

PEDAGOGICAL POLITICAL PROJECT: IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA¹

PROJETO POLÍTICO-PEDAGÓGICO: IDEOLOGIA E UTOPIA

PROYECTO POLÍTICO PEDAGÓGICO: IDEOLOGÍA Y UTOPIA

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ABSTRACT: The political-pedagogical project is a school management document, mandatory for public schools, established in Brazilian federal legislation. The objective of the research was to unveil the ideology and utopia underlying the political-pedagogical projects. The empirical research of mixed methodology was carried out in two periods: 2010-2012 and 2018-2019, and employed, as a quantitative method, the inductive method, and in the qualitative basis, the Hermeneutic of Depth. The inductive method provided the cohort criteria in the data collection and the Hermeneutic of Depth provided the unveiling of the ideology and utopia hidden in the contents of the political-pedagogical projects. The qualitative analysis, through the Hermeneutic of Depth, resorted to the concepts of ideology and utopia in the Mannheimian perspective. The analysis was able to identify four ideological components and one utopian component.

KEYWORDS: School management. Democratic management. Strategic planning. Depth hermeneutics. Mannheimian theory.

RESUMO: *O projeto político-pedagógico é um documento de gestão escolar, obrigatório para as escolas públicas, estabelecido na legislação federal brasileira. O objetivo da pesquisa realizada foi desvelar a ideologia e a utopia subjacentes aos projetos político-pedagógicos. A pesquisa empírica de metodologia mista foi realizada em dois períodos: 2010-2012 e 2018-2019, e empregou, como método quantitativo, o método indutivo, e na base qualitativa, a Hermenêutica de Profundidade. O método indutivo forneceu os critérios de coorte na coleta dos dados e a Hermenêutica de Profundidade propiciou o desvelamento da ideologia e da utopia ocultos nos conteúdos dos projetos político-pedagógicos. A análise qualitativa, por intermédio da Hermenêutica de Profundidade, recorreu aos conceitos de ideologia e de utopia na perspectiva mannheimiana. A análise conseguiu identificar quatro componentes ideológicos e um componente utópico.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Gestão escolar. Gestão democrática. Planejamento estratégico. Hermenêutica de profundidade. Teoria mannheimiana.*

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RESUMEN: *El proyecto político-pedagógico es un documento de gestión escolar, obligatorio para las escuelas públicas, establecido en la legislación federal brasileña. El objetivo de la investigación realizada fue desvelar la ideología y la utopía subyacentes a los proyectos político-pedagógicos. La investigación empírica de metodología mixta fue realizada en dos períodos: 2010-2012 y 2018-2019, y empleó, como método cuantitativo, el método inductivo, y en la base cualitativa, la Hermenéutica de Profundidad. El método inductivo proporcionó los criterios de cohorte en la recolección de los datos y la Hermenéutica de Profundidad propició el desvelado de la ideología y de la utopía ocultos en los contenidos de los proyectos político-pedagógicos. El análisis cualitativo, por intermedio de la Hermenéutica de Profundidad, recurrió a los conceptos de ideología y de utopía en la perspectiva mannheimiana. El análisis logró identificar cuatro componentes ideológicos y un componente utópico.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Gestión escolar. Gestión democrática. Planificación estratégica. Hermenéutica profunda. Teoría mannheimiana.*

Introduction

This article describes and analyzes the results of empirical research carried out in the Federal District, in the initial period of 2010-2012, with continuation in 2018-2019.

The general objective of the research was to identify the underlying ideology and utopia in political-pedagogical projects of public schools. The research problem that guided the investigation was to know how and if ideology and utopia are subsumed in school practices, in such a way that they are embodied in the content of the strategic planning of schools.

The article is divided into five parts: (i) democratic management, strategic planning and pedagogical political project; (ii) methodological paths; (iii) ideology and utopia; (iv) Depth Hermeneutics: underlying ideology and utopia; and (v) final remarks.

Democratic management, strategic planning and Political-Pedagogical Project (PPP)

The management model adopted in the Brazilian public basic education network is democratic management, established in the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, of 1988 (CF 88) and in the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, of 1966 (LDB 96). The Federal District endorsed democratic management as a model in its public education subsystem through a 2012 district law.

The academic-scientific literature of the educational sector, whose object of study is school management, is unanimous in considering the need and importance of the political-pedagogical project as an instrument of democratic management, as it defines the mission of

the school unit; clarifies the guiding principles that underlie school practices; establishes the goals that the school aims to achieve; determines goals and strategies to be achieved; organizes institutional evaluation criteria. With this, the PPP helps the school to delineate its identity and to build the pedagogical and management autonomy of the school.

As an instrument of democratic management, it is about strategic planning because it consists of a “[...] disciplined and consistent effort, destined to produce fundamental decisions and actions that guide the school organization, in its way of being and doing, guided by for results, with a strong vision of the future” (LÜCK, 2000, p. 10, our translation). In the process of elaborating the PPP, the entire school organization is rethought and analyzed: the physical structure; material and human resources; the activities to be developed. The school organization is rethought and analyzed according to the curricular proposal; in relation to the local political-social context in which the school is inserted; in relation to the regional and national power structures to which the school is subject; towards the pedagogical objectives to be achieved by the community.

The political-pedagogical project (PPP) is an instrument of the strategic management of each public school of basic education in Brazil and, as such, it is a mandatory document from the enactment of federal law no. 9,394, of 20 December 1996, the Law of Guidelines and Bases for National Education, which establishes in item I of art. 12 that it is up to educational establishments to “elaborate and execute their pedagogical proposal”. The PPP constitutes strategic planning because the constitutive elements of this planning model are present in the document: organization of the work routine; existence of goals; existence of objectives, strategies and execution deadlines; future vision; definition of work evaluation mechanisms. The PPP, as strategic planning, in the evaluation phase, organizes and collects objective data for the continuous work of re-elaboration of the planning, of the school organization and even of the local community, in the surroundings of the school unit.

The PPP is also established in District Law No. 4,751, of 7 February 2012, which provides for the education system and democratic management of the Federal District's public education subsystem, which obliges public elementary schools in the Federal District to “[...] formulate and implement its political-pedagogical project, in line with current educational policies and the norms and guidelines of the public education network in the Federal District” (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2012, art. 4, caput, our translation). Thus, the PPP is an instrument to guide the actions of school units for a period of four years (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2012, art. 17). Each management group, when taking over the management of the establishment, must prepare its action plan for the management period.

An important factor in democratic management is the participation of the community in the decisions of the school unit. The elaboration of the PPP, therefore, is defined as collective by the legislation: “it is up to the school unit, considering its identity and that of its school community, to articulate the political-pedagogical project” (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2012, art. 4, Sole Paragraph, our translation). The Political-Pedagogical Project is a structural element of the democratic management model, as the PPP provokes reflections on the school routine and, at the same time, constitutes a reflection of it. This reflection is an action that needs time and continuity to consolidate. For this reflection to be profound and to faithfully reflect the reality of the school unit, its objectives and values, it is necessary to have the participation of all segments of the school community in the elaboration of the PPP: teachers, students, employees, technical-administrative and support and management team.

As an instrument of the democratic management model, the PPP cannot and should not be prepared only by the management team of the school unit. Collective participation is important to consolidate the autonomy and identity of the school community (VEIGA, 2011). For all the above, the PPP is the strategic planning of the school, at the same time of a political and pedagogical character.

The PPP is a political document because its action is intentional, with an explicit meaning, and with a collectively defined commitment. It is articulated with the socio-political interests and needs of the school community, as well as with the commitment to the formation of future generations, for the society of which the school is an integral part. The PPP is a socio-political strategic planning of pedagogical activities that contribute to the development of the school's social, pedagogical and political functions and, as it is a strategic plan that encompasses all school activities, it requires conscious and intentional participation from each segment of the school community, in relation to the mission and objectives that the school unit aims to achieve.

The PPP is also a pedagogical document because it subsumes, in its content, the constitutive elements of school pedagogical work. There are six constitutive and integral elements of school pedagogical work: the school's purposes; the organizational structure; the curriculum (the contents); the time; internal decision-making processes; and the evaluation. As a strategic plan, the PPP questions, analyses, organizes, outlines and explains all the elements involved in the school pedagogical work.

The purposes that the school can play with the community that composes it and surrounds its territoriality are related to the sociopolitical objectives that the school attributes to itself and also to the social, cultural and educational purposes that society and the

community attribute to it. The process of collective elaboration of the PPP must consider these aspects, deliberating and defining them in this strategic planning.

The organizational structure, the second constitutive element, is composed of two types of structure: administrative and pedagogical. The administrative structure ensures the organization, allocation and management of human, building, material and financial resources. The pedagogical structure organizes the educational functions, interrelating people, knowledge, time and activities.

Disciplinary contents are the third constitutive element of school pedagogical work and need to be considered not as neutral knowledge, but as a space of power, social control, ideological transmission, interrelationships between cultural boundaries, the formation of identities and differences (MACEDO, 2006). The PPP, as a strategic planning of school work, questions, reflects and also details the ways in which the curriculum will be operationalized, enriched and adapted, by and for that community.

The fourth constitutive element of school pedagogical work, time, is directly related to the quality of pedagogical work and the well-being of the actors in the educational process. Strategic planning must provide for individual work time periods; of collective reflection; of recreational activities; of idle intervals; and for each stage of the pedagogical activities. The organization of time in the educational process allows, at the same time, the control of: disciplinary content, considering the aspects of depth and scope; of the school space; of intersubjective relationships; of the activities developed, in terms of continuity and/or rupture.

The penultimate constitutive element of the school pedagogical work, the internal decision-making processes, amalgamates all the others in the functionality of the school unit. How will community deliberations take place? Which segments will be entitled to participate and with what weight and percentage? What types of decisions will each segment be entitled to a deliberative vote? Strategic planning, which is the PPP, must detail all these aspects.

Finally, evaluation, both pedagogical and institutional, encompasses the creation of monitoring mechanisms, of objective criteria on which any type of evaluation must be based, including the PPP itself. By being able to correlate all these nuances of the educational process, the political-pedagogical project is also a pedagogical instrument of school management.

Methodological paths

The research adopted the mixed methodology in the analysis of the object of study and was processed in two phases: from 2010 to 2012, and from 2018 to 2019. The first phase of the research (2010-2012) made it possible to know the universe and distinguish the categories present in Pedagogical Political Projects. The second phase of the research (2018-2019) allowed a deeper dive into the culture and identity of each researched school. The comparison of the two phases made it possible to prove symmetries and asymmetries of values and mentalities of each investigated school community. This methodological procedure provided an overview of the ideology and utopia present in the public-school network of the Federal District. The methods used in both phases were inductive and Depth Hermeneutics (DH).

The mixed methodology used the inductive method as a quantitative method, which made it possible to generalize the results to the researched universe, based on the sampling used to collect the documents. The sample used was random by clusters. The administrative regions of the Federal District with the largest population were chosen and, in these, the PPPs were collected in urban public schools with the highest number of enrollments in propaedeutic high school.

In 2012, the DF had a universe of 557 urban public schools. However, this network includes 17 categories of schools that provide different levels, stages and teaching modalities. The categories that provide regular propaedeutic high school were and still are: Educational Center and High School Center. Thus, the universe surveyed consisted of 78 schools (CODEPLAN, 2013) and the sample of this sub-universe was ten school units, focusing on those with the highest number of enrollments in this stage of Basic Education.

In the period from 2018 to 2019, the DF has a total of 603 urban public schools, which shows that there was a growth of 8.2% in the number of this category of schools, according to the 2019 School Census (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2019). Among these, 88 are in secondary education. In this second stage, the sample remained in the same ten units surveyed in the previous period, in order to analyze changes and/or continuities of content in the institutional documents.

In total, twenty PPPs were collected, but the data were computed by school units, since the data were collected in the same schools in both periods. Counting the data in duplicate would inflate the values, which would distort reality. The use of the same techniques in the two different periods of time made it possible to detect continuities and/or

discontinuities of values, of identity, of mentalities of the institutional actors who work in the public network of propaedeutic secondary education in the DF.

The qualitative approach took place through the Depth Hermeneutics (THOMPSON, 2009), which allowed to reveal the ideological and utopian components hidden in the objective contents. The study of ideology and utopia present and active in a given historical context and manifested in certain symbolic forms only makes sense if one seeks to reach the matrix of thought of a given society or of certain social groups, even if these have individual reverberations.

The thought matrix of Depth Hermeneutics (DH) is the Mannheimian, from the total conception of ideology. Mannheim (1976) explains that ideology is a total phenomenon that constitutes the substrate which amalgamates societal interactions while creating a cloud to overshadow human thought and its understanding of reality:

Ideologies are situationally transcendent ideas (sic) that never actually achieve the realization of their intended contents. Although they often become well-meaning motives (sic) for the individual's subjective conduct, their meanings, when effectively incorporated into practice, are in most cases distorted (MANNHEIM, 1976, p. 218, our translation).

Due to this specificity of ideology, Mannheim laid the epistemological foundations to study it. As a total phenomenon, ideology must be researched, first of all, from its social roots and without any evaluative connotation of the phenomenon itself. The application of these two epistemological principles makes it possible to arrive at the structure of the mentality of a given society and/or social group, in a given historical time. Restricting oneself to individual manifestations of ideology would be to remain in the superficiality and incompleteness of the phenomenon, without reaching the substrate that explains social, group and individual values and behaviors.

From this ground, Thompson (2009) delimited the methodological procedures to study the symbolic manifestations of ideology and utopia in contemporary thought: the Depth Hermeneutics. The method is, therefore, rooted in Mannheimian territory.

DH is structured in three phases: socio-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis, and interpretation/reinterpretation. The socio-historical analysis of ideology and utopia considers that symbolic manifestations, riddled with ideology and/or utopian components, are abstract constructs created to respond to the needs and interests of sociocultural environments or the groups that structured them. The socio-historical analysis of ideology and utopia must observe the production, circulation and reception of the symbolic

forms under study, considering both institutional, group and individual aspects, in addition to paying attention to the relations of domination that symbolic forms consolidate or break. The research contemplated this phase by showing the relationship between the content of the PPPs and the theoretical-scientific sources from which the concepts and principles were taken.

The second phase of Depth Hermeneutics - the formal or discursive analysis - is related to the form of manifestation of the phenomenon: language; standards; rules. This phase was included in the research through content analysis and categorization, which allowed the content of PPPs to be broken down into eight different analysis categories⁴.

The last phase of DH is the interpretation of the ideological and/or utopian *doxa*, explaining the meaning of the objective contents from their relations with the social structure and with the objectives of the groups, that is, with the social ambience that produced that type of thought. This is what was done in the research, as analyzing the content of the Political-Pedagogical Projects allowed us to reveal the ideological and utopian components underlying the content.

However, based on the epistemological principle that the knowing subject is also a subject immersed in a certain social environment and, therefore, is influenced by them, Thompson (2009) warns that to attempt an interpretation is always to project a meaning among several possible ones, because the reinterpretation of ideological and utopian *doxa* depends on the interactions of the system of thought with other aspects of reality: it is a matter of perspective. Thus, it is necessary to explain that the interpretation that this research undertook consists of a perspective correlated to the social environment in which both the creators of the phenomenon studied and the knowing subjects, producers of knowledge, are inserted. Thus, the Thompsonian methodological principle is put into practice, whose source, in fact, is Mannheim (2001). The methodological rigor employed aimed at achieving a relative distance and, therefore, approaching scientific validity, because, as Weber (1992) taught, the matrix of this lineage of thought, scientific neutrality will never be achieved, but will always have to be pursued through methodological rigor.

Ideology and utopia: conceptual aspects

The concept of ideology used in this work is the one coined by Mannheim (1976), which adopts the Marxist epiphenomenal concept, considering it a total phenomenon that can

⁴ This part of the research was the subject of another article, submitted to another journal because, as it was very extensive, it did not fit into the dimensions of this article.

only be understood in close connection with the social context that produced it. For him, in the word ideology is implicit “the notion that, in certain situations, the collective unconscious of certain groups obscures the real condition of society, both for themselves and for others, stabilizing it” (MANNHEIM, 1976, p. 66, our translation).

For Mannheim (1976), the concept of ideology does not carry a negative connotation, since the meaning of the world that composes a historically determined structure can only be reached through a non-evaluative analysis of the ideology that constitutes the cultural universe of a social reality. With this epistemological position, it is possible to capture the flow of constantly changing realities.

Utopia, on the other hand, is the thought that constitutes a variation of the present, in the search for an ideal future. Utopia aspires to an ideal or an improved current state. It cannot be reduced to a psychological impulse, dream, fantasy, desire or will. Utopia does not mean the search for the perfect life, but a project that can be achieved depending on collective action. Utopian thinking consists of a social critique with a projection from the current state of things towards a desired future (MANNHEIM, 1976).

A thought is considered utopian when it is based on experience and practice, but is oriented towards objects that do not exist in reality, at the present time, on the contrary, they are always projected into the future. Utopias are guidelines that go beyond reality and tend to transform behaviors that shake the order of things in that time and historical space. When an orientation proposes to end the existing order, it becomes utopian (MANNHEIM, 1976).

There is a need to understand and distinguish utopian from ideological orientations, as these have different functions in the social environment. Ideologies, however far they may transcend the existing order, do not offer revolutionary possibilities; on the other hand, they justify the status quo, as they seek to maintain current social thinking. Even so, an ideology can become utopian when it is incorporated into images that express a will and lead to a change in behavior (MANNHEIM, 1976).

The operant order is based on a political and economic structure and contains conceptions that can be considered transcendent or unreal. Ideologies are transcendent ideas that never manage to achieve their intended contents. The individual feels forced and trapped in a particular behavior, and may be among a series of ideological mentalities, which are: transcendent well-intentioned mentality; hypocritical mentality and ideological mentality. The well-meaning transcendent mentality is the socially determined thought in the social environment and historical time that produced this type of mentality. In this type of mentality, the social actor is prevented from becoming aware of the incongruities of reality because

values, beliefs, representations, social pressures fall on him with the full weight of being the established and ideal truth. The hypocritical mentality is aware of the prevailing mentality asymmetries, contradictions and paradoxes, but does not criticize, question and propose alternatives because it is tied to some emotional or political or economic or ethical or moral or philosophical or ideological interest. The ideological mentality constitutes a conscious fraud, as it hides asymmetries, contradictions, paradoxes and social inequalities, at the same time it creates cohesion between individuals by providing an axiological basis to justify and explain both reality and their own actions (MANNHEIM, 1976).

Utopias also transcend the current situation, but they differ when they manage to transform historical reality. Mannheim (1976) states that differentiating whether a thought is ideological or utopian is extremely difficult, as it is a concept that involves values and standards. To make this differentiation, the researcher must share the feelings and motivations of the groups in struggle, in the historical reality.

Depth Hermeneutics: underlying ideology and utopia

Depth Hermeneutics (DH), created by Thompson (2009) based on classical hermeneutics and the Mannheimian conception of ideology and utopia, performs the reconstruction of the meaning of the symbolic form under study from its contextualization in the social scenario in which it is inserted. The final objective of DH is to understand⁵ how symbolic forms are used in political-social interactions that are configured in the public sphere.

In this study, the DH was adapted, and it will contemplate the interpretation that the school actors elaborate on the ideological and utopian doxa prevailing in society. Interpretation embodied in the pedagogical political projects of public high schools in the Federal District, in Brazil, from 2012 to 2014 and from 2017 to 2019:

To neglect these contexts of everyday life, and the ways in which the people situated within them interpret and understand the symbolic forms they produce and receive, is to overlook a fundamental hermeneutical condition of research [...] (THOMPSON, 2009, p. 364, our translation)

The third phase of DH – interpretