounter of national and international actors from government, business and new philanthropy. It illustrates the changing nature of face-to-face meetings, which are "less concerned with traditional (one-way) presentations of information and passive learning and more with building and sustaining networks and exchanging social goods" (Urry, 2007, p. 165). All of this is done in highly produced ways, with marketing and design that make events look polished and professional, as the images below illustrate.

Figure 10. Unibanco Institute 2015 Seminar "Gestão Educacional" (Education Management), image from Folha newspaper

Figure 11. Unibanco Institute 2015 Seminar - Barry McGaw, image from Folha newspaper

The main "international" speakers were Barry McGaw, from Australia, Michael Wilshaw and Anthony McNamara, from England, and Mary Jean Gallagher, from Canada. Each of these speakers brought a "symbolic association with specific locations [that] evokes a grounded form of authenticity, implies feasibility, and signals an ideologically palatable origin story" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 170). They are "embodied policy mobilities" (Ball, 2016; Larner and Laurie, 2010), or "travelling technocrats are embodied actors who knowingly create careers for themselves through and against broader political-economic processes and national imaginaries" (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 219). All of them later became "consultants" with their own companies, as "now our 'experts' 'develop' economies and 'experts' elsewhere" (Cowen, 2009, p. 21). Some further information about the speakers in presented in the table below.

Among the Brazilian speakers, there were representatives from the Ministry of Education (MEC), state and municipal secretariats of education, multilateral organisations, universities and foundations. Two national "cases" were highlighted at the seminar programme: Sobral (and its state Ceará) and the state of Goiás. The first case is increasingly used by new philanthropists in Brazil as a "policy story'" (Ball, 2016) or a compelling argument for education reform. The second case, Goiás has been discussing the privatisation of school management drawing on the models of the American Charter School and English Academies programme. At the event, the Education Secretary of Goiás announced a new educational reform in this direction. The state representatives, speakers and attendees, are a receptive audience to the possibilities of further reform and are willing receivers or emulators. The seminar speakers are presented in the table below:

Table 8. Unibanco Institute 2015 Seminar - List of Speakers

Name	Affiliation at the time of the event / some key information
Mary Jean Gallagher	- Vice minister of Education from the province of Ontario - Gallagher became recognized for improving the test results of literacy and numeracy, and graduation rates of Ontario school students. In 2015 she left the Ministry and became an "educational consultant and speaker" of "improvement and system implementation" at MJ Gallagher and Associates.
Barry McGaw	- Melbourne University, former president of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). - McGaw was Director of Education at OECD between 1998 and 2005. Worked at the University of Melbourne between 2006 and 2014, and is now Honorary Professorial Associate. Was chair of ACARA's board between 2008 and 2015. Now is Managing Director of the McGaw Group Pty Ltd.
Michael Wilshaw	- Chief of Inspections at OFSTED (UK) - Wilshaw was chief inspector at OFSTED between 2012 and 2016. Before that, Wilshaw was a teacher at the Mossbourne Community Academy. Since 2017 he works an education consultant at Sir Michael Wilshaw Educational Services Limited.
Anthony McNamara	- International Associate in National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL), UK - McNamara works as a "consultant on school leadership" at McNamara Education Consultancy after 18 years as a secondary head teacher. One "expertise" of his is to "support school leadership in Brazil". Has been to the country numerous times by invitation of the British Council, Senac, CONSED and Unibanco Institute.
Renato Janine	- Minister of Education – MEC - Before and after his work as Minister, Janine worked as Professor of Philosophy at the University of São Paulo.
Manuel Palácios	Secretary of Basic Education - MEC
Claudia Costin	- Senior Director for Global Education - World Bank - Prior to the World Bank, Costin was the Secretary of Education in Rio de Janeiro between 2009 and 2014, when high-stakes tests were implemented, which faced a strong opposition by teachers. After the World Bank, she opened an education policy consultancy firm. Afterwards she became the director of *Centro de Excelência e Inovação em Políticas Educacionais* (CEIPE, or Centre of Excelence and Inovation in Education Policy), a think tank created by FGV (private higher education institution) in partnership with Harvard and the Brookings Institute.
Francisco Soares	President of the Anísio Teixeira National Institute of Educational Research and Studies (INEP)
Julio Cesar C. Alexandre	Secretary of Education - Sobral Municipal Secretariat of Education
Mauricio H. Maia	Secretary of Education - Ceará State Secretariat of Education
Raquel Teixeira	Secretary of Education - Goiás State Secretariat of Education
Ricardo Henriques	Executive Superintendent of Unibanco Institute
Pedro Malan	- Vice-President of Unibanco Institute Council - Engineer and economist, has a PhD in Economy by Berkley and has taught at PUC Rio de Janeiro (private higher education institution). Was Minister during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government.
Ricardo Paes de Barros	Professor at Insper, Cátedra Instituto Ayrton Senna

The seminar speakers were “followed” digitally, with the intention of identifying previous relations and connections, other places they had “visited”, projects executed and so on. The policy network graph below represents the connections between speakers prior to the seminar, and can represent co-presence in previous events (as speakers), financial investments and partnerships in projects. The colours in the graph represent “network cliques”, meaning nodes in a certain colour are more intensely connected and thus represent a “community” in a sense. The following discussion does not aim to offer an exhaustive account of all the people and relations represented at this event, but rather it is a purposeful selection. I will focus on two aspects of this network: firstly, although not made known in the seminar programme, many of the MNLS supporters (institutional or individual) were at this seminar. This is an example of how events are spaces for policy influence and dialogue, and how this can be done with little accountability and transparency. Second, there is a discussion of the series of events that “joined up” the seminar speakers, and an account of their previous meetings, focusing on the international speakers, as “embodied” policy mobilites (Larner and Laurie, 2010).

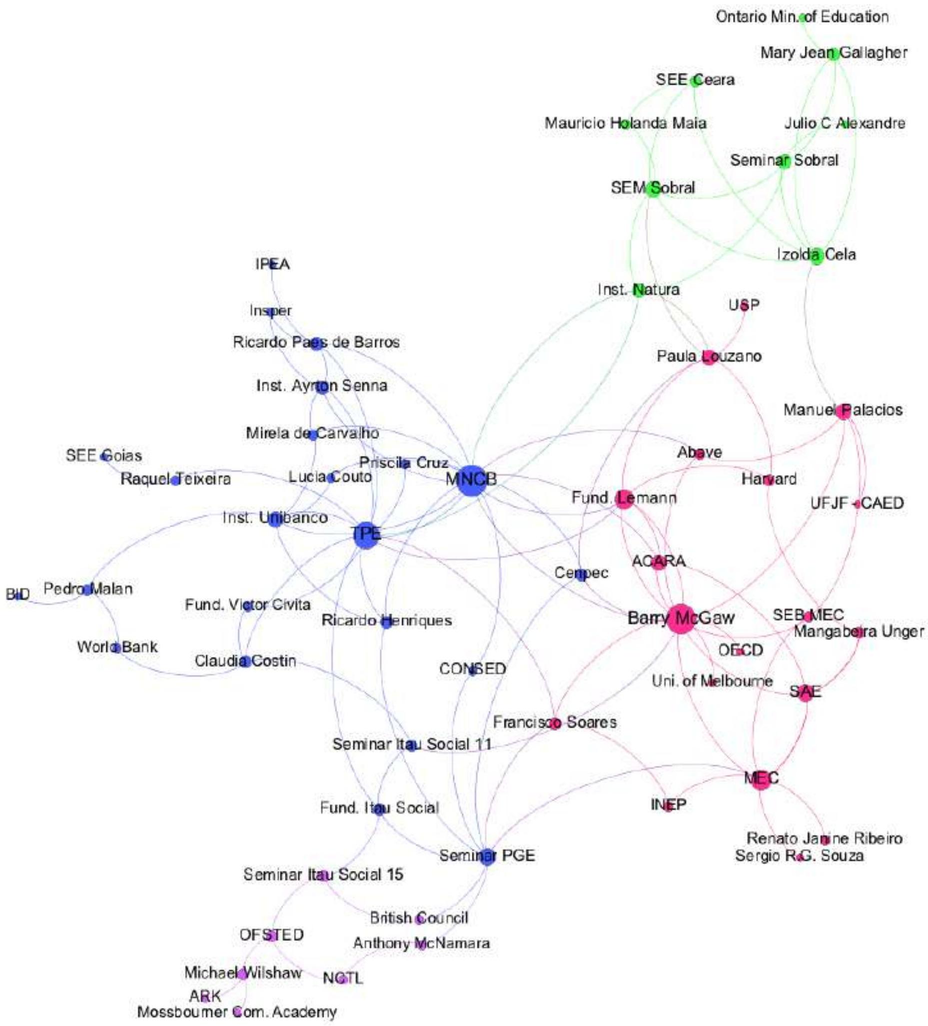

Figure 12. Connections between speakers prior to the Unibanco Institute 2015 seminar

The graph in Figure 11 illustrates how the MNLS was well represented at this seminar. Placed centrally in the network, it joins up all communities: foundation's staff members (in blue), the Australian representatives Barry McGaw and ACARA, as well as other research organisations (pink), the English representatives from OFSTED and the British Council (purple), and the Canadian, together with the Sobral and Ceará, representatives (in green). Although in the seminar's programme the name of MNLS never appeared, through social network analysis it became clear the Mobilisation was a fundamental influence in it, with considerable representation amongst the organization and speakers. At a moment in which the debates around the curriculum were heated, members of the MNLS and state representatives could "talk and touch" (Santori et al., 2015), and share and shape policy discourses.

Problematically, the work of MNLS in this space and context remains “unannounced”, their presence and labour are neither transparent nor accountable to citizens. Its action around policy, or advocacy as members refer to it, is different from more traditional policy advocacy strategies, which often operate openly and publically through manifestos, strikes and street manifestations. In this example and others, new philanthropists can organise such events by applying their economic, social and network capitals, and invite relevant policymakers under the safeguarding of offering a formative event, where international specialists “gather to share best policy practices”.

Although the event was about school management, most of the speakers were related to or part of an advocacy group concerned with curriculum policies. They were direct supporters, MNLS project consultants, or had worked for institutions that support it (like TPE and Itau BBA). When asked about this representation from MNLS at the seminar, a project manager from Lemann Foundation replied:

> Unibanco Institute is a member of the Movement. So if it is going to do a seminar of education that will discuss curriculum, it will make use of the Movement's network. I think it is one of the differences of the Movement, that we really created a body with many tentacles, in a good way. So if one is doing an event, it will ask the others who is the best speaker to invite, and in the end the members of the Movement are all in the same events (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

As MNLS has organised itself as a network with many powerful foundations as members, it is able to populate and steer events, and in doing so, reach more people and disseminate policies and discourses. A small group of foundations can, together, arrange events with policy-makers and choose speakers who support their policy agenda, within their epistemic community. So, as the interviewee puts it, it is always the same group of people that populate these policy events, shaping discourses and delimiting what is thinkable and unthinkable. By not being announced in the programme and news, MNLS's presence and labour are neither transparent nor accountable. In a way, this is a “double event”, with a formal and public agenda, which can be “spectacular” sometimes, with a display of wealth and power, and a behind-the-scenes event, with meetings discussions and relationships that benefit the organisers themselves.

Events like this resemble the meetingness promoted in other areas, including the academic field and other social organisations, like workers’ unions and grass roots movements. Researchers and activists are used to attending conferences and seminars to share ideas and network. However, what is new and striking here is the hyper-agency of new philanthropies expressed in the power to organise events and steer agendas with a small number of people, and the reach of these events to policymakers. So first, in contrast to academic conferences organised by universities, research associations or grass roots movements (all with a number of members that can participate in decision-making), new philanthropies (with a reduced number of members, specially with decision-making power) can mobilise large amounts of capital to organise and promote these events and frame them according to their agendas. Second, new philanthropies can bring together state, market and philanthropy in these events with unique efficiency, in ways that scholars and education professionals usually are not able to. In this regard, new philanthropies can also bring together global travelling technocrats, in ways that assemble legitimacy to their policy entrepreneurship.

5.3. Global networks: Many meetings assembling an international policy network

The Unibanco seminar was one among many other events that together were used to create and maintain policy relations and incite a climate for change in relation to a national learning standard. Most of the speakers at this seminar had already presented together in previous events, demonstrating how "sites in translocal assemblages have more depth than the notion of 'node' or 'point' suggests – as connoted by network – in terms of their *histories, the labour required to produce them*" (McFarlane, 2009, p. 561, added emphasis). Prior to the Unibanco seminar, the key international speakers Mary Gallagher, Barry McGaw and Anthony McNamara had each previously been to Brazil at other events or meetings with Brazilian institutions and individuals also present at this seminar. I will briefly describe some of the previous contacts between speakers to illustrate the role and importance of meetings and the dense connection among seminar speakers, as represented in the network graph.

In June 2015, about two months before the Seminar, Sobral's Municipal Government promoted an event focused on "Education Management and Curriculum Reformulation", where Mary Jean Gallagher was the keynote speaker. At that moment, Gallagher presented Ontario's education reform at the event that aimed at promoting an exchange of education experiences between Sobral and Ontario, focusing on "education management and curriculum reformulation". In the same week she had meetings with the State Secretary of Education, the state university and signed a collaboration agreement between Sobral and Ontario. The event was organised by the municipal and state governments together with Natura Institute, also a member of MNLS.

Natura Institute has a longstanding relation with Sobral. Since 2013 the institute has been supporting education reforms in the city and aims to make Sobral a 'showcase' of educational policies for Brazil (Natura's website). In 2014, Natura Institute, *Instituto de Co-responsabilidade* and Sobral's Secretary of Education implemented “full-time”[33] schools in the city. After supporting this reform in the city, Natura Institute started to invest in a curricular reform in the city of Sobral. Later in the same year, Sobral's mayor attended a business meeting in São Paulo, with Natura Institute and the Brazilian multi-national company Votorantim to discuss a curriculum reform. Not long after, in May 2015, Paula Lozano, a consultant from Lemann Foundation was hired by Natura Institute and presented a “diagnostic study” together with a proposal for a new curriculum for Sobral[34]. A month later, Gallagher visited the state of Ceará where she attended a seminar, had a meeting with a state university and with Izolda Cela (also a speaker at the Unibanco seminar), the State Secretary of Education.

Thus, Mary Jean Gallagher was part of an education reform effort of Sobral, supported by Natura Institute. Natura Institute has been working on issues of curriculum reform in Sobral since 2014, which is used as a case, or a 'policy story' by the MNLS. Hence, here there is a concatenation of activities that exploit a policy window (Kingdon, 2013), created by the receptiveness of state governments, to piloting new education policies, with the more general goal of constructing a policy story that will inform and support advocacy at the national level. The director of the Natura Institute described their intention in an interview:

> In Sobral we are helping them to reconsider their curriculum. So to do that, the first step is to know what exists 'out there' (outside Brazil). Then the work Ontario did concerning curriculum was relevant, so we brought here a person from there to talk to them. [...] And every benchmarking that was done, for this project in Sobral, was made available to MNLS, for the specialists to study. So we try to link one thing to the other, we never do anything isolated (Interview Natura Institute, 2016).

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[33] Full-time schools are the ones where children spend the entire day in school, differently from what happens in the majority of Brazilian schools, where children spend either the morning or afternoon.

[34] This is not publically available at the present time.

Anthony McNamara, another international speaker at the Unibanco seminar, had spoken at a large seminar organised by CONSED with support of new philanthropy, including Itau Social, CENPEC and Natura Institute in 2014. The event had speakers from the Brazilian Ministry of Education, INEP, Unibanco Institute and CEDAC. Following this event, a group of 30 Brazilian head teachers undertook a two-week long course in England with McNamara at the NCTL.

Most importantly, Barry McGaw had been visiting Brazil since 2011, when he spoke at a seminar organised by Itau Social, where Claudia Costin was also a speaker. In 2013 he presented a lecture at the ABAVE biannual meeting and offered an interview to CENPEC (interviewed by Paula Lozano). McGaw also visited Brazil in July 2015, less than two months before the seminar, to attend meetings with the Brazilian Ministry of Education - including Renato Janine, Manuel Palácios and Francisco Soares, who were also speakers at the Unibanco seminar. After attending meetings in Brasília (the capital of Brazil), McGaw went to São Paulo for meetings with new philanthropy institutions and Lemann Foundation.

Figure 13. ACARA commission at meeting with representatives from Brazilian Federal Government, image from MEC website

Figure 14. ACARA commission at small meeting with representatives from Brasilia Federal Government, image from MEC website

In sum, Gallagher had met state and municipal representatives at a seminar, funded by Natura Institute. McNamara had also met new philanthropists and state representatives in another seminar organised by CENPEC and Itaú. McGaw had also met federal representatives in an official government visit, and then new philanthropists from MNLS in another seminar. In all of these situations, these people were "traveling technocrats", "experts [that] are increasingly moving between private, public and third sector organisations, and between local, national and international institutions, reshaping these accordingly" (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 219). They were welcomed as "experts", providing "advice", and their meeting with public authorities and "support to local policy making was made possible by foundations, who mediated, organized and, most importantly, funded their traveling. As Hurl (2017) puts it, consultants make distant places close, and can perform the "work of "lifting out" knowledge from elsewhere and skilfully "folding" it into the municipal decision-making process" (p. 186) (as discussed in chapter 4 concerning the use of "experts" and "expertise").

This sequence of meetings clearly illustrate that "networks have a history" that meetings "join-up" networks, and that events are spaces where "the past, the present and possible futures co-exist" (McCann and Ward, 2012). There might be, and there are likely to be, other spaces, virtual or face-to-face, where these actors maintain such relationships. However, these events are the traceable, though scattered, fragments of opaque and fast changing policy relations.

5.4. Final remarks: Meetings as cornerstones of global education policy networks

Recently, researchers have set out to "understand and explain how neoliberalism gets done in practice" (Ball and Junemann 2015, 2012; Olmedo, 2014; Au and Ferrare, 2015, among others). That is to "unpack the mechanisms by which neoliberal discourses and rationalities take shape and transform our everyday lives and experiences." (Olmedo, 2014, p. 576). The labour for the coordination of networks described in this chapter, especially meetingness, is an example of how new philanthropies' actually 'do' globalisation and neoliberalism.

Foundations share resources in networks in ways that make them interdependent, but also enable them to collaborate towards large-scale goals. To do so, formal and informal efforts are executed to coordinate networks, including commissions, work groups, online networks, annual meetings, conferences, seminars, phone calls and so on. In this context, *meetingness* is fundamental for the maintenance of relationships and networks (Urry, 2003).

Taking one seminar as the focal point, it becomes possible to see how policymakers use events as an opportunity to reiterate, recontextualise and disseminate global policy discourses, or “education solutions” as they refer to them. “Thought leaders” and “policy entrepreneurs” from different countries, like Canada, United Kingdom, Australia and Brazil, meet in these events with traditional policy actors and new philanthropy actors to discuss education problems, policies, partnerships and investments and to mediate and translate transposable policy models. These are “sociologically complex actors […] whose identities and professional trajectories are often bound up with the policy positions and fixes they espouse” (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p. 210). They are “travelling technocrats” (Larner and Laurie, 2010), who connect knowledge and politics. In this sense, the choice of invited speakers makes evident the policy models the organisers aim to promote. The policy entrepreneurs bring with them “models that emanate from the 'right' places invoke positive associations of (preferred forms of) best practices […] they connote networks of policymaking sites, linked by overlapping ideological orientations” (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 171).

Invitation to such events is also a reflection of the embodied network capital, i.e. "the real and potential social relations that mobilities afford" (Urry, 2007, p. 196) as well as an opportunity for a further re-shaping and re-investment and enhancement of this capital. All three international speakers of our event, Mary Jean Gallagher (Canada), Barry McGaw (Australia) and Anthony McNamara (England), had been in Brazil two months before the Unibanco Institute seminar, fostering relations with Brazilian actors also present in the event. In this sense, although the international speakers are presented as representatives of “international best cases”, they are also products of previous networked relations that depend of different kinds of capitals, including financial and network capital.

Therefore, policy networks have a history. As McCann and Ward (2012) put it, these events are “relational sites where the past, present and potential future of a policy can co-exist. Past 'successes', current 'problems' and future 'scenarios' are discussed comparatively' (p. 48). I would argue that not only the past, present and possible futures of a policy co-exist in events, but also the past, present and future of policy networks themselves. In events, actors bring to bear the relationships they have built over time, they engage with network members building new relations and have the possibility of initiating or being recruited to new policy endeavours.

Thus, policy networks depend on people's labour. This labour might involve traveling to sites of policy, meeting over conference calls, or investing time and money in maintaining social relationships, formal and informal, as well as, more publically, writing reports and blogs, giving newspaper interviews and speaking at public events. Having access to many parts of this network labour is challenging to researchers, as a great deal of this labour is opaque, not publically visible. Nonetheless, "following policy" is a productive research tool. By following policy it was possible to identify some aspects of the labour involved in the global mobility of curriculum policies, such as network members co-attending previous events, having meetings with state policymakers and presenting their policy "solutions" to different audiences. By following actors it was possible to identify previously unknown relations between actors and institutions, such as between MNLS and ACARA, and their development over time and the flows of discourse and policy models through them. These relations, the interactions that take place among them, and the spaces of policy in which they are enacted, are part of a reconstruction of the mix between bureaucracy, markets and networks that constitutes educational governance and concomitantly the reform of the state.

Chapter 6. Labour to institutionalise: blurring public-private boundaries in heterarchical governance

Governance is a loose and contested term, which can refer to and describe macro elements. Hence, here I resort to a somewhat more specific term to discuss how foundations participate in policy-making, closely collaborating with public authorities from government. That is to say, within the context discussed so far, in this chapter I analyse the work of foundations within *heterarchical* structures of governance. The mobilisation of material, social, and temporal conditions in heterarchies is complex, and involves on-going negotiations, commitments and compromises (Jessop, 2011). Diverse public-private relationships are created and ended, a series of services and products are offered by different foundations, and the same institutions play different roles at different points in time and space. This chapter aims to illustrate this complexity in practice, exploring the labour invested in heterarchies and how heterarchical relationships are being organised in the Brazilian education.

In what follows is an attempt to make sense of how heterarchies work in practice in one setting, to give flesh to the concept. However, order has not been inscribed in this account for the sake of order, there is a deliberate effort of not over-simplifying things that are persistently complex and difficult to track down and exhaust. Thus, the variety and amount of work done by foundations and of different possible relationships between public and private actors can seem overwhelming and confusing. The following sections explore the new actors (institutional and individual people), new roles of public sector organisations and foundations, new blurring of public and private, new policy spaces and new channels of policy mobility - all of which are created and create, maintain and expand heterarchies.

Starting from a working definition of *heterarchies*, that is openly provisional and instrumental nonetheless a useful tool to analyse the complex relationships between foundations and public organisations in Brazil, I consider how foundations in Brazil have been enrolled in the processes of heterarchical governance in different states of the country, co-writing policy with governments, providing advice and consultancy, entering into partnerships, taking on the responsibility for enacting projects and programmes, with a series of different relationships that vary in format and intensity. Heterarchies here are similar to "networks as a form", as Knox et al (2006) put it, as a "descriptor of empirically identifiable social forms” (p. 135). Second, I look at some of the ways in which MNLS has built a profoundly intertwined network with the Ministry of Education, with the effect of creating new spaces of policy-making. Finally, I discuss how Lemann Foundation made possible an international triad between MEC, ACARA and MNLS, building global policy pipelines for policy mobility between Australia and Brazil. Together, these sections illustrate how heterarchies work in practice by discussing how foundations and governments collaborate in many ways in governance through many partnerships, how individuals connect public and private sectors, how new policy-making spaces are created, and finally how global heterarchies make policy mobility possible. The chapter concludes with a reflection on how heterarchies work in practice.

6.1. Heterarchies in education: complex sharing of governance

This section aims to describe some types of relationships that are built between foundations and secretariats of education, playing out the heterarchical sharing of labour and fostered interdependence between the public and private participants. To do so, I look at the different activities executed by new philanthropies, offered as "services" to public secretaries of education in collaborative regimes. The analysis does not attempt to be exhaustive, but to display the complexity of the labour sharing in heterarchies, as well as how foundations operate different kinds of tasks. Analysing, understanding, and categorising such arrangements is challenging not only due to the complexities of public governance, but also the complex and instable institutional governance of private organisations. By this I mean that some foundations do not have a clear "portfolio" of activities, they are fluid and mutant, adapting to the context, demands, agendas and opportunities that arise, agile in their work and responsiveness to contexts.

This section first tentatively describes the types of projects and services executed by the analysed foundations. To make sense of the “services” provided by these foundations, I draw from Adrião et al. (2012). The authors conducted a thorough study of the PPPs carried out in the municipalities of São Paulo and identified two types of partnerships, the ones that affect teaching situations, and the ones that affect the management of education systems, which indirectly affect the school organisation and the pedagogical practices in schools, referred to as direct and indirect. Similarly, foundations promote programmes that can directly affect or seek to affect pedagogical practices, or aim to shift the management of education systems. Drawing on this distinction, the activities executed by foundations are separated between those aimed at pedagogy and those aimed at policy and management. The following section explores the work of foundations regarding the provision of pedagogical resources, such as teacher training courses, and support in policy-making through pre-fabricated policies and consultancy-like services. The last is specially explored due to a lack of literature around it and its relevance for heterarchical governance, and promotion of interdependence of public and private actors.

However, the two types of programme, towards pedagogy and policy-making, are not clear-cut. They meet and blur in different moments and situations. Both types of programmes show a messy and uneven institutionalisation of heterarchies, in which responsibilities over public education are reframe and rebalanced. As Ball and Olmedo (2011) describe:

> The processes involved here both act 'on' and act 'against' the state and state sector education. Put succinctly, entrenched problems of educational development and educational quality and access are now being addressed by the involvement of social enterprises and edu-businesses in the delivery of educational services, both privately and on behalf of the state (p. 88).

6.1.1. Programmes aiming at pedagogy

Some of the efforts and programmes of foundations aim at contributing and steering pedagogical aspects of schooling and learning. These revolve mainly around the provision of teaching and learning materials (books, online content, long-distance learning courses, apps…) and teacher training courses, which are usually associated to the teaching materials and related pedagogical techniques. Below there is a table with examples of programmes run by foundations. This is not an exhaustive list, as programmes are often created and extinguished, and there might be smaller programmes run in specific places that are not clearly accounted for in institutional websites. The programmes below were presented and highlighted in the foundation's websites and annual reports.

Table 9. New philanthropies' pedagogical programmes

Org.	Programme	Description
Lemman Foundation	YouTube Edu	YouTube Edu is done in a partnership between Fundação Lemann and Google. It brings together educational content of YouTube, with a selection done by Lemann Foundation. It includes classes by school disciplines
	Khan Academy	Khan Academy is a learning platform for mathematics, created in 2006 by Salman Khan. It offers video classes and more than 300000 free activities. It is able to recognise the student's progress and skills that must be practiced. Teachers have access to the students' work and grades. Since 2014 it has been translated into Portuguese by Lemann Foundation. The foundation also offers a programme to take Khan Academy to public schools with a training for teachers. Lemann F. aims to have the programme in schools in Brazil.
	Geekie	Personalisation of studies, it offers tools that can be adequate to each student needs. Geekie games: tests, plan of studies, ENEM simulate and Geekie Lab: hybrid teaching with credentials of MEC
	Programae	Brings together free tools to learn and teach coding. It includes teaching plans and a course for teachers.
	Eduqmais	EduqMais is a mobile text message service to stimulate the participation of families in students' school lives. The content includes motivational texts and also covers activities to be done at home to support the development of socio-emotional skills.
	Edu app	Connected to YouTube Edu, it is an app with videoclasses and activities
	Google lesson plans	Digital lesson plans that are based on the National Learning Standards and can be download into teachers' mobile phones. The project received funding from both Google and Lemann Foundation, and is run by the magazine Nova Escola (run by Lemann Foundation, see chapter 4).
Natura Institute	Trilhas	TRILHAS is a project for literacy teaching, with teacher training and teaching materials. The kit includes teacher guides, indication of literature books, language games and activities. It aims to work towards the goal of having all children able to read by 8 years of age (following the Plano de Metas Compromisso Todos pela Educação e Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade Certa). It has two formats: printed and online.
Ayrton Senna Institute	Letramento em programação	Learn coding, with teacher training and teaching material - implemented in only 4 cities.
	Formula da Vitoria	Teaching material of Portuguese and Mathematics for underperforming students. The material is built based on textual genres to create interest from students. There are pedagogical projects to be used. In mathematics there are activities based on solving problems to support reflection and interest. It is used on the school extra hours, before or after regular classes. the material includes home work, group activities, and monthly follow up by the teacher.
	Se liga	Teaching Material for literacy, every teaching room has at least 30 children literature books. Each student should read these books through the year. There are metrics adopted: school days, teacher and students' attendance, observations by the mediators, teacher meetings for planning, fulfilling of homework by students.
Unibanco Institute	Estudar vale a pena	A programme of voluntary work, done in partnership with secretaries of education, to promote the reflection of students about their life plans, decision making and consequences. With a material with games, the first stage involves talking about wishes and dreams to build life projects that should include concluding studies. The second stage includes wider discussions and concrete steps. 6281 volunteers, more than 60000 students have participated in 327 schools.

Foundations produce teaching products and services that do not depend on official partnerships with public education authorities. These are aimed at and adopted by teachers and/or students. In spite of seeming somewhat independently run by private organisations, these initiatives are operated in the shadow of the state (Börzel and Risse, 2005). These materials respond to and fit within national plans, bills and policies, and do claim to aim at fulfilling policy goals. At the same time, they interfere in and influence how education is done and thought about, creating new discourses and sensibilities (Ball and Olmedo, 2011).

Lemann Foundation is specially interested in *blended learning*, the use of technology in education and how technology can make learning "teacher-proof" (or “ensure” students learning rights in spite of their school context). So the foundation has put considerable effort into creating digital teaching/learning content and tools, that can be both autonomously adopted by teachers, or implemented within a partnership in a public education system. Khan Academy is an example, taken from the USA to Brazil by the Lemann Foundation with support of Natura Institute. The foundation translated the educational videos to Portuguese, which can be watched by students at home, in schools, and be employed by teachers as a teaching material. YouTube Edu is a similar example, which is organised in partnership with Google and has video classes that can be watched by students and used by teachers. *Programaê* and *Geekie* work in similar lines, with instructions to support the teaching and learning of coding, and provide customisable exercises for students. Eduapp is a phone text service that aims to get parents more involved in their children's studies and school life, with advice and activities that can be done at home to promote this participation.

Not related to technology, but still in the realm of pedagogical content, Natura Institute offers the teaching material *Trilhas*, focused on literacy, which can be employed by teachers in classrooms and adopted together with a teacher-training course. Natura Institute says *Trilhas* has been "adopted as public policy", inasmuch as in 2012 the material was distributed to 72051 schools "amongst the municipalities considered priority by MEC's policy" (*Trilhas* website). Staff from local authorities, head teachers and teachers have been trained to use the material.

Many of these teaching materials have related teacher-training courses. Some courses simply aim to instruct teachers on how to use the material effectively. Lemann Foundation programmes are offered on individual and partnership formats. In the first case, schools and teachers can go through distance learning courses, and then use the free teaching material available in the foundation's website. In the second, Lemann created a "package" named "Innovation in Schools" (*Inovação nas Escolas*), in which teachers are trained to incorporate technology in their teaching practice, specially the tools promoted by the foundation such as Khan Academy and YouTube Edu. Ayrton Senna's programme “Coding Literacy” (*Letramento em Programação)* is also focused on technology. This small initiative, implemented in four cities, includes the teaching material for developing coding skills, as well as five modules for teachers that should be developed with both online and face-to-face activities.

However, there are also teacher-training courses that aim at more profound pedagogical changes, not just the implementation of certain teaching materials. Lemann Foundation created in 2011 the course " Classroom Management" (*Gestão de Sala de Aula*), together with Elos Educacional and supported by the World Bank. It was formulated with basis on the book "Teach Like a Champion: 49 techniques that put students on the path to college", written by the north American author Doug Lemov. The book was translated to Portuguese by Lemann Foundation ("*Aula Nota 10: 49 Técnicas para Ser um Professor Campeão de Audiência*"). It aims to "promote a school culture of high expectations of learning and efficient and democratic management, with focus on the pedagogical work to guarantee all students learn" (*Na Prática* website). This training programme was developed into a series of products that can be purchased. The course is free for teachers, to be taken online with videos, readings, discussion forums and activities. The practical part is executed in classroom, with four teaching plans that must include the teaching techniques explored in the course and be filmed. There is a second version created for “managers” (*gestores)*, which aims at head-teachers and representatives of Municipal Secretaries of Education. This module is offered in a blended course, with two face-to-face workshops, online activities and the requirement to carry out 6 pedagogical meetings and classroom observations. Finally, public authorities or private schools can hire this training as a "workshop for teachers", and Elos deliveres the face-to-face ones.

Although not directly aimed towards policy-making and management of education systems, these programmes are examples of a new format of sharing of activities and responsibilities, as well as the creation of new discourses, sensibilities and subjectivities in education. These teaching materials promote a certain understanding of teaching, learning and purposes of education. They represent a diversity of heterarchical relationships, with production of pedagogical content and teacher training being shared between public and private actors.

6.1.2. Programmes aiming at policy: large-scale reform with results-based management

Departing from service delivery and an "influence" or “advocacy” approach to policy-making, foundations invest in being "policy collaborators" (as Denis Mizne, the CEO of Lemann Foundation, puts it), or taking part in planning and enacting policies. In a talk - at the GIFE Conference in São Paulo, Mizne said:

> There has been a movement of greater articulation, to seat together to 'qualify the demand'. I think it is important to talk about it, because if the idea was not to substitute the state, I also don't think the solution is a city mayor coming, calling the foundations of that city and saying 'here is what you should do'. It is not like that. That is why it is hard, it is a dialogue. You have your investments, you have your vision, you are representing interests different than the ones represented there. It is not because we want to do good and have a public interest that we all believe in the same strategy, the same way to get there.

He goes on to say:

> …is about sitting down and doing policy together. Maybe because foundations started to gain scale - and in health we have the greatest example, but in education too - more and more we have organisations working with entire states or entire municipalities. Not in the role of service provider, I believe it was a moment we lived, and there still are many organisations (like that) … In this "third wave" we try to build the interventions of the third sector in the logics of public policy. … If you look at the strategic plan of most of organisations in the education sector, one do not position oneself as a substitute of the state, but to *help building policies* (Denis Mizne, GIFE Congress, Sao Paulo, 2016 - added emphasis).

In Mizne's explanation it is made clear how he considers foundations to be collaborators with public authorities, co-formulating policy. In this relationship the boundary between the state and philanthropy is increasingly blurred, and indeed, the "insider" and "outsider" binary is no longer present. Instead, foundations become part of heterarchical structures of governance, participating in decision-making with state institutions. In Mizne's account we could read a philanthropy shift from “advocacy” to policy entrepreneurship (Kingdon, 2013, see chapter 4), and from “service delivery” to participation in policy-making in heterarchical structures. Here:

> Bureaucracy is displaced, innovation and creativity are "released" through the participation of business and civil society actors, and inter-related opportunities are created for reform and for profit and for "world making." The elements of a new *policy ecosystem* are outlined here—practices, organizations, infrastructure, and incentives that enable a market in state work. All of this is a reworking, or perhaps even an erasure, of the boundaries of state, economy, and civil society (Ball, 2017, p. 38).

Foundations conduct projects that fulfil this goal of "helping building policies" described by Mizne, besides the pedagogical services explored before. Echoing the types of private services offered to secretaries of education identified by Adrião et al (2012), these initiatives affect the management of education systems, especially through what the authors refer to as "private advisory services for education management" ("*assessoria privada para a gestão educacional*"). Amongst the three types of PPPs identified by the authors, this was the least common, but relevant nonetheless. It is understood as

> the modality by which the public administration signs agreements or contracts with private institutions, aiming to: elaborate general guidelines for the functioning of the educational system (a Municipal Education Plan, magistracy status, alternatives of planning and evaluating schools, among others); the training of school administrators and municipal administration staff; the definition of educational strategies and guidelines (Adrião et al., 2012, p. 537).

As identified by the authors, philanthropic organisations are the main ones executing this type of PPP. The authors identified these institutions as sharing the work principles of corporate management, with a focus on leading actors for the improvement of school achievements, and the introduction of centralised assessment procedures and forms of rewarding achieved goals.

The programmes promoted by new philanthropies described in the following section parallel Adrião et al. (2012) findings. Large foundations, aiming to achieve large scale "impact", have shifted from service delivery, with local projects addressed to schools, to large-scale projects that aim to change the logics of management employed by secretaries of education. They aim to participate directly in the policy-making process and to make governance and management more "efficient" and based on business-like techniques of management. The changes implemented in the programmes *Jovem de Futuro*, of Unibanco Institute, and *Gestão para a Aprendizagem* and *Formar* of Lemman Foundation, clearly exemplify this shift. Both are programmes that were originally created to offer services to schools in a few cities, and were later transformed into national efforts and adopted as a policy by some states.

These philanthropic programmes of education management are one of the many elements that constitute the heterarchical governance of education in Brazil. In this section I analyse how some philanthropic programmes operate, to explore how heterarchies work in practice. First I briefly describe some programmes of Unibanco Institute and Lemann Foundation to illustrate how foundations are moving from pedagogy-focused initiatives to policy-focused ones, which aim at systematic changes in education governance. These programmes now aim at a "management reform" that is done with "ready-made" solutions that can be customised to secretaries. Foundations create the solutions, with its goals and strategies, and secretaries of education are encouraged/persuaded to incorporate. This process, however, is not linear. Instead, it requires continuous negotiations and customisation. This logic operates within the heterarchical rationality "that is concerned with solving specific coordination problems, on the basis of a commitment to a continuing dialogue to establish the grounds for negotiating consent, resource sharing, and concerted action" (Jessop, 2011, p. 113). Thus, second, I play out how these programmes propel complex sharing of labour and create and animate heterarchical structures of governance. In this scenario, besides the relatively stable "ready-made" solution, foundations have also been offering different services, which resemble "on-demand" and “bespoke” logics.

6.1.2.1. Shift from service-delivery to large-scale reform projects: the programmes of Unibanco and Lemann

Created in 2006 and operated as a pilot until 2008, the program *Jovem de Futuro* ("Young Talent") of the Unibanco Institute aims to introduce a results-based management process into education. The programme was implemented in a few cities and was certified as a "technology[35] of school management" in 2009. Later, in 2012, the Ministry of Education and the Unibanco Institute signed a national partnership, which led to the adoption of the programme as the basic policy for High Schools in five states of Brazil (Sandri, 2016). Through partnerships with public secretariats of education, the institute offers "technical assistance, training, instruments and systems to the diverse agents and instances of education" (Unibanco Institute website). States, cities and schools that adopt the programme work towards goals that are established according to a “diagnosis of context and learning results”. A plan of action is then agreed upon by a mixed public-private committee, which is implemented, monitored and assessed in a governance structure that involves the entire

[35] Foundations have benefited from a specific federal policy that has been facilitating the expansion of PPPs in the country: since 2008, within the federal policy "Plan of Education Development" (PED), the "Guide of Educational Technologies" has been promoted by the Brazilian Ministry of Education. Within PED, states and municipalities assess the local education, create a local plan of action, and adopt suitable "solutions" from the Guide, which lists "educational solutions" created by both the ministry and other institutions from the private sector (Peroni et al, 2013). This guide "can be used by private companies as a type of "seal of approval" advertised in marketing campaigns that assert a certain product has been certified by the Ministry of Education" (Rossi et al, 2013, p. 212).
In this context, large foundations such as Ayrton Senna Institute (Comerlatto and Caetano, 2013) and Unibanco Institute (Monteiro, 2013; Rodrigues, 2016) have been expanding their reach in the country after having their programmes recognised as "valid educational solutions".

secretariat, including the secretary of education. A control group is created to produce "impact assessments", but later also receives the programme “actively” (Unibanco Website).

Unibanco Institute developed a method of work named "School Management for Learning Results"[36]. It adopts five working principles to improve school management daily routines: participation, high expectations and appreciation, respect to diverse contexts, need to innovate, and equity. Thus, it claims that the method reinforces community participation in decision-making, with high expectations of oneself and students (in spite of social conditions), while still taking schools contexts seriously. Protocols are adopted, and claim to make management more efficient as well as open space for innovations that offer learning opportunities for all.

This approach revolves around the so-called "Management Circuit[37]", which is inspired by the PDCA method (plan, do, check, act), created by Walter A Shewhard in 1920. The public authority adopting the partnership and Unibanco Institute establish, together, the goals for each school. The schools assess their situation, create a plan and begin its implementation, which is then monitored and assessed. Every three months the entire "circuit" is completed, and is concluded at the "Meeting of Good Practices". School head teachers and the staff of "Support to the Management Circuit" are the fundamental actors for the implementation of the approach. The first leads the process in the school, sharing information, motivating teachers and students and creating solutions for the schools challenges. The second supervises the head-teachers and works in the secretariat of education. This programme staff is responsible for connecting public authorities with schools, guiding and monitoring the implementation of the "Management Circuit". Its function is driven by the attainment of goals, as is argued in Unibanco Institute's website as:

> Every time there is an issue in the execution of the circuit and the expected results are not reached, it is up to the professional of support to alert the head teacher and promote discussions to find solutions. […] it must also present to the regional authorities and the secretariat a diagnosis of the conditions and challenges of the education system, besides implementing education policies in the school (Unibanco Website).

In other words, the *Jovem de Futuro* programme aims to reform managing structures, procedures and discourses by introducing its programme, with its own methods and procedures, into secretaries of education. Part of it involves a clear shift in the work logics of the institute, moving from a pedagogical impact in schools, training teachers and head

[36] *Gestão Escolar Para Resultados de Aprendizagem*

[37] Círculo de Gestão

teachers, to working directly with entire public authorities, entire cities and states - and their public management structures. A manager of the Institute explains:

> So what is the "Jovem de Futuro"? It is a technology of school management focused on results, which also shifts a little the state structure. … The central idea is: we (the Institute) cannot handle anymore - nor do we want to - training school staff directly. Because the knowledge generated in the trainings stayed with us, and we needed to create the conditions and capillarity for the state to have its own trainers. …
>
> So we developed a much more qualified method, with protocols. We created a more elaborated material with protocols that guarantee autonomy, flexibility, but maintains basic qualities for a management work focused on learning results. And then in these states it has become their *Ensino Medio* (high-school) policy. It is not anymore an appendix project in schools and became the public policy of high school for these states. So it gains a new strength and the impact is much greater because we are working on the technical structure of the secretariat from beginning to end (Interview, Unibanco Institute, 2016).

In another example of a shift from service-delivery initiatives to governance programmes, Lemann Foundation has two programmes that aim to affect the public management of education and schools: *Gestão Para a Aprendizagem* (Management for Learning) and *Formar* (Form). *Formar* aims to restructure management "from the secretary to the classroom" (Lemann Foundation 2016 report), and is a telling example of how the goals and strategies of new philanthropy are changing, moving from a concern about service delivery and pedagogical practices to participating in the heterarchical governance of education.

Lemann Foundation created the programme *Gestão para a Aprendizagem* in 2016, which was a derivate from the earlier programme *Gestão de Sala de Aula*, which had been created in 2011 and was focused on classroom and pedagogy (see more in the previous section on pedagogical programmes). This second programme was available to head teachers and aimed to foster "a school culture of planning and classroom observation, with high learning expectations and better use of time, underpinned by classroom management and the important multiplying role of head-teachers in the direct work with teachers" (*Na Pratica* website). Compared to the first programme, the second one aspires to change the "school culture" by aiming at head teachers, "school managers" as they are referred to, instead of individual teachers and their teaching practices. It tackles school management and how school leaders can train teachers, enact results-based management and change the school's environment. *Gestão para a Aprendizagem* has two thematic modules and one additional follow up. While the first is mandatory to all participants, with discussions about "strategic management", in the second participants can choose from the themes "pedagogical management and teacher training", "pedagogical management and planning", "people management and school climate", "people management and leadership", "results management"[xii] (*Na Prática* website). The programme is presented as a "*consultancy of pedagogical management"* combined with training for schoolteachers, head teachers, and staff from the secretary of education (SEED website). The "consultancy" is offered to the leaders of the secretary of education and the technical team that monitors the schools - aiming to develop management guidelines, routines and instruments focused on learning results. The consultancy claims to be based on diagnostics, a formulation and implementation of an action plan and a final evaluation. The technical team of the secretary of education is responsible for monitoring the schools and participating in the training. They are to train the teachers, after having been trained by the Foundation in a blended learning course - online and face-to-face (SEED - SE news)

Later, *Gestão para Aprendizagem* was reformulated in a third programme, *Formar*, in which the foundation "has fully redesigned its work in this area of work" (Lemann Foundation website). In the first half of 2016 nine public systems of education were selected - seven municipal and two state ones; covering a total of 120,000 students in 348 schools. The 2016 report describes it as:

> The objective is to contribute to a more profound, systemic and convergent transformation, which can meet the demands of all involved professionals - from the secretariats to the classrooms - so that they can act aligned for the same goal: to guarantee the learning of each and every one of their students. From this process and objective, in 2016 the Lemann Foundation developed a programme that is focused on training and end-to-end support[xiii].

The programme lasts from two to three years and has a wide reach: leaderships of secretaries, the technical teams, the teacher trainers and head-teachers. The foundations claim to offer services "from personalized support to identify challenges and design actions with the secretariats of education to formations in pedagogical management and specific didactics of Portuguese and Mathematics for coordinators and directors of schools and trainers of the systems" (Lemann Foundation 2016 report).

These programmes exemplify the aim of large foundation to bring about "systemic" changes in education. They aim to reform education management according to corporate management, with education quality being measured by indicators, with related introduction of centralised assessment procedures and forms of awarding reached goals. Complex heterarchical relationships are put in place for the implementation of these programmes, as will be explored next.

6.1.2.2 Complex heterarchical labour sharing: customising "ready-made" solutions and "on-demand" services

The operation of *Jovem de Futuro* programme involves a complex sharing of tasks and roles between all the actors that participate in the education governance: staff from the institute, from the secretariat of education and from the schools. The foundation creates teaching and training materials, provides training for the public servants in the secretariat (and paying for the venue), and hiring a new staff to support the programme in the secretariat (individuals hired by the foundation but work *in* and *for* the secretariat). The secretariat assigns some public servants to the programme, pays for the transportation for the training sessions and is responsible for monitoring the programme. Both are involved in planning goals, selecting the participating schools and following up with developments. The decision regarding the participating schools is made based on quantitative data, especially large-scale test results, analysed by an "intelligence team" and "statisticians" from both parties. This complex sharing of labour can be grasped in the very pragmatic description of the interviewee:

> There is the economic team, the team of content that creates materials, there is a team that thinks about such materials to transform it into something pedagogical that can be used in schools and be replicated. So an entire structure is kept in this new proposal to impact the secretary.[xiv] …
> The secretary has priority schools and within its condition they think "well, in my reality today how I can have a differentiated service". This may involve changes in physical structure, or a closer supervision - instead of a fortnight one, in 20 schools for example, or thirty, or fifty - each state established the amount of schools they could provide this differentiated service. And the statistician team of the Institute, with the statisticians of the secretary, chose the schools according to the their results and characteristics of space, place, social as well[xv] (Interview, Unibanco Institute, 2016).

The programme starts as a "ready-made" solution, and is then customised, changed and negotiated with the public partners. In heterarchies mutually beneficial joint projects are identified and participants mobilise the needed conditions to achieve them. Such projects can be redefined when needed. The heterarchy does not require the acceptance of absolute goals from above or on behalf of a specific organisation, but a commitment to the solution of a certain problem and to an on-going dialogue "for negotiating consent, resource sharing, and concerted action" (Jessop, 2011, p. 113). The interviewee goes on to explain this "negotiating consent":

> So it is always done with discernment and adjustments for the project to work according to the state's conditions, right? So there is a team of "intelligence" in the Institute, an internal team that does all the mapping together with the state

> team regarding the goals, what is possible to reach with the available resources, how much effort must be done to reach what the state hopes to achieve (Interview Unibanco Institute, 2016).

This negotiation is also made explicit when the project manager explains how the partnerships need to be constantly remade and closely supervised, especially in moments of political change. As heterarchies temporarily join-up actors, in mutually beneficial endeavours that can be renegotiated, without the need of once-and-for-all agreements, these structures are ever changing. They are not static, on the contrary, they are dynamic and complex, involving many institutions and individuals, such as edu-business, foundations, entrepreneurs, consultants, though leaders, governments, public agencies and so on. This is evident in the evolution and change of the roles and relations of state and foundation actors in the examples above. Nonetheless, in the process of "continuing dialogue to establish the grounds for negotiating consent" (Jessop, 2011, p. 113), it is sometimes the case that consent is revoked and heterarchical structures are disassembled:

> The state of Mato Grosso has left the program. They did not want to continue the project, because it is very influenced as well by the political changes in the secretariat, you know? We have impact, but we are also impacted by the shifts in the states. So last year there was a change in the state government, a lot of people were sacked out, a lot changed, and then we need to renegotiate it all with a new covenant. And in one of these renegotiations, the state secretary of education did not want to stay in. Actually not the secretary, it was the governor that blocked it. The first talk is with the governor, there was a change in the government, we went to redo the covenant and he did not want it[xvi] (Interview, Unibanco Institute, 2016).

She continues with another example:

> So today, it was four in the afternoon, I was preparing a training session for Ceará, and the secretary of education of Ceará was sacked. So it was like "Stop everything, wait because we are going to Ceará tomorrow for a meeting", you see? It is at this level, every change you need to do a "re-pact", reintroduce all over again because each one that comes in wants one's own team, undo all done by the previous one to start afresh.[xvii] (Interview, Unibanco Institute, 2016).

Times of government change are moments of particular vulnerability for heterarchical commitments. Negotiations, promises and compromises are revisited. This highlights how heterarchies "are made of processes (exchanges) and relationships rather than constituting an administrative structure" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 78), and that they "rely on trust and reciprocity, and in some of their aspects they draw upon social relations established elsewhere, in business for example" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 78). When such unstable and uneven relationships and alliances are disturbed, heterarchical collaborations maybe reassessed, and can be abandoned or renegotiated in uneven power relations.

The Lemann Foundation management programmes also involve complex collaborations, in which it is increasingly difficult to separate what is done by the secretariat and what is done by the foundation within partnerships. Tasks are carried out collaboratively, in a way that "'interests' and 'purposes' become increasingly unclear and difficult to 'trace' and pin down" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 139). The Lemann case exemplifies well the growing complexity of the sharing of labour and responsibilities in the heterarchical education policy regime in Brazil. The first programme, *Gestão de Sala de Aula*, had already established a sharing of responsibilities and tasks between government and philanthropy. Within this programme the training of teachers is planned and carried out by a private partner - Lemann Foundation - while the implementation is shared. While this is done within a heterarchical logic, the foundation does not seem to hold much influence over policy decision-making. The second programme shifts the focus to head teachers, aiming at a larger impact and changing school practices and management values, discourses and practices. Finally, with the third programme the foundation creates and enacts an entire plan of reform "from the secretary to classrooms", indeed touching upon the local authority planning and policy-making. In this programme the foundation operates as a "consultant", with direct participation in decision-making: "our consultants will work as partners in the formulation of strategic directions for the pedagogic management of secretariats, with support in the formulation and monitoring of the action plans implemented by the secretariat of education"[xviii] (Raph Gomes, declaration at SEED - SE news). Importantly, the creation and launching of each new programme do not necessarily exclude the previous ones. Instead, they are all kept active, exemplifying the increasing complexity and scope and depth of heterarchies - which do not operate as "once and for all" changes, but insert or build bit and pieces of change, different forms of participation and kinds of relationships, that are uneven across places and spaces of policy.

Besides these ready-made solutions, there are cases in which foundations and governments collaborate to develop new projects. These projects go through negotiations in which both public and private parties bring to bear their interests and epistemes, while also negotiating and conceding in parts. Ayrton Senna Institute has carried out a project with the secretary of Education from Rio de Janeiro, developing what later became Ayrton Senna's programme *Educação Integral*, which is now being implemented in the state of Santa Catarina and being transformed into an educational solution, or a "ready-made" solution. The institute, which has been developing governance reform programmes for a while - namely *Gestão Nota* 10, *Educação Integral*, *Acelera Brasil*, *Gestao da Politica de Alfabetização* and *Se Liga* (Adrião and Peroni, 2010) - made use of a policy window in Rio de Janeiro, in which the local government of Rio de Janeiro aimed to develop a policy regarding full-time schools, following the new federal guidelines. This context brought together the interests of three groups and enabled the planning of a mutually beneficial initiative, the Secretary of Education of Rio de Janeiro, Ayrton Senna Institute and Procter and Gamble come together for a new project.

> The Institute has a very cool work with the "*educação integral*" (whole education), which goes beyond full-time schooling. It is about an education that contemplates the youth, that puts them in the centre. And then we created a partnership with Rio, which is the large project there in the area of developing a project of "whole education" for Rio. So it is a *public policy* that has been developed together with the State Secretary of Rio. The partnership started from both ends, Rio was interested in a policy of whole education, and then the Institute with an expectation of organising all our policies of young protagonist and social-emotional skills, and then they got in touch… And there was a third-party in this conversation, that was P&G, which wanted to support the development of one of these schools. So the three committed and went on to try out the solution, to see what we could do[xix] (Interview, Ayrton Senna, 2016)

Here the interviewee explains how the partnership was created in a policy window, in which each part had its agenda, interests and expertise. The heterarchical actors identified mutually beneficial projects from a range of possibilities, which were redefined and monitored. To enact them, material, social and temporal conditions were organised. All of this happens without the requirement of agreeing on substantive roles; instead it is based on a procedural rationality that concerns solving specific issues (Jessop, 2011). So in this policy window, these interests converged and enabled the creation of a heterarchical structure, in which "partnerships are a further aspect of the blurring between sectors. In these and other ways 'interests' and 'purposes' become increasingly unclear and difficult to 'trace' and pin down" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 139), including interests of for-profit global companies, such as P&G.

In this case, Ayrton Senna Institute and P&G actively participated not only in the delivery of a service, but indeed in formulating a policy: "Then they [from the secretary] go on to develop a policy. So every guideline becomes a decree, regarding what is "whole education" for the state of Rio de Janeiro, and it is all based on what the Institute, P&G and the secretary designed together. […] It is really very close, the people [from Ayrton Senna] here of this project in Rio is [pause] *almost secretary*, the relationship is really very close." (Interview, Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016)

In this account, the planning and design of the project were done together, in a symbiotic environment (Adrião et al., 2012). To explain how this position of "almost secretary" is operated in practice, the interviewee goes on to describe the practicalities and labour involved, making clear how heterarchies are made of procedures more than structures (Ball and Junemann, 2012):

> Basically, we have the interlocutors in a project. For example, now I entered the training part, we talk with the teams of training and there are levels of interlocution, more or less like the macro governance of a project, but every area has its own interlocutors. The manager of the project talks to the area manager, the technician of the project talks to the technician of the area. We mix, for example, communication channels. For example, long-distance learning, has the channels of the Institute and the channels of the secretary. … the secretary considers as its own project, so people do it together[xx] (Interview, Ayrton Senna Institute, 2016)

Structures of governance are put in place with procedures that align the two hierarchies involved: the institute's and the secretary's. People with similar positions and tasks are paired up, and collaborate through communications that depend on meetingness (Urry, 2003), with meetings, emails, phone calls. This also creates a sense of ownership, in which both parts feel responsible and merited for the initiative.

These heterarchical procedures and labour, that resemble advisory or consultancy services, may involve different forms of "support", that answer to specific situations and demands in specific secretaries. As an interviewee from Natura Institute puts it, this kind of relationship may be "a support that not always involves a specific knowledge[xxi], that is not a consultancy" (Interview, Natura Institute, 2016), but rather pragmatic actions, with great opaqueness of the relationships. For instance, Natura Institute has been supporting the state of Ceará and the city of Sobral in many endeavours. One service provided by the Institute to the secretary was hiring a new staff to work in the government, collaborating with and supporting civil servants. This person is, himself, the embodiment of the blurriness of public and private, working as a civil servant, paid by the foundation, answering to both - a "heterarchical actor defined by mobility and hybridity" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 139). This type of arrangement is not an exception, as Natura hired two people to work in Ceara's state secretary of education, and Unibanco Institute hires people to work in the states with their *Jovem de Futuro* programme.

Natura Institute has also worked as a "middle man" for the state of Ceará and the municipality of Sobral, in the context of curriculum reforms in these places. Natura Institute brought the Canadian policy-maker Mrs Mary Jean Gallagher to Ceará, to discuss curriculum making. Concomitantly, Natura hired Paula Lozano and Ilona Becskehazy, consultants with past and present ties with Lemann Foundation, who are named in the second page of the curriculum document as "Coordenation and Consultancy". These consultants were included a multi-stakeholder partnership to develop a new local standardised curriculum, one that would became a case for the MNLS (see chapter 5 for more detail). In these cases, Natura Institute makes possible a flexibility of the contracting out scheme that governments are unable to do. So the heterarchical structures "are a policy device, a way of trying things out, getting things done, changing things and avoiding established public sector lobbies and interests" (Ball and Junemann, 2012, p. 138).

All of these programmes and cases show a move of foundations from the context of practice (school focused programmes), to the context of influence (advice/consultancy) and to the context of policy writing (partnerships), and thence again to context of practice (municipal and state focused reforms) (Bowe et al., 1992), showing that new philanthropy is active in all policy contexts (Olmedo, 2017). The programmes described are large-scale and aim at structural changes in entire systems of education, bringing about results-based management with ready-made policy solutions that can be customised to suit public partners. They show the longer reach of philanthropy, and a deeper, multi-layered development of heterarchies. They also exemplify a vast diversity of types of relationships that can be involved in such heterarchies, as well as the mundane activities employed to maintain them. These can include hiring new staff for the government, contracting out an external consultants, maintaining regular advisory meetings, creating projects from scratch, continued communications, training sessions and so on. Heterarchies are complex, ever changing, ephemeral and "certainly uneven" (Ball and Junemann, 2012). This extensive account of types of activities involved in heterarchical governance gives flesh to this complexity, which is further explored in the MNLS case.

6.2. MNLS's heterarchical relationships: co-affiliations with civil servants

In this section I analyse the network of the Mobilisation for the National Learning Standards and its intense and multi-facetted connections with the Ministry of Education. Differently from the previous section, in which the working of heterarchies was analysed through the work of organisations and public-private partnerships, this section exemplifies even more nuanced and opaque boundary-spanning relationships of individuals. By analysing people's affiliations between the MNLS and other organisations its possible to see how mobile professionals and the creation of new policy-making spaces are also part of heterarchies. So first I analyse the co-affiliation of the individual supporters of MNLS. Then, aiming to understand how a close relationship was built between MNLS and MEC, I analyse the change of the network, first analysing its composition and then the changes of co-affiliation between MNLS and the National Council of Education. From this, I discuss the work of boundary-spanning professionals, with two relevant examples from this network.

Although being fully funded and maintained by private organisations, MNLS has individual supporters from every level of government (federal, state, municipal as noted above). At the federal level, what is particularly striking is how many members of MNLS hold or have held positions in the National Council of Education, the Ministry of Education and the *Camara dos Deputados*, the lower congress chamber. By the end of 2016, more than half of MNLS members were working in state institutions. The individual members are fundamental for the functioning of MNLS, both in the decision-making and in advancing their agenda into their diverse contexts and connections. First, according to a representative of Lemann Foundation, "the group of members decides what are the priorities for year, the strategic decisions, and it follows up MNLS developments. The executive secretariat of the movement is in touch with these people everyday, literally, exchanging ideas everyday, asking for their opinions, for advice and suggestions" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016). Second, the connections the members hold are fundamental for MNLS's “advocacy work”. This is made explicit by the same representative of Lemann foundation in saying:

> Each member of the movement is an advocacy potential. They are very different people, the movement is quite plural, so each one of these people has a very different set of 'interlocutors'. The members are the advocacy of the group because they talk with the most interesting interlocutors for them. There are people with greater dialogue with social movements, there are people with more dialogue with other foundations, some people talk with the government, some people *are* government. So the movement is an advocacy organism, so it is very interesting that we say the same things, with different colours sometimes, but the

> principles are the same. Instead of having one advocacy, you have 60. This is very interesting. I believe one of the strengths of the movement is operating as a bloc. Even if we don't agree with everything, the key messages are always there being repeated for those people that matter (in the debate) (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

Thus, it is crucial to consider the individual members of MNLS in order to better understand to where, with who and how MNLS's discourses flow. Thus, there is below a co-affiliation network of the individual members of MNLS (for a discussion of what co-affiliations entail, see Chapter 3). Here, the data concerns MNLS individual members and the institutions to which they are affiliated through professional work. To analyse the relationship of MNLS with other organisations, especially state ones, the dual-mode affiliation network (person-by-institution) was converted into a one-mode co-affiliation network (institution-by-institution). It assumes that two institutions that have one or more members in common have a greater chance of ideas being exchanged between them. The graph below was built as an ego network (the network of one institution, MNLS), meaning that all institutions have at least one connection with MNLS (at least one person affiliated to both institutions). The first graph includes all edges. To clarify the first graph and visualize better these connections, the second graph does not include all edges, which makes the graph unreadable. The nodes are organised in three circles: in the outer-circle institutions have only one connection to MNLS. In the middle-circle they have two connections. Finally, in the central circle they have three or more (with the exact number presented numerically on the edge). The thicker the line, the more people in common these two organisations have and node sizes vary according to how connected the institution is.

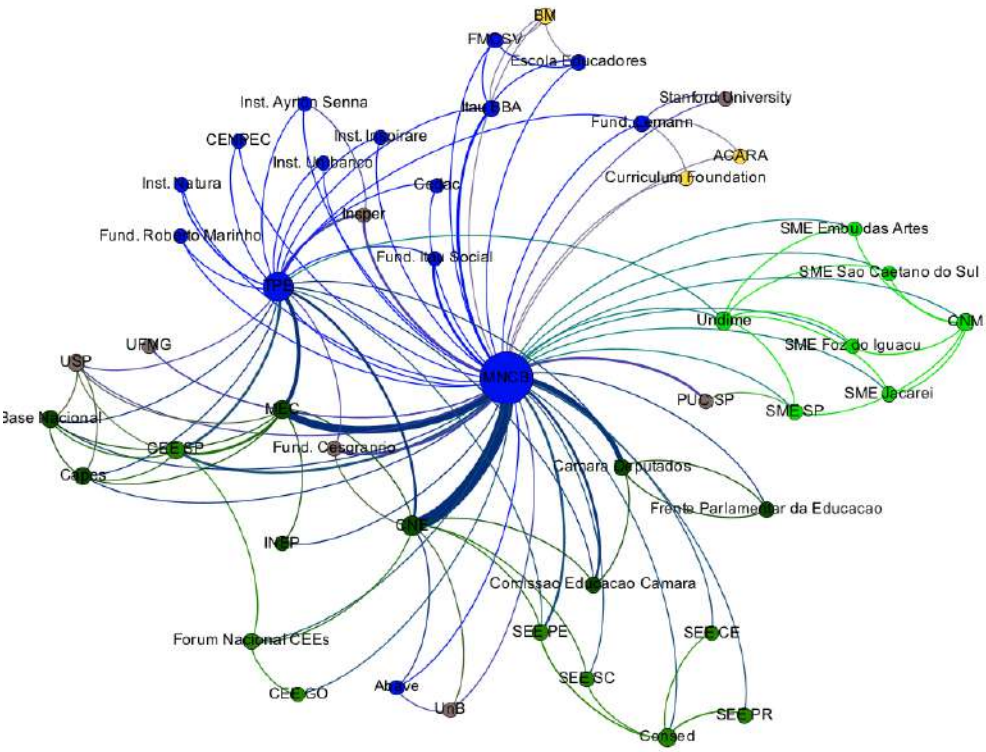


Figure 15. MNLS's co-affiliation ego network (with edges)

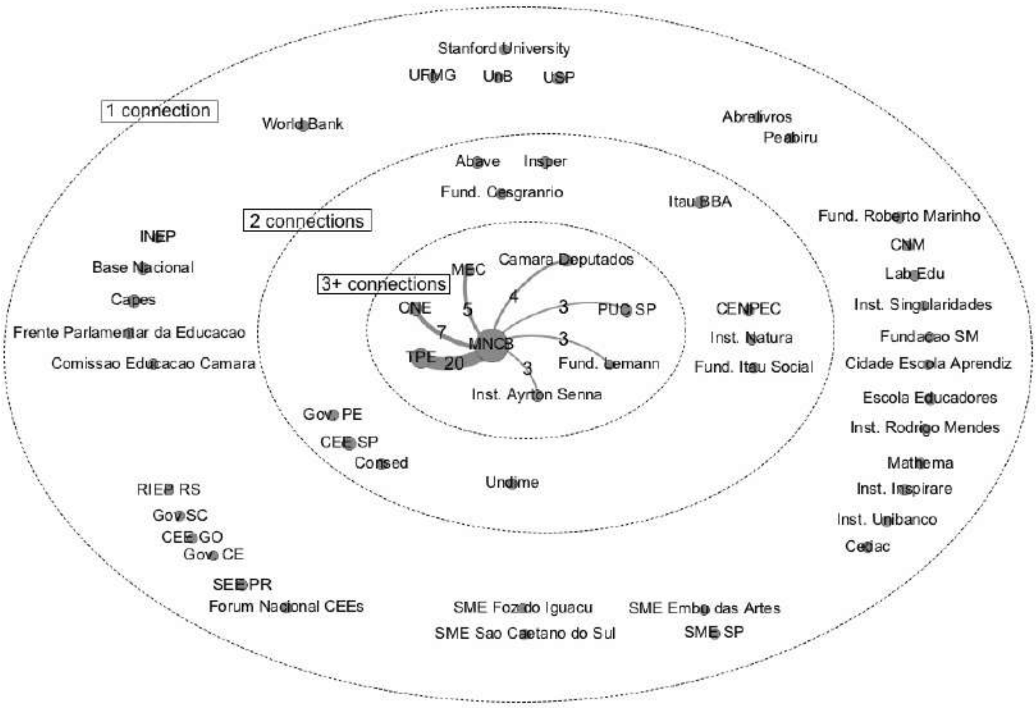


Figure 16. MNLS's co-affiliation ego network

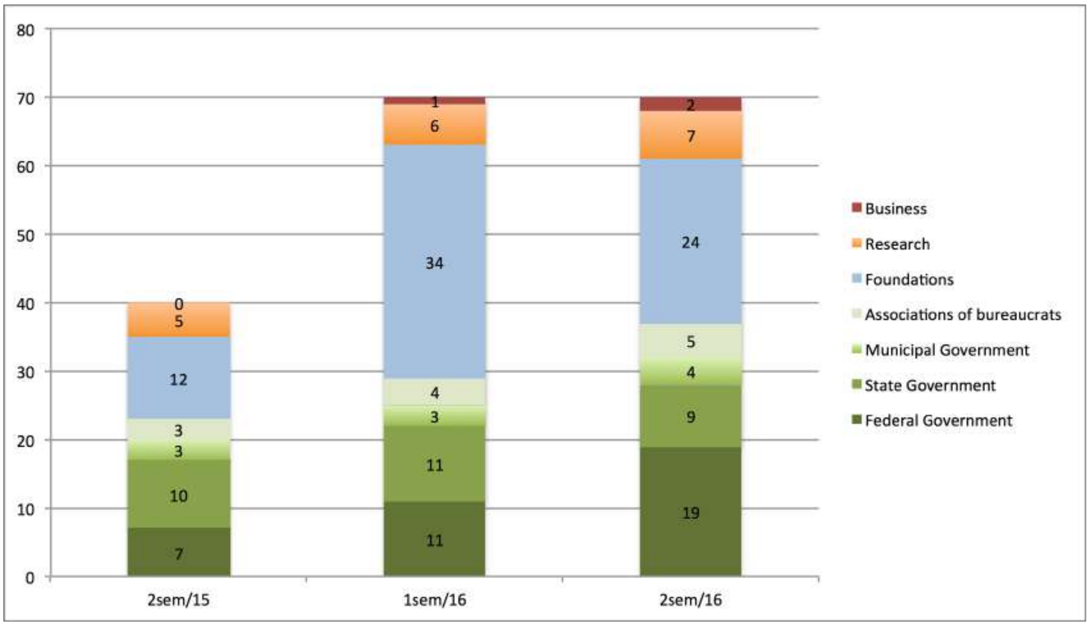
The co-affiliation of members between MNLS and 52 other institutions is represented in this graph. Out of these organisations, seven have more than 3 connections with MNLS (and are therefore more likely to have a significant exchange of ideas, discourses and/or resources). Todos pela Educação unquestionably has the highest co-affiliation with MNLS (20 members), elucidating the close relationship between the two movements. Interestingly, among the more connected institutions, there are three federal ones: *Camara dos Deputados,* MEC and CNE.

To further explore the blurred relation between private and public, new philanthropy and state present in MNLS's network, in what follows there is a discussion of the evolution of this part of the network in a time-span. I also consider the backgrounds and affiliation of some of these members. Some of the questions to be addressed are: how did MNLS build such network? How did they manage to create this close relation with fundamental public institutions, such as MEC and the NCE?

6.2.1. MNLS and MEC/NCE: the network's change in time

To indicate how the composition of MNLS has changed over time, it was tracked for three semesters. The listings here begin from September 2015, the first time MNLS published the names of its supporters. While in effect MNLS was created in 2013, it only began using this name in events and in publishing information about its work (and supporters) in the second semester of 2015. Even in this short period of time, there are considerable changes in the composition of MNLS and an increasing numbers of bureaucrats. Indeed, the amount of change in three semesters is a good example of how these networks are ever changing, unstable and fluid (Ball and Junemann, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2010; Shiroma, 2013). The table below represents the change in MNLS's composition.

Table 10. Composition of MNLS between 2015 and 2016



Through table 9, two changes in the composition of MNLS become visible. The first indicates a growth in the movement, evident in the difference between the end of 2015 to the beginning of 2016. In this period, the movement grew from 40 to 70 members. This growth was mainly reached through the recruitment of foundation representatives: out of the 30 new members, 24 were affiliated to foundations. Regarding bureaucrats, although the overall growth was not as substantial, it is important to stress that by the end of 2015 MNLS recruited 4 members of the NCE. At this period, MEC had just published the first version of the Base (September 2015), which created a large public debate about it. MEC, MNLS and local authorities were fomenting discussions through several small seminars and meetings to gather feedback for a second version of the Base document.

In contrast, the second shift indicates a qualitative change in the MNLS's composition. While in the first semester of 2016 there were 29 members affiliated to state institutions and 41 to private organisations, in the following semester it changed to 37 members in state institutions and 33 in private ones. More importantly, MNLS's composition changed with the addition of members occupying important posts in government (NCE and MEC specially). This shift took place in relation to the controversial change of government when President Dilma Rousseff was impeached and a conservative coalition took over. From only 7 members in federal government positions in the first semester of 2015, MNLS reached 19 by the second half the year.

Below there are three affiliation networks between MNLS, MEC and NCE (and its two chambers, as noted before). Differently from the previous graph, the graphs below are kept as two-mode graphs, with two sets of nodes (institutions and people), to explore how MNLS's co-affiliation with vital federal decision-making institutions have been built over time.

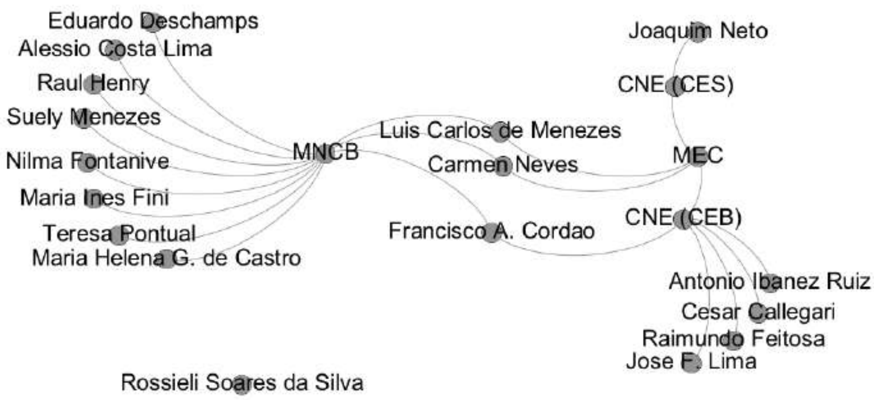


Figure 17. MNLS and MEC - 2nd semestre 2015

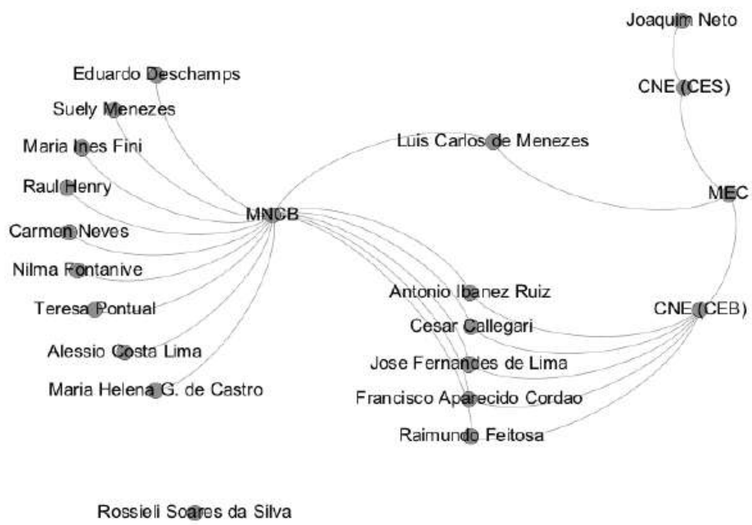


Figure 18. MNLS and MEC - 1st semestre 2016

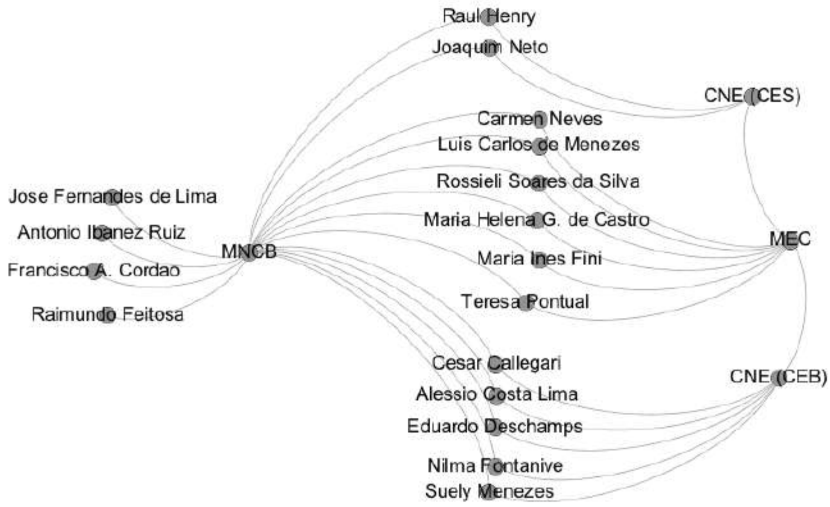


Figure 19. MNLS and MEC - 2nd semestre 2016

MNLS had two different directions of interaction with state bureaucracy. First, up to the end of 2015 (see change from figure 16 to 17) it was recruiting bureaucrats into the movement, that is people who were on the NCE and then became affiliated to the movement. In interviews, representatives from Lemann Foundation explained (as quoted previously) how Lemann Foundation and MNLS had been investing in relationship-building in Brasilia, Brazil's capital: "We have a person, we hired someone 'super', who is in Brasilia now doing lobby. … He has in his diary talking to people that have power, or that participate in the process of eventually having connectivity" (Interview, Lemann Foundation, 2016).

Second, in a new *policy window* (the change of government and new President), people who were already part of the MNLS were appointed to roles in the bureaucratic structure, indeed to strategic positions in NCE and MEC, both official sites for deliberation and formation of the new national curriculum. In MEC, MNLS members were appointed to the positions of MEC's Executive Secretariat, of the head of the Secretariat of Basic Education (SEB), as well as two out of the three SEB's directorships, and INEP's presidency. In NCE, Michel Temer, at the time interim president, exchanged 6 out of 12 indications of the former president Dilma Rousseff. In his new name list, there were four names affiliated to private institutions, including Nilma Fontanive and Suely Menezes, members of MNLS.

In both directions of interaction the epistemic relation between the movement and members has been fundamental. Francisco Aparecido Cordão, the first NCE member to join MNLS, was part of the founding team of Todos pela Educação. Similarly, part of the group from NCE that joined MNLS by the end of 2015, Cesar Callegari is in the governance team of Todos pela Educação. In the second shift, Nilma Fontanive, who is part of the technical commission of Todos pela Educação, and Suely Menezes, who is part of the large for-profit higher-education chain named Ipiranga, were appointed to the council.

However, the most significant examples of boundary-spanning actors that now are part of MEC are probably Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro and Maria Ines Fini. Both joined MNLS at its early stages, both are now in high-ranking positions in MEC, and both have a long and complex history with education in Brazil, with extensive connections with both public and private sectors. Castro has worked as a professor of political science at the University of Campinas. She has been the president of INEP during the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995 – 2001), when large-scale exams were introduced in the country, and in 2002, during the same government, she became the Executive Secretariat of MEC (position she holds again now). She has then worked in different states and secretariats, including the secretariat of education in the state of Sao Paulo, when the state introduced a standard curriculum. She then joined the foundation *Educar para Crescer*, became president of the Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados (SEADE, or State System of Data Analysis Foundation), and is part of Todos pela Educação. Maria Ines Fini has also worked at the University of Campinas between 1972 and 1996, where she participated in the creation of the Faculty of Education. Between 1996 and 2002 she worked in INEP with Maria Helena de Castro, where she was a director responsible for two large-scale tests. She also worked in different states and cities in the country and was PISA's director in Brazil. She then became involved in different foundations (FEAC, *Campinas pela Educação*, *FandF Educare*, Roberto Marinho Foundation) and for-profit high-education institutions (Cesgranrio, SL Mandic). Both are highly connected people in the field of education in Brazil, having operated in different states, with different governments and worked with public and private organisations. Nonetheless, they represent a type of education project, one that values standard teaching, large-scale tests, and the participation of private organisations in public education.

To make it clear, as it is common in policy networks, in the MNLS network there is an epistemic connection between members (Santori et al., 2015), one that is often manifested in affiliations, but also transcends them. Network members are bonded together through a shared view of what education should be, what the policy problems in Brazil are and the preferable (and necessary) policy solutions. As one interviewee explains: "these organisations are in the movement because they truly believe that having learning standards in Brazil can make a lot of difference. So they make this part of their own cause. Then it becomes a natural work to take this with them in whatever task or event they do" (Interview Lemann Foundation, 2016).

Here the boundary between the state and new philanthropy is increasingly porous, and indeed we might say that MNLS emerges over time as a key site of policy and of state work in its own right. There is also the role of a relatively new kind of hybrid, boundary spanning actors who manage “within inter-organisational theatres”, as Williams (2002, p. 104) puts it, accumulating network capital as they move between sectors. At the same time, new kinds of careers, identities and mobilities are forged within the processes of reform and through the work of such policy networks. These boundary spanning and mobile policy actors contribute symbolically and substantively to a “power narrative” (McCann, 2008, p. 5) made up of ideas, practices and sensibilities that address the reform of the Brazilian school curriculum. Some we might identify as “movers and shakers” (Williams, 2002) – that is people who have the ability to connect and ensure cooperation within and across different networks by sharing common goals and combining resources. Individual trajectories and histories become embedded in the network, and focussed at particular nodal points. These are in effect embodied policy mobilities, people who carry the sensibilities and substance of education reform with them.

The growth and change of MNLS, specially its recruitment of people with decisive positions in MEC, illustrates the creation of new heterarchical policy spaces. Policy is being done by new organisations, new people, in new relationships and new places. Concomitantly, new professionals are made, ones that are “embodied members of epistemic, expert and practice communities. They are sociologically complex actors, located in (shifting) organizational and political fields, whose identities and professional trajectories are often bound up with the policy positions and fixes they espouse” (Peck and Theodore, 2010a, p. 170). These opaque relationships raise concerns about democracy and accountability, and these new relationships demand new ways of research and citizen participation in public matters.

6.3. Global heterarchies: heterarchies, policy pipelines and policy mobility between MEC and ACARA

Heterarchies operate on a global scale, connecting public and private, governmental, business and philanthropic actors in different countries, stretching across regions with a complex mix of the public and the private. As Hogan (2015) puts it,

> These relationships function between agencies of the government, business and civil society and extend these, in the case of contemporary education policy, to a global scale. Thus, the concept of heterarchy is able to account for the rescaling of politics and the emergence of new political actors, simultaneously recognising the continuing significance of the state and its bureaucracy and new public/private relations that mediate education policy processes (Hogan, 2015, p. 385).

One example of the global work of heterarchies concerns the relationship between the Brazilian Ministry of Education and the Australian Ministry of Education, mediated by the Lemann Foundation, working under the auspices of MNLS. Besides managing its national responsibilities, ACARA has been working on different international fronts, specially addressing its fourth purpose regarding "collaboration and leadership". The ACARA's 2015–16 "Corporate Plan" specifies the institution's four purposes in the areas of: curriculum; assessment; data and reporting; and collaboration and leadership. Each purpose is managed with goals and performance criteria. The last includes the aim of "collaborating with international education bodies to ensure ACARA's work and advice to ministers are informed by leading research and better practice, and *provide support services internationally where these align with ACARA's core areas of work*." (ACARA website, added emphasis). For this, ACARA is supposed to create "collaboration with partners (government and non-government school sectors), and national stakeholders and international education bodies clearly maintained".

Hence, ACARA should be able to have "evidence of collaboration through: scheduled meetings of ACARA's key advisory groups; ACARA's attendance at key working groups and peak bodies and evidence of communication with international education bodies" (ACARA Work plan 2015/16). ACARA recognises the importance of meetings and participation in events as a means of networking with influential global actors, exerting meetingness to reinforce network bonds (Urry, 2003).

In these lines, the 2015/2016 Report lists the achievements of having developed the Australia's report for UNESCO[38], having held a partnership with Ireland and Sweden to develop an online assessment[39] and, most importantly, collaborating with Brazil and Saudi Arabia. The organisation reports having discussions with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Public Education and Evaluation Commission to support the country's national curriculum on a fee-for-service basis, and "in 2015, ACARA held meetings with Brazilian government officials and embarked upon work to support Brazil in the development of its national learning standards through a contract with the Lemann Foundation, *acting on behalf of the Brazilian government*." (ACARA report 2015-16, added emphasis)

Thus, amongst the international activities held by ACARA, participating in the development of a new national curriculum on a fee-for-service basis for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Brazilian government (through Lemann Foundation) are highlighted. Besides attracting new sources of income (Yearly report), these partnerships are portrayed by ACARA as an achievement "built on ACARA's reputation for world-class curriculum, assessment and reporting programmes, including hosting numerous international delegations." And "ACARA's expertise and reputation have also led to international recognition and collaborations across curriculum, assessment and reporting. In 2015–16, ACARA hosted several international delegations, provided advice to support national curriculum work in other countries and attended international forums including the ones held by UNESCO and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development" (2015/16 report). ACARA's international efforts are part of a global reform of education, which encourages a global competition in which the Australian government aims to assert its position as an educational "leader".

[38] "ACARA developed Australia's report for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 'Network on Education Quality Monitoring the Asia Pacific' comparative study. The project explores practices for assessing transversal competencies, or general capabilities, used by schools and school systems in the Asia-Pacific region. The Australian report includes a description of the national education context and details of school case studies. The Australian material will be synthesised with other participating countries to form the regional report."

[39] In 2015–16, ACARA entered into a partnership project with education authorities in Ireland and Sweden to develop and trial innovative online assessment. Data from the trial informed a paper for the 2016 International Association for Educational Assessment (IAEA) Conference in Cape Town, South Africa.

6.3.1. The triad: mediation of Lemann and creation of pipelines

As described in previous chapters, MEC, ACARA and Lemann/MNCN developed an intense and multi-facetted collaboration. ACARA worked with Brazilian authorities, had meetings with government officials, wrote analytical reports on preliminary versions of the Base, and created curriculum guidelines for the writing team, all on a fee-for-service relationship through a contract with the Lemann Foundation, which namely "acted on behalf of the Brazilian government". This relationship is welcomed from all three parts of this triadic relationship. Lemann Foundation and the MNLS have been playing a broker role between the Brazilian and Australian Governments, putting forward a curriculum model within its agenda and understanding of a good curriculum. MEC is proud of drawing upon a model from a "developed" country, and advertises this relationship. Similarly, for ACARA this is both a political and financially lucrative situation.

This triad is a space that has enabled the mobilisation of a hybridised curriculum model drawing on expertise in both Brazil and Australia and interests on both sides, but this was only possible due to the "*heterarchisation*" of both governments involved. The governments were connected and related to each other through aspects of their heterarchical modes of governing and the new practices, tools and goals arising from these. These connections and relations required, on the Brazilian side, a collaboration with private foundations and welcoming Lemann Foundation in different occasions. On the Australian side a shift of government roles that now also involve its agencies, like ACARA, operating as global consultants, collaborating with private entities and offering services for fees. Lemann Foundation (on behalf of MNLS) acts as an intermediary institution. Arguably, none of these arrangements would have been possible in "former" modes of hierarchical government.

The role played by Lemann Foundation has been crucial in manufacturing this triad and enabling the mobility of a curriculum model, specially by building policy pipelines (Cook and Ward, 2014), as for "policy to be moved from one location to another there needs to be some sort of supportive infrastructure ... [which] makes policy mobility more probable, although it is rarely predetermined and there are no guarantees" (Cook and Ward, 2012). Such policy pipelines include fundamental elements for policy mobility, namely "the infrastructure that supports the movement of policies, the representational practices of various 'experts', and the place of conferences as central nodes in the globalizing of urban policies" (Cook and Ward, 2012, p. 142). The reports, videos, press coverage and events, all create the needed "informational infrastructure" that disseminated the discourses about education and curriculum among decision-makers, philanthropists and the general public. They also are "representational practices of “experts”, in which MNLS and ACARA take on the "curriculum expert" position in the policy-making arena. Finally, the numerous conferences funded and organised by MNLS and its members, as explored in the previous chapter, work as "central nodes in globalising of urban policies".

The concept of heterarchies cannot be separated from global networks. Heterarchies are not limited to or within national borders; the policy networks and mobilities that they consist of are international. Indeed, one could argue that policy mobilities are facilitated precisely because of heterarchical governance. In this case, the heterarchy and mobility are in part dependent upon each other: policy mobility is made possible because of the heterarchical work of the public organisations here involved, and heterarchies are strengthened by the policy pipelines built for and from mobility, through the financial and symbolic capitals invested and exchanged.

In spite of the opaqueness of this triad - or how we cannot fully understand its relationship, contracts, funding, interests - what is striking here is how important the MNLS, with its global partners, is to understanding the formulation of the national learning standards in Brazil. Indeed, as important as other more traditional actors, such as teacher unions and academic researchers. In fact, such organisations have been persistently complaining about not only the curriculum itself, but about how the Ministry of Education has not sufficiently listened to and included them in such process. Instead, this policy network - with corporate, philanthropic and civil servant actors, in partnership with international institutions - seems to have been more successful in partaking and formulating the learning standards.

6.4. Final remarks. The heterarchical state in practice

What this chapter has sought to capture is some aspects of how heterarchies operate in practice, and the roles and activities new philanthropy in Brazil has been playing in them. These are parts of general changes in the forms and modalities of the Brazilian state. They are not absolute changes, but rather a set of shifts in the balance or mix between the different elements of government – bureaucracy, markets and networks. This new mix brings new players from business and philanthropy into the work of governance and entangles bureaucratic actors in new sites of policy and new kinds of relations in and with policy. In this chapter I have indicated in particular the formation of new relationships between public authorities and foundations, as well as new kinds of policy actors who operate across and between what were once distinct sectors. They illustrate the changing nature, goals and means of state-work, in which new philanthropy (and the MNLS) rises as a new centre of gravity in the topography of education policy in Brazil and its connecting role in global networks.

Within the umbrella concept of heterarchies, there are different types of public-private relationships happening. Namely, I have aimed to illustrate: the creation and offer of pedagogical services and products; the creation and offer of "ready-made" solutions - as well as the customised and advisory-like services; the creation of new policy spaces; and creation of policy pipelines for policy mobility. These heterarchical relationships are negotiated and enacted in an asymmetrical network, in which there are varying and shifting degrees of autonomy and interdependence between public and private actors. This means the public-private relations might vary from one-off short-termed connections - such as a one-day seminar for teacher training - to deeply interdependent and relatively permanent connections - such as a co-formulation of a policy engendered by a foundation and a secretary held together by weekly meetings. What this also means is that power is not only unevenly distributed across heterarchies, but also that power relations are constantly shifting. Nonetheless, this is precisely what makes heterarchies - its lack of patterns, hierarchies or set of ordered rules. Instead, its organisation involves horizontal and vertical connections (Ball and Junemann, 2012) in self-regulated and dynamic regimes of interdependence (Jessop, 2011).

The work of foundations do not signal once and for all systemic changes in education policy making or the education state, rather this is part of a myriad of small moves, experiments and initiatives that may be scaled up, and contribute over time to a more profound system re-engineering. Far from a dramatic 'roll-back' or a total 'hollowing out' of the state (Holliday, 2000), this newly emerging model of governance implies a "roll-out" of new structures and technologies of governance that redefine the roles and responsibilities of the state but, at the same time, resituate the state strategically in both normative and institutional terms.

These shifts are part of a deeper transformation of the political sphere, a "de-governmentalisation of the state" (Rose, 1996), in such a way that the state no longer acts as the centre of power. Instead, new forms of political organization – heterarchies - are developing in which governments no longer exert monopolistic control over state work. In this context, "the new heterarchical mode of governance implies a conception of policy that should be seen as the collective efforts of a set of players who compete and form alliances in an ever-increasing networked political arena" (Olmedo, 2014, p. 253). This involves changes both in "who governs" and at the same time "how power is exercised". It occurs through the repopulating and reworking of existing policy networks and the emergence of new networks that give legitimacy to the role of business and/or enterprise and/or philanthropy in the solution of intransigent problems (like the form and content of the school curriculum).

To reiterate, this is a move beyond both bureaucratic and market forms of coordination towards more flexible, asymmetric, heterarchical relationships, within which responsibilities and processes of decision-making are shared by a heterogeneous mix of old and new policy actors, with the effect of re-balancing the governance mix (Ball and Junemann 2012). As Jessop (1998, p. 32) explains:

> the recent expansion of networks at the expense of markets and hierarchies and of governance at the expense of government is not just a pendular swing in some regular succession of dominant modes of policy-making. [⋯] and a corresponding shift in the centre of gravity around which policy cycles move.

Also evident here in the formation and evolution of the MNLS is the construction of what Cook and Ward (2012) call *policy pipelines.* Through transnational policy pipelines extending from USA and Australia to Brazil, mediated by Lemann Foundation and the MNLS, Yale, Australian "consultants" and US policy entrepreneurs, pass both tacit knowledge and knowledge in more codified forms. In such policy pipelines also flows "learning acquired through participation in trans-urban policy pipelines [that] dissipates through the different "local" clusters of practitioners and policy makers – "spill-over"' (Cook and Ward, 2012 p. 141) – the idea in this instance of a national curriculum. Thus, we might view MNLS as one small part of a more extensive joined-up policy network, that is a "globally integrated network" (Urry, 2003) of highly interdependent actors and organisations, practices and forms, which are related together in diverse ways in relation to education reform. As Ball (2016) puts it, "these network relations are not outside or over and against the local in any simple sense, they have multiple changing relations to and within 'the local' or in fact different locals", here (national, state and municipal)" (p. 13). Indeed, "what is local and global is changed/muddied by the relationships and movements traced here" (Ball, 2016, p. 13).

The Brazilian case of education reform is joined up, practically and discursively, in a variety of ways, some described in this account, to a global network of policy ideas and forms of policy. Brazil is at one particular point on a continuum of change that interconnects and replicates a global shift in the form and modalities of the state and concomitant ways of governing differently. The specifics of this account would suggest a clear direction of travel with the work of the state increasingly being done elsewhere by other actors – all of which calls into question the relations between policy, the policy process and democratic politics. This is in some senses a de-politicisation of policy. New unelected and, in many ways, unaccountable voices are having a significant say in determining the methods, contents and purposes of education. MNLS members and its cohorts and partners are in some respects "voting with dollars" (Saltman, 2010). That is to say, financial, reputational and social resources are being deployed to change the landscape of education in Brazil and the experience of education in Brazilian schools.

Conclusions, contributions and implications

New philanthropists now have a relevant role in education policy-making in Brazil and elsewhere amid a shifting role of the state from hierarchical government to network and heterarchical governance, a change in philanthropic practices and discourses, and a corporate reform of education. This thesis aimed to address the question of how foundations are operating in the education network of governance in Brazil, focusing specifically on the mundane labour invested by new philanthropies in global and local network activity. To conclude the thesis, in this chapter I examine the contributions and implications of my research to education policy theory, research method and practice.

First, I elaborate some conclusions deriving from the previous chapters. I critically analyse the growth of new philanthropy to become an actor of significance in education policy-making nationally and globally. New philanthropists, both the multinationals (like Gates Foundation and Omidyar Foundation) and the locals (like Lemann Foundation, Unibanco Institute, Natura Institute, Ayrton Senna Institute and Todos pela Educação) appear, with few exceptions to be committed to a particular and well circumscribed policy set, that relies for the most part on transposing discourses and practices from business into education. Although presented as “non-profit”, new philanthropy’s work supports education marketisation and often aspires to exclude alternatives and challengers. This education reform project is disseminated and defended with a pervasive approach that includes discursive, relational and institutional aspects. Namely, new philanthropies invest labour to frame policy ideas, labour to relate in networks and labour to institutionalise policy ideas and relationships.

Second, I deliberate on the contributions of this research to the field of critical policy analysis. Network ethnography, combined with the perspectives of mobilities and policy networks can make an important (and as argued earlier – appropriate) contribution to the study of global policy networks and investigation of the corporate reform of education.

Third, I reflect on the implications of the findings, namely on what these policy network arrangements mean for the democratic management of education, and give some consideration to the “hyperagency” (Schervish, 2003) of new philanthropy.

7.1. Conclusions: reflections on how foundations are operating in the education network governance in Brazil

The following conclusions seek to make some sense of the findings, although some issues remain to be addressed and discussed further. The labour modalities of new philanthropy described and analysed in this thesis – labour to frame policy ideas, labour to relate and labour to institutionalise policy ideas and relationships - are deeply intertwined. There are no clear-cut separations between the purposes and practices involved in this labour, nor are there stages and spaces that can be traced and pinned down in any simple way. Thus, I here reflect upon the analysis presented in the preceding chapters, aiming to reconstruct the linkages between the labour modalities that were partly detached by the employed heuristic device for analytical purposes.

Hence I return to the initial frame of analysis, which is re-presented below. Each chapter has developed an analysis of the different forms of labour deployed across the networks contexts and scales, represented by the vertical arrows in the scheme. Each section of the chapters provided some width and depth to the analysis, as well as a glocal perspective, which are here represented with the horizontal arrows. I now will summarise these analytical points and explore some of the interactions between them, here represented with the circular arrows around the labour modalities.

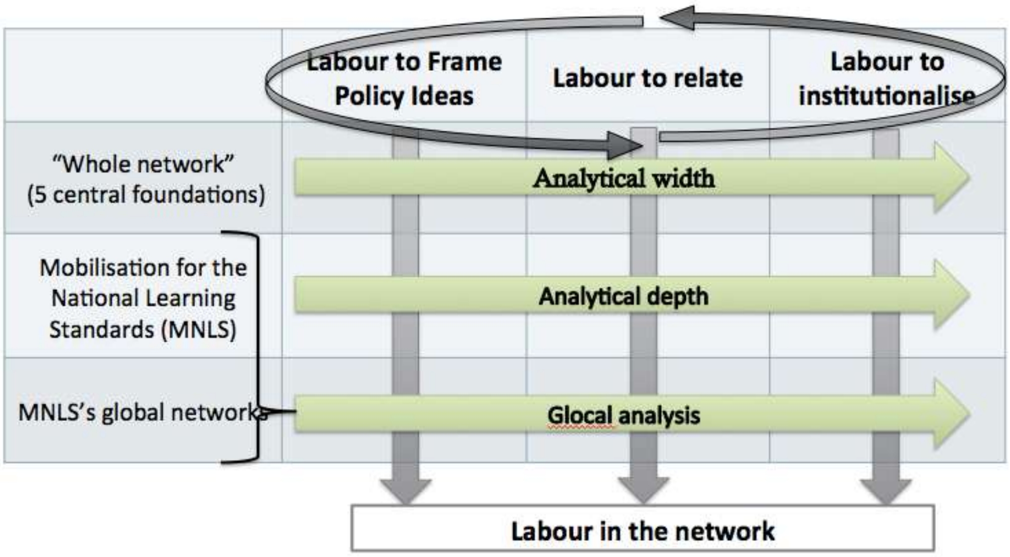


Figure 20. Analytical frame revisited

New philanthropies, in Brazil and elsewhere, distinguish themselves from more traditional charity work by their "strategic" approach to "social investment". They aim to manage their investments, specially money, but also time and social capital, in similar ways as companies manage theirs. So new philanthropies aim to find the best "return on investment". Policy entrepreneurship is a way to achieve large-scale changes in education with relatively low cost, given that a "small" budget can steer large amounts of public investment towards the education policy agenda foundations support, usually revolving around a corporate reform of education. At the same time, these new philanthropies disseminate a particular vision and version of policy and education reform that draws primarily upon corporate-inspired practices and discourses, and aim to reform public management according to these. The logics behind this reform work revolve around the idea that "business appears as universally beneficial. After all, it has worked well for them. So business language, values, and ways of seeing should be applied to the public sector" (Saltman, 2010). So policy is treated a technical problem, rather than as a political issue - this is some sense a de-politisation of the state (Clarke, 2012).

In practice, the policy entrepreneurship of new philanthropists in Brazil involves the organisation, systematisation, framing and articulation of policy ideas through research projects, publications, like reports and press releases, and articles in the press, meetings, events, etc. More than simply or modestly seeking to convince policy-makers, as the idea of "advocacy" could infer, these activities are more fundamentally about defining and framing the problems that require government action, and articulating, legitimating and limiting appropriate policy solutions. At the same time, new philanthropies frame themselves as legitimate policy actors, with an "authoritative voice" (Ball, 2012). The MNLS has taken up this "ideological labour" (Ferrare and Apple, 2017) to frame the need of learning standards in Brazil. The Mobilisation's labour involves not only national efforts, but also the building of transnational policy pipelines (McCann and Ward, 2012), enabling the mobility of policy ideas across boundaries. Funding, research, consultants, ideas, all travel more easily (Urry, 2003) in such a way that policy entrepreneurship is no longer conducted within the limits of national borders.

Framing policy problems and solutions requires sharing ideas in many places, and mobilising the financial, social and network resources needed. This requires an interdependence between network actors, and efforts of coordination among them. So different types of capital are shared and flow in networks, including money and social connections. In doing so, new philanthropies can become more effective in their reform efforts, and can mobilise support for policy ideas in many spaces, including in and across the government. Networks are built and animated to gather support to policy ideas, in which not only pragmatic relations are organised, but also epistemic ones, so meetings become especially important as times and places to strengthen relationships and shared beliefs. These relationships, as noted, span national and sector borders, so they are not limited to the Brazilian context, or philanthropy, or education. The MNLS has made use of a series of meetings, small and large, with philanthropists and politicians, in Brazil and elsewhere, specially the USA, to mobilise support for national learning standards in Brazil. Indeed, the mobilisation claims to have been created in the USA, and draws on-going support from American, Australian and English consultants through meetings in Brazil and elsewhere, and these meetings bring together philanthropists and civil servants from various levels in reform efforts.

Concomitantly, institutional arrangements are reworked within public/private partnerships and the sharing of service delivery and policy formulation. Foundations offer pedagogical services and products, like teaching materials or platforms, which are school-focused and aimed at changing practice at local, institutional and classroom levels. They also offer policy services, with "ready-made" and "on-demand" policy solutions, which include consultancy-like services. In this way, new philanthropists are active in all contexts of policy, in multiple relationships, of different kinds, extending from the context of influence with the "ideological labour" (Ferrare and Apple, 2017), through the context of policy writing with the heterarchical arrangements of policy consultancy, into the context of practice with the pedagogical services, among other possible arrangements.

However, heterarchical relationships are more than institutional partnerships (such as PPPs), and the MNLS is an example of how new careers are being forged: "technocrats may become politicians, scientists may become development experts, academics may become activists, engineers may set up NGOs, and so on" (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 219). These are experts that become "travelling technocrats", who are "embodied actors who knowingly create careers for themselves through and against broader political-economic processes and national imaginaries" (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 219). They are experts who "are increasingly moving between private, public and third sector organisations, and between local, national and international institutions, reshaping these accordingly" (Larner and Laurie, 2010, p. 219). In doing so, they also become boundary-spanners, people with connections in public and private sectors, and operate in ways that challenge hierarchical government structures and bring about new ways of governing. Members of the MNLS directly and actively participate both in meetings with philanthropists and policy-making in the Ministry of Education. These heterarchical connections also span scales with a strong connections built between the MNLS, MEC, and ACARA, which brought to Brazil Australian civil servants, that came as "consultants" and "experts".

Institutional partnerships and arrangements, such as PPPs, are clear and tangible examples of the shift from government to governance - they clearly point to a sharing of roles and responsibilities in a network that includes new actors besides public authorities. Nonetheless, all the labour analysed in this thesis, in all of its modalities, aspects and spheres, are part of a governance shift. The arrangements of heterarchical governance between government and new philanthropy is made possible because of the discourses, relationships and institutional arrangements that are fostered in and through the analysed labour activities. So foundations can only become relevant actors in education governance by legitimising themselves as authoritative voices of policy (mainly through, but not only, ideological labour), by having sufficient financial and network capital (mainly through, but not only, relational labour), and temporarily stabilising their policy ideas and relationships through projects and partnerships (mainly through, but not only, institutional labour). New philanthropy's participation in education governance depends upon a discourse that frames it as a legitimate governance actor, lots of network capital that gives it access to the right people, and, most importantly, an exorbitant amount of money to maintain all their policy efforts. In all of these mundane activities, epistemic communities are built and connect people across public and private boundaries, which are also part of heterarchies.

All this labour contributes to a more general process of the heterarchisation of the state. Some of the efforts involved are not necessarily new, or exclusive to heterarchical forms of governance. Using the media for policy purposes and lobbying activities have long been practiced in contexts of hierarchical governments. Perhaps the novelty here is that new philanthropies are now participating in these spaces. Nonetheless, what I want to argue is that the sheer amount of labour, which is dispersed and messy, is exactly what is characteristic of heterarchies, and what makes this a fruitful environment in which new philanthropies can labour for the corporate reform of education. It is the scenario as whole that creates the conditions for the growing participation of new philanthropists in networks of governance. As some of the analysed efforts are more tangible and more easily categorised into typologies or are more recent and can only be found in heterarchies (such as PPPs), there could be a temptation of deeming these practices as more relevant for the *heterarchisation* of the state, or efficient in pushing reforms by philanthropists. I would say, however, all labour modalities here analysed depend on each other.

As examples of interactions between the different modalities of labour, first the ideological/discursive labour (with research, publications, knowledge mobilisation) together with the relational labour (meetings, events, mobilising support and funding), are part of the creation of epistemic communities. Second, the relational labour of meetings and network coordination facilitates the movement of boundary spanners, who themselves foster new ways of thinking and doing governance. Third, the ideological labour of policy entrepreneurship makes possible the assertion of the authoritative voice of new philanthropy, and frames it as part of necessary, or "needed", policy solutions, thus making it thinkable that companies, businessmen, philanthropists became part of heterarchical governance structures. At the same time, the shift from government to governance creates the context for new philanthropists to participate in policy-making work which then legitimises their voice as authoritative. To reiterate, there are no simple or straightforward relationships and interactions here, and these are far from causal relationships or explanatory models. These are complexly inter-related and inter-dependent actions and assertions, processes and mobilisation. Below there is an attempt to represent and sum up this "interdependence" of labour modalities.

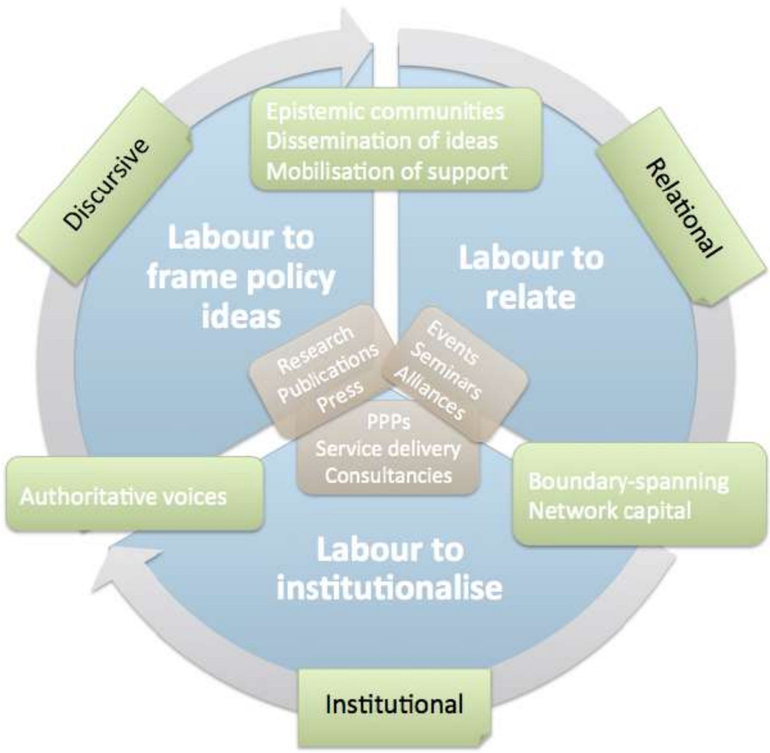


Figure 21. Analytical heuristic revisited

In the process of *heterarchisation*, the work of new philanthropies is not limited to specific spaces, scales and policy contexts[40] anymore. They are now active in all policy contexts and operate in trans-national scales. These new actors "have become key political actors not only in delivery activities but also in the conception, advocacy and negotiation of policy processes" (Olmedo, 2014, p. 583). In contrast to previous philanthropic action, which was mainly circumscribed to service delivery, now foundations are also active in the "context of influence" and "context of policy writing" (Bowe et al., 1992), participating in policy-making work of various kinds. Further, the nature of the labour invested by new philanthropists in each of the policy contexts has shifted as well.

First, private organisations, including philanthropic ones, have long been active actors in the context of policy influence in which there are disputes regarding the purposes and meanings of education and thus agendas, with confessional organisations and grassroots movements (Adrião et al., 2016). However, foundations now invest in policy entrepreneurship (see chapter 4), with funding and executing studies and research, publishing and collaborating with the press and organising events, all of which are aimed at redirecting policy thinking and thus associated with the context of policy influence.

Second, philanthropy has been present in the context of practice to focus on forms of service delivery with NGOs, in which policy is enacted, interpreted and translated in to practice. Currently, foundations partake in service delivery through PPPs, including the Unibanco Institute and Ayrton Senna's projects *Entre Jovens*, and Acelera (discussed in chapter 6). Another way of participating in or acting upon this context is supplying materials, such as teaching materials, or more indirectly, running teacher-training and leadership courses. It is in relation to service delivery that PPPs are mostly employed, and it is often the main focus of the research funded by foundations.

What might be regarded as a novelty, in both contexts, is the scale and the boundary-spanning aspect of the invested labour. In the context of influence, new philanthropists aim to frame problems and solutions at national education policy, and can draw from cross-national discourses and networks, while gathering support in both public and private spheres. A new

[40] Policies move in different contexts and spaces, and can be conceptualised as being developed in three main contexts, which are related in non-linear ways, non-sequential and non-temporal: the context of policy influence, context of text production and context of practice. Each one has its related arenas, spaces and groups, and involve disputes (Bowe et al, 1992)

aspect is the claim of "expertise" (Larner and Laurie, 2010), the creation of an authoritative voice (Ball, 1993) in the field, as well as the instrumental use of research to create the required "evidence" for policy-making (Lubienski et al., 2016). In the context of practice, when enacting policies and providing service-delivery, foundations have been engaged in PPPs at the state level, making themselves present across whole educational systems (Peroni and Adrião, 2008). In both contexts, the analytical categories of local-national-international and nation-state seem of little, if any, analytical benefit.

Finally, new philanthropies are also active in the context of policy text production, in which is often understood that state actors are the most relevant ones, which can be influenced politically, materially and discursively by social groups. This research supports the understanding that in heterarchical governance, even the activities carried out in this context can be shared in a network of public and private actors. The context of policy text production refers to the context in which discourses, perceived problems and constructed solutions are represented textually, in many formats, including official legal texts, political texts, formal or informal commentaries on such texts, official announcements, videos and others (Bowe et al., 1992; Mainardes, 2006). Such texts are not, necessarily, internally coherent and clear. These texts are not only done in legislative spaces, and the texts are results of struggles for the control of the representations of the policy. New philanthropists and public authorities in Brazil have been developing increasingly complex relationships in heterarchies, in which the division of labour, the interdependency and complexity of services provided are growing. Foundations have been participating in the context of policy writing as consultants, designing policy documents in partnerships with local authorities. In this case, there is yet another methodological and theoretical challenge of studying the work of philanthropy in text production. It is a challenge for researchers to collect data and analyse how texts (bills, speeches, instructions to teachers or schools, programmes…) are produced in practice. Once the policy product is done, one can carry out interviews and content and discourse analysis on the product, but it is challenging to follow ethnographically how the policy texts are formulated.

Throughout all this, global connections are fostered, and the national borders are less and less useful in the analysis of policy. Ideas, resources, labour, meetings, networks, epistemic communities, discourses - all have been globalised. Policy discourses and actors move cross-nationally within and through policy documents, policy advice, seminars, speakers, videoconferences, international seminars, and international consultancies, and so on. To make sense of current education policies, we need to take "globalisation seriously".

This is not to say there is a complete and borderless global arena here. Quite the opposite, cross-national networks are very uneven, and only certain places and policies ever get the status of a model, and are mobilised because of it. While there are policy mobilities, there are also policy immobilities, policies, people and places that do not move or are ‘unmoved’, so "it is worth tempering talk of policy mobilities with investigation into policy immobilities” to avoid “the danger of privileging and fetishizing mobility” (McCann, 2008, p. 16; see also Sheller and Urry, 2006). In the global education policy field, “mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship" (Skeggs, 2004, quoted in Sheller and Urry, 2006, page 211).

7.2. Contributions: reflections for the research field

This thesis has the goal to not only contribute to the empirical understanding of how Brazilian education policy networks operate, but also to the theoretical and methodological challenges involved in the study of such networks. Here I reflect upon the contributions of this thesis that might be of interest to education policy analysis more generally, to social network analysis (understood as Knox et al., 2006, in an effort of cross-fertilisation between formal SNA and social anthropology), and to social geography concerned with the global mobility of policies. I highlight as contributions the creation of an analytical frame and heuristic for the analysis of new philanthropy in education policy networks, and the development of a narrative analysis of education policy networks through time, which used the analysis of events for their methodological and substantive aspects. Nonetheless, I want to be clear that this endeavour has the purpose to “open up a set of issues, rather than to provide a definitive account” (Lingard et al., 2014, p. 711), so further questions and research problems and challenges that need to be addressed are also discussed.

First, the data analysis of this study aimed to take seriously the call for a cross-fertilisation between a formal approach to social networks (Knox et al., 2006) with a narrative and discursive take – together with a cross-scalar analysis that challenges the methodological nationalism present in education research through *educationism*, *statism* and *nationalism*. This has been materialised in two instruments, the analytical frame and heuristic.

The analytical frame made possible a systematic cross-scalar analysis of complex networks, which was particularly fruitful. Starting the analysis of data with a whole network provided an understanding of the wide context and network dynamics. It also made possible the identification of key analytical themes (practices, discourses and narratives). Then focusing on one in-depth case and its connections provided an exhaustive account of personal connections, use of meetings and creation of discourses. Finally, in deliberately tracing global connections around this case, it was possible to identify the formation of "glocal" partnerships and relationships, with global discourses being shared by consultants and in meetings, and the creation of policy pipelines for policy mobility.

The analytical heuristic guided a focus on the different modalities of labor invested in policy networks, namely discursive, relational and institutional labour. This offers a theoretical contribution to better understand *how* new philanthropy is working in education governance. Here, the heuristic has shed light on how new philanthropies are working to frame ideas around education policy, building cross-scalar (from local to global) and multi-jurisdictional relationships (public and private, market and not-for-profit, among others), and temporarily stabilising policy ideas and relationships in heterarchies by institutionalising these arrangements. This heuristic does not attempt to be a typology, but can be used as starting point to guide investigations.

Within this design, the analytical effort was rendered in a systemic approach to data collection and analysis (with tables and graphs), but with no imposing of order for the sake of order, and the prioritising of meaning and interpretation rather than numerical indicators and measures. Thus, formal SNA graph rules were disregarded when considered unsuitable, such as having graphs with only one kind of node (people *or* institutions), or only one kind of edge (partnerships *or* events). Namely, the analysis of the MNLS's supporters (chapter 6) benefits from a more formal approach to networks, with attention to affiliation and co-affiliation network relations and the related transformation of data (Borgatti and Halgin, 2012). The analytical procedures and assumptions embedded in affiliation networks (such as the understanding that institutions with higher co-affiliation share information), were fundamental to systematise the MNLS data and achieve the meaningful findings about the interactions between MEC and MNLS. Network ethnographers might benefit from pushing for further cross-fertilisations between formal SNA and the anthropological take, while SNA scholars can benefit from a narrative take on networks (as proposed by Knox et al., 2006).

Thus, the thesis has sought to offer "a more ethnographic approach that highlights the importance of combining and comparing publically accessible materials with the more private stories that make up personal biographies and careers" (Larner and Laurie, p. 220). Chapter 6 in particular works with this combination. The first part of the chapter addresses the official accounts of institutional partnerships, with data from the foundations' institutional websites and reports. The second and third sections of the chapter provide glimpses of the embodied aspect of neoliberalisation, carefully analysing "personal biographies and careers" with a focus on some of the people that are part of the MNLS.

Second, this thesis experimented with a "narrative" and "discursive" take on networks. In both cases, there is no focus on language or literary theory. Instead, an analysis of policy networks with focus on discourses and narratives is "heavily focused on illuminating mechanisms in policy practice, rather than on trying to generate laws", because "the insistence on the social rationality of power and meanings is typical for the analysis of narrative and discourse" (Hajer and Laws, 2006, p. 262). Although an analysis of narratives and discourses meet and share characteristics in ways that it is not always easy to differentiate them (Hajer and Laws, 2006), this thesis perhaps focuses more on the first. Instead of drawing on Foucault's governmentality in which "the discourse analytical methods have been employed to expose power regimes in policy domains" (Hajer and Laws, 2006, p. 262), such as the work of Dean (1999, 2017) and Miller and Rose (2017), this thesis focuses more on narratives, understanding that "a narrative offers one interpretation of events and social relationships" (Marsh and Smith, 2001, p. 531). Hence, narratives were analysed through interviews and pieces of news to track networks evolution and change in time. This was done with a focus on one event (the Unibanco Institute Seminar in chapter 5) and the network of one advocacy group (the MNLS in chapter 6). The analysis aimed to address the question of how these networks were developed, how these people came to know each other, from which spaces and contexts they are drawn, and what discourses brought them and holds them together (in other words, why certain speakers were selected for the seminar, and how one advocacy coalition brought together civil servants with new philanthropists).

In regard to the narrative study of networks through time, there is both a methodological and substantive contribution. First, a considerable part of the data was collected through identifying past meetings and seminars. These gatherings were the scattered, yet "traceable", evidence of the evolution of these networks. Thus, the findings were generated through a systematic following and tracing of meetings as part of the object of study. Second, the "tracing back" has illuminated and illustrated how policy networks have a history. They are the product of "on-going chains of effort" (Fenwick, 2011). Hence, examining the changes and evolution of education policy networks can be a way to tackle the problem of fixity and flatness pointed by authors in the field (Ball et al., 2017; Hogan et al., 2015b).

All of these analytical efforts resulted in making evident the complexity of education policy networks in and around Brazil. It is imperative to take this complex and elaborated governance scheme into account to make some sense of how new philanthropies operate in networks of education governance in the country (and elsewhere). As an example, one cannot begin to understand the current curriculum reform in Brazil and how the MNLS has come to have considerable influence in its formulation without accounting for the complexity of these policy networks. Researchers that study the MNLS and its members as atomized actors might inaccurately construe the Mobilisation and Lemann Foundation as the lone (and all-powerful) curriculum reformers. However, one organization, with its labour and resources alone, probably would not have such efficacy. The MNLS needs to be understood as a part of a much larger and longer effort of reform involving the coordinated action of a range of actors, which has involved assembling resources and trust, connecting global partners, and so on. This is not to say that the Lemann Foundation could not have achieved some degree of effect working independently and has not been a nodal point, a fundamental funder and coordinator. And indeed, it has not been possible to ascertain how much Lemann Foundation and MNLS can be credited or charged for the curriculum reform. I would argue this is probably the case with many philanthropic organisations in different countries.

Hence, further research efforts are required, as well as new methods that will advance our understanding of such complex heterarchical structures. To advance this discussion (in Brazil, but also concerning the mobility of curriculum policies), one could "follow back" this curriculum policy to the USA, where MNLS has deep connections, and whose curriculum influenced the Australian curriculum, or England, from where the Curriculum Foundation also provided consulting services to MNLS. Similarly, one could follow the development of the ACARA's consultancy to the Saudi Arabia Kingdom, and analyse how the same organisation and curriculum were mobilised into different contexts.

Many challenges were faced in the process of the research, and issues were tentatively and heuristically tackled. First, there is a conceptual challenge. The terms and concepts employed are limited and insufficient to make sense of the news ways in which education is being governed. The concepts of public and private are insufficient, and sometimes limiting, to make sense of the complex, blurred and opaque networks of governance. Researchers have been working to develop better terms to address new actors and their activities, but the very diversity that defines heterarchical relations makes it difficult to define and conceptualise the field to incorporate the actions of new philanthropy, venture philanthropy, philanthrocapitalism, corporate reformers and others.

Second, there are empirical challenges. Namely, the size, the messiness and opaqueness of the networks made research, especially single-handed research difficult. Some of the difficulties are listed below:

1. The number of foundations offering education services and products
2. The number of products, services and projects each foundation operates
3. The number of cities and states that have PPPs - 5500 cities and 23 states, in a large country with a federative system that allows for local decisions (in the Brazilian case)
4. The number of concomitant projects and partnerships each foundation and public authority maintain
5. The velocity that these relationships change, with new partnerships being created and finished all the time
6. The global and far-reaching connections of foundations
7. The lack of organised and transparent reports that assemble all this information
8. The lack of clarity in the reports, by both public and private actors, describing processes and responsibilities in PPPs, and flows of money between them.

Third, this account of the labour of new philanthropy in networks of education governance in Brazil does not account for the dissident voices. This is in part a result of the method itself, as these voices are not part of these networks, as Ball et al. (2017) put it:

> Also missing from our network and are account are voices of dissent. Now to a great extent that is self evident and self-fulfilling. Such voices are excluded from the epistemic community we explore, because they speak about education differently, but at the same time constitute a network among themselves. These dissident voices question and challenge the shared beliefs of the policy community members, and they are unwelcome and often unheard, or rarely attended to (Ball et al., 2017, p. 9).

These voices are nonetheless present in other places and spaces, often fighting against and resisting corporate reformers. Dissidents include teachers, students, parents, workers unions, scholars, journalists, activists, NGOs and other third sector organisations (sometimes funded or related to corporate philanthropists!), that are labouring in their own ways to assert alternative education projects, and for the democratic management of education. None of that is reported in this thesis, and usually is not reported in researches that employ this method.

In similar lines, together with the dissident voices, this thesis has been limited in its exploration of policy "immobilities". To address this lacking, McCann (2008) argues for some questions that can be addressed in research: "which policies are not mobilized, why, and who is impacted positively or negatively by this immobility?; how do the subjectivities of experts, class, gender, ethnicity, professional status, etc, influence which policies are, or are not mobilized?" (McCann, 2008, p. 16).

7.3. Implications: reflections for practice and a plea for a democratic education in method and substance

The Brazilian case of education reform is joined up, practically and discursively, in a variety of ways, some described in this thesis, to a global network of policy ideas and forms of policy. What has been described and analysed here illustrates how the educational system of the country is at one particular point on a continuum of change that interconnects to and emulates a global shift in the form and modalities of the state and ways of governing. This account would suggest a clear direction of travel with the work of the state increasingly being done elsewhere by other actors – a polycentric state. All of which calls into question the relations between policy, the policy process and democratic politics.

New unelected and in many ways unaccountable voices are having a significant say in determining the methods, contents and purposes of education. This is, as noted previously, in some senses a de-politicisation of policy (Clarke, 2012). New philanthropists, in spite of arguing that they are working for the improvement of education and the public good, are elected by no one. Their agendas, aims and methods of policy work have no public validation, and cannot be held accountable. As Frumkin (2008) argues, "unlike government, which has elections to set policy directions, and unlike corporations, which have shareholders to whom they must be responsive, philanthropy is able to operate across the boundaries of public and private and to do so with little or no accountability to its many stakeholders" (p. 26).

This means there are issues involving both the methods and the agendas of new philanthropy's participation in governance - the latter has received more attention from scholars that have been trying to evaluate the effects of a corporate reform of education (Ball and Junemann, 2012). However, the "methods", or "how" new philanthropists are working in education governance, also require careful scrutiny. New philanthropists have been de-politicising (and re-politicising) policy, in a way in which neither - policy methods and agendas - are publicly discussed, chosen, elected or validated. It becomes challenging, if not sometimes impossible, to assess the role played by private actors within the policy process. There are no means of holding them accountable regarding their investments and results in education.

New philanthropists, including the MNLS and its cohorts and partners, are in some respects "voting with dollars" (Saltman, 2010). That is to say, financial, reputational and social resources are being deployed to change the landscape of education in Brazil and the experience of education in Brazilian schools. New philanthropists are able to mobilise large amounts of capitals and enact what can be referred to as a "hyper agency" (Schervish, 2003). These foundations can do among themselves what it would otherwise take a large social movement to achieve. Critique, dialogue and opposition is excluded from the debate about policy in these new arenas, and financial resources become to key to achieving policy change. And it is not clear or obvious that the public good is being served and indeed at least in some respects these "fiscal elites fight to redistribute public priorities and spending in ways that benefit those at the top of the economy. They have more material resources to wage such a battle" (Saltman, 2010, p. 77). This privatising approach to education (both policy and delivery) becomes even more problematic in contexts of political and economic crisis.

As I have argued throughout the thesis, this is not just a matter of the policy agendas (which are supremely important), but also of the methods of policy, the *hows* of governance and policy-making. Democratic, participative and accountable processes and values are important in both aspects. We need schools and curricula that are committed to promoting equality, civic engagement, and fighting any kind of exclusion and discrimination. But this can not be separated from the means of policy, they are intertwined. We need strong local representative bodies, which will work with schools, that in turn collaborate with their local communities. This is the project of "democratic management" of schools, established by law in Brazil, which has never been fully implemented and is now at great danger (Arelaro, 2017).

A democratic education project is needed in means and contents, so "these business ideals and metaphors as applied to public schooling need to be not only dropped but replaced with a recovered public sensibility, a universal value for the public schooling as a crucial part of a democratic public" (Saltman, 2010, p. 78). Brazilian authors have been pushing for the idea of education of *social* quality (Paro, 2007), in contrast to the now contested term of "education of quality", which has come to mean a "quality that can be measured by the quantity of information possessed by the students" (Paro, 2007, p. 20). Differently, an education of "social quality" recognises the ethical-political dimension of education, and assumes that schools must work deliberately (and not only diffusely) in the instruction of social values, namely democracy (Paro, 2007). In this context, the governance of education policy must be coherent with the educational goals of social inclusion and justice, with policy-making methods that are also democratic (Paro, 2007)

So there is urgent need make governance more inclusive and transparent. The participation in heterarchical governance cannot be defined by groups (or individuals) possession of capitals (financial, social and network). At the same time, there must be ways to make the policy work of philanthropies both accountable and transparent. In a scenario where foundations have such a decisive role played in policymaking; citizens, researchers, supporters and opposition must be able to verify what and how things are being done. The publication of complete financial reports from foundations would be a considerable step towards greater accountability in the Brazilian governance of education. This would allow citizens and researchers to know the funding figures of and sources that foundations drawn upon in their activities, including what types of tax deductions are given to companies and business people through foundations and social "investments", and trace how these resources have been invested in advocating for what policies.

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Annexes

Table. "Mobile methods" in the study of policy assemblages, mobilities, and mutations (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 48)

Objects of study	Methodologies and methods
Mobile people Who mobilizes policy? How does learning occur through face-to-face relationships? How does learning occur through site visits, field trips, and policy tourism?	Techniques of following Traveling with or traveling after consultants, individual policy actors, or delegations to understand their purposes; tracing policy travels through documentary evidence Relational situations Studying the `atmosphere' of situations in which policy knowledge is shared; paying attention to the way stories about places and policies are told to delegations; exploring participants' reflections on the utility of these communications; analyzing how stories about lessons learned are communicated `back home'. Methods: Ethnography, interviews, direct and participant observations, questionnaires, field notes.
Mobile policies How are policies made mobile? What calculative technologies and political contexts facilitate policy mobility? What situations, 'transit points', and 'sites of persuasion' do policies travel through? How do policies mutate as they travel? What are the consequences for the places through which the policies are moved? How do mobile policies impact the character and politics of places?	Techniques of following Tracing and mapping the spread and mutation of policy models across space through documentary evidence; following policy models as one would follow policy actors (above); conducting oral histories of the spread of powerful ideas through policy communities or of their arrival in specific places. Relational situations Attending practitioner and trade conferences to explore how certain policies become `hot' topics to be learned; identify the reasons organizations choose specific places for conferences (reasons related to what can be learned from specific settings). Methods Ethnography, interviews, direct and participant observations, questionnaires, field notes, content analysis, analysis of citation reports, discourse analysis, oral histories, mapping knowledge domains and networks.
Mobile places How do places `move around,' figuratively, in the context of policy making? How do places get `attached' to policies to create mobile and persuasive models? What mediators and media facilitate the circulation of place-branded policy models? How are places changed by the reputations they gain in wider policy circles?	Techniques of following Tracing and mapping the origins and spread of stories about places/policies in the professional and popular media; working back to the exemplary places to understand the contexts in which the model developed and their view of its uptake elsewhere; working forward to where the model is adopted (in modified form) and the consequences of this adoption. Relational situations The `atmosphere' of the social and physical situations in which the model is narrated by practitioners, emulators, and mediators (conference rooms, council chambers, site visits); understanding popular understanding of and reaction to `exemplary' status in policy-making circles. Methods Ethnography, interviews, direct and participant observations, questionnaires, field notes, content analysis.

Professional experience with new philanthropy in education

My BA, Masters, PhD and working experience have always been in education. Throughout different experiences, public/private relations have always been very present. I worked with companies acting in Brazilian public education from my first internship to my last employment. While an undergraduate, I did my first internship at the São Paulo state education secretariat. I was surprised when I learned that my supervisor, staff from the secretariat, was one of the many professionals who promoted teacher training courses by Intel Education. She was responsible for delivering their course, focused on training state teachers to use technology and apply it to classes.

A year later I started an internship at the Unibanco Institute. The programme I worked in was called *Entre Jovens*, which aimed at reducing school dropout from public schools of secondary education. The programme offered extra classes with mathematics and Portuguese undergraduate interns. Their classes were detailed in a prescriptive handout system. Pedagogy interns, as myself, would work with the students and school community, trying to promote engagement and make sure the project reached minimum levels of attendance.

As soon as I graduated, I applied for a vacancy to work in Intel Education. However, my interview took place at the Fundação Bradesco, and I was formally hired by Instituto Paramitas, in spite of offering service to Intel's projects. Ironically, at Intel I worked with the State Secretariat of Education, this time from the private side of the partnership.

These three working experiences were rather confusing to me. As an educator taught in a Pedagogy undergraduate course with a state centered approach, I had trouble in connecting my working experience with my theoretical studies. On the one hand, my theoretical understanding of education did not encompass the participation of private actors in education and education policy. Instead, I worked with the premise that policy was made by the state, in response to social problems. On the other hand, in my lived experience I saw private actors, like Intel Education, Microsoft and Telefonica Foundation, working both in service delivery in public/private partnerships, and engaged in policy-making work, through meetings with state secretariats representatives.

After four years of working experience in education in Brazil, it was only by reading about the global education networks of business and philanthropy that I was able to start making sense of my own personal/professional experience. It became clear to me how intertwined public and private were, but how little it was acknowledged and researched in education studies.

Original transcripts in Portuguese

[i] Denis Mizne is the executive director of Lemann Foundation and founder and board president of Instituto "*Sou da Paz*". Graduated in law by the University of São Paulo (USP) and with a M.A. In Public Management from FGV-SP, he is also a member of the boards from Roberto Marinho Foundation and GIFE - Group of Institutes, Foundations and Companies (in Portuguese). Previously, he worked in the Ministry of Justice and has taken part in consultative boards of public security policies. He has also participated in leadership programs at Yale University and was visiting scholar at Columbia University (Human Rights Advocates Program). Due to his working experience, he can be seen as a "boundary spanner".

[ii] "E a P&G, que é quem dá o dinheiro. […] Acho que nao (topam outros estados). Acho que a parceria é com o Rio. Mas tem muita gente que quer, que vê que o instituto tem bom relacionamento, e pessoas que gostam de vincular a marca ao nome do instituto.

Em MG, nosso projeto era financiado pela fundação Brava, que trouxe uns 5 ou 6 parceiros para financiar a ida da McKinsey para lá, incluindo a Fundacao Lemann, Camargo Correa e tal. Mas a nossa relação era mais com a fundação Brava e McKinsey, tinha entregar reporte e tal." (Ayrton Senna)

[iii] "ta precisando de lobby" "ah, Fala com o tal de Milton la da Ambev" que é o cara da Ambev que é responsável por não sei o que…então vai la o Dennis, falar la com nem sei quem da Ambev que é um P*** cara naquela área…em qualquer area ta? Então, a fundação se beneficia porque ele faz muito *brain-picking* e…nas empresas do grupo.

[iv] "ta precisando de lobby" "ah, Fala com o tal de Milton la da Ambev" que é o cara da Ambev que é responsável por não sei o que…então vai la o Dennis, falar la com nem sei quem da Ambev que é um P*** cara naquela área…em qualquer area ta? Então, a fundação se beneficia porque ele faz muito *brain-picking* e…nas empresas do grupo."

[v] "minha area cuida dessas redes, tem a rede Lemann Fellows, tem a rede Talentos da Educação, que a gente da bolsas para estudantes no exterior, mas a gente junta pessoas boas na area de educação e fomenta que essas pessoas que tem vontade de realizar impacto social em escala maior ainda. Entao a gente busca estas pessoas com este perfil, mas busca também aqueles que tem potencial para desenvolver alguma coisa, para desenvolver algo em maior escala, maior impacto, e agente da todo um suporte e apoio para isso, e formação nesse sentido."

[vi] O programa oferece bolsas para subsidiar cursos, também fazem a imersão, com palestrantes de "alto nível", "bem qualificadas". Ano passado trouxeram uma palestrante de Yale, que faz formação de formadores de professores lá. "Se eles precisam de apoio, de articulação de algo, a gente tenta ajudar. Inclusive dentro da própria rede dos talentos."

[vii] "Um dia na Lemann eu recebi um email perguntando quem eram as pessoas influentes da educação que eu conhecia por telefone ou email. Que eles estavam fazendo um mapeamento de redes de influencia em educação. … Porque eu acho que é isso, nosso mundo é muito pequeno. Na Imersão da Estudar, eu to la no banco de dados de pessoas para falar no Imersão. (Ayrton Senna interview, part of a Lemann Foundation - Talentos da Educação)

[viii] O Instituto Natura é um instituto muito reconhecido por trabalhar com parcerias. Particularmente eu acredito que o terceiro setor tem um desperdício enorme de energia, porque tem muito trabalho duplicado, gente que faz uma coisa e descobre dois anos depois que tinha alguém fazendo a mesma coisa. Então tem muita coisa que é energia desperdiçada. E ai, desde que eu estava na fundação Victor Civita, existia uma ideia, muitas pessoas tem essa ideia, essa ideia não é minha, mas muitas pessoas ja tinham essa ideia "Po, vamos tentar fazer alguma forma de articular tudo isso, via GIFE por exemplo. A verdade é que ninguém nunca conseguiu. Então o que o instituto natura tenta ser, a gente tenta ser esse hub. Então por exemplo, agora a gente está numa rodada de reuniões com institutos ... a ultima que a gente fez foi com o instituto Ayrton Senna. o que que a gente fez, a gente varreu por tudo que a gente faz, eles varreram tudo que eles fazem e a gente encontrou sinergias e viu encaminhamentos. e a gente ta fazendo isso com todos os institutos pra que a gente consiga ter um mapeamento e tal e saber o que, todos não, os principais. o que cada um faz pra gente conseguir encontrar sinergia.

isso no dia a dia, ai quando surge algum encaminhamento a gente faz a parceria e tenta ser um articulador. Nessa historia de escola em tempo integral, a gente participa do centro de referencia que é o do aprendiz, itau social, Fundação SM outros... a gente participa com o instituto sonho grande, (não entendi), itau bba, de um grupo que discute educação em tempo integral Ne?. Eu vou receber o (não entendi o nome) do instituto Ayrton sena pra falar dessa temática, então a gente um pouco, ja que a gente não conseguiu articular, a gente funciona um pouco como um hub pró-ativo onde a gente busca essas parcerias.

[ix] Então, a gente tem alguns rituais de governança, então a gente tem esse ADE que são os presidentes dos institutos e fundações eles participam de uma reunião estratégica duas vezes por ano, em relação ao Conviva. Ai depois a gente um outro grupo, uma outra instancia que é o Comex, que o comitê mais executivo que são as pessoas de cada um dos institutos e fundações que olham o Conviva. Então eles se reunem 3 vezes por ano. O que a gente tem também são frentes de trabalho pro projeto, então por exemplo tem uma frente de trabalho que é comunicação ai os institutos e fundações que querem participar dessa frente falam "quero participar da frente de comunicação" e ai a gente tem um grupo que ai sim se reune para tomar as decisões em ralação ao dia a dia do projeto.

[x] … O instituto natura lidera esse projeto então nos temos uma equipe aqui dentro que é paga pelo Conviva, cada um dos mantenedores entra com uma parte Ne? ai esse dinheiro paga a execução do projeto. a gente tem uma equipe aqui que toca o projeto, so que essa equipe não faz nada que vá contra as decisões que foram feitas por essa governança.

[xi] "O Conviva surgiu exatamente desse desejo de conseguir articular com fundações, institutos alguma linha. Como não dava pra fazer uma coisa com todos os institutos, escolher trabalhar com os principais, os maiores, alguma classificação que fizeram na época. e ai tentaram identificar um assunto em que é todo mundo tivesse mais ou menos algum interesse. E ai a historia é que fizeram esse questionamento pra um (não entendi), e ai (esse lugar) levantou um onde de pontos. e ai a partir disso, esse era um grupo que ja se reunia, então começou a se reunir pra discutir as coisas relacionadas a educação e que caminho seguir. Então era um grupo que se reunião meio informalmente, sem um projeto especifico, mas buscando achar alguma que fizessem em conjunto. E ai (aquele lugar) surgiu com uma serie de tópicos em relação a gestão, contrataram a FGV pra fazer uma pesquisa e entender como que poderia ajudar os municípios nessa questão de gestão e tal. E ai saiu com alguma coisa dessa pesquisa e se desenhou, começou a se desenhar esse projeto do Conviva.

E ai esse projeto foi costurado entre todos esses parceiros que são do grupo do ADE […] E ai foi se desenhando, teve um trabalho de costura pra entender o que cada município... cada instituto queria e tal, e ai se desenhou esse projeto, se desenhou uma governança eficiente pra conseguir fazer com que todo mundo de alguma forma participasse. E ai eu acho que um dos segredos do sucesso, e eu posso dizer porque nem estava aqui, foi ter a frente desse projeto o instituto natura, que é um instituto naturalmente agregador. Isso vai poder mudar, de x em x anos, quem lidera esse projeto pode mudar, mas esse inicio era importante ter um instituto que ja tivesse essa pegada de trabalhar em conjunto, respeitar a opinião de tentar construir um consenso e acho que a gente ja tinha experiência ja sabia como fazer isso e acho que ajudou bastante."

[xii] "gestão pedagógica e formação de professores, gestão pedagógica e planejamento, gestão de pessoas e clima escolar, gestão de pessoas e liderança, gestão de resultados." (Na pratica)

[xiii] O objetivo é contribuir para uma transformação mais profunda, sistêmica e convergente, que atenda às demandas de todos os profissionais envolvidos — das secretarias às salas de aula — para que possam atuar alinhados por um mesmo objetivo: garantir a aprendizagem de todos e de cada um de seus alunos. … deste processo e objetivo, em 2016, a Fundação Lemann desenvolveu um programa focado na formação e no suporte de ponta a ponta.

[xiv] Então é sempre feito essas ponderações e ajustes para que o projeto funcione de acordo com as características dos estados e suas regionais e suas condições ne? Então tem uma equipe de inteligência dentro do instituto, equipe interna do instituto que faz todo o mapeamento junto com a equipe dos estados sobre metas, o que é possível chegar com os recursos que se tem, o quanto de esforço precisa ser feito para chegar onde o estado espera[Parceria total, em que duas partes sentam juntas para desenhar política publica]... então tem (...) econômica, tem uma equipe de conteúdo que elabora os materiais, tem uma equipe que pensa nesses materiais se transformarem em algo pedagógico que de para ser trabalhado com as escolas e ser replicado. Então é feito toda uma estrutura que dentro dessa proposta aí de nova, de impacto na secretaria […]

[xv] Então a secretaria tem escolas prioritárias e a secretaria dentro das suas condições falam: "bom... dentro da realidade que eu tenho hoje eu consigo fazer um atendimento diferenciado" Ele é desde mudança de estrutura física, acompanhamento mais junto, invés de ser quinzenal (...) por exemplo de vinte escolas, de trinta escolas, de cinquenta escolas, então cada estado falou a quantidade de escolas que ele conseguiria fazer esse atendimento diferenciado e a equipe de estatístico do instituto junto com as equipes estatísticas das secretarias demarcaram essas escolas de acordo com os resultados e com as características de: espaço, lugar... então, social também."

[xvi] Mato Grosso do Sul saiu. Eles não quiseram continuar no projeto, porque ele é muito influenciado também pelas mudanças políticas da secretaria né? A gente impacta, mas é muito impactado pelas danças das cadeiras dos estados ne?[visão da relação dialética da coisa: muda e é mudado pelos contextos politicos que fogem ao controle] Então como ano passado teve mudança de Governo, Governo estadual né? Muita gente rodou, muita gente mudou e aí a gente tem que fazer toda uma repactuação né? E aí nessas repactuações o secretário de educação do Mato Grosso do Sul não quis ficar. Secretário não, na verdade o governador que barrou. Porque a primeira conversa com o governador né? Mudou o governo a gente foi repactuar, ele não quis a repactuação. …

[xvii] eu continuo falando que a gente faz festa na casa dos outros, só que a casa aumentou muito de proporção ne? Então qualquer (...) hoje era quatro horas da tarde, eu tava elaborando uma formação pro Ceara, caiu secretário (...) de educação do Ceara. "Para tudo, espera que a gente ta indo pro Ceará amanhã fazer reunião", entendeu? (...) É nesse nível... Cada mudança que tem você precisa repactuar[acordos que são feitos com ambas as partes, a heterarcquia formada com atores diversos], reapresentar, porque cada um que entra quer trazer sua equipe inteira, quer quebrar tudo que o outro fez pra fazer novo...

[xviii] "Nossos consultores atuarão como parceiros na elaboração de diretrizes estratégicas para a gestão pedagógica das secretarias, com apoio na elaboração e monitoramento dos planos de ação implementados pela secretaria de Educação"

[xix] Ai o Instituto tem um trabalho bem bacana com isso de educação integral, que vai além de tempo integral. É uma educação que contempla o jovem, que coloca ele no centro. E aí firmou uma parceria com o Rio[como as parcerias são formadas? A ideia de policy window parece caber aqui. O Instituto tem algo, tem sua agenda e seus produtos, seu expertise, e aí procura alguém, um local que queira comprar o produto. Aqui foi o Rio.], que é o grande projeto que tem lá na área de desenvolver um projeto de educação integral pro Rio. Então é uma *política publica* (reforço do entrevistado) que foi desenvolvida junto com a Secretaria do Estado do Rio. … A parceria começou dos dois lados. O Estado de Rio tava interessado em ter uma política de educação integral, e ai o instituto com uma expectativa de organizar todas essas políticas que ele tinha de protagonismo juvenil e habilidades e competencias socio-emocionais, e ai eles em contato chegaram… O Rio né, tem um projeto que chama duplo escola, que o projeto que algumas escolas tem uma parceira para acontecer em tempo integral, e ai tem o Nave do E-futura, tem um que é em parceira com o instituto da Xuxa… e ai existia então também uma terceira pessoa nessa conversa que era a PandG que queria apoiar o desenvolvimento de uma dessas escolas, e ai os três firmaram e foram testar a solução, ver o que a gente conseguia fazer.

[xx] Mas basicamente, a gente tem os interlocutores em um projeto. Por exemplo, agora eu entrei na parte de formação, a gente conversa com as equipes de formação e tem os níveis de interlocução, mais ou menos igualzinho tem a governança macro do projeto, mas cada area tem suas areas de interlocucao. A gerente do projeto conversa com a gerente da area, o tecnico do projeto conversa com o técnico da area. A gente mescla, por exemplo, canais de comunicacao. Por exemplo, EaD, tem os canais do instituto, tem os canais da secretaria. Por exemplo, o MAV, que é um projeto super legal. A gente ve lá muito mais como Oi e pronto. E o Seca não, a secretaria considera como um projeto dela, e o pessoal faz junto.

[xxi] é que as vezes é um apoio que nem sempre envolve um conhecimento especifico.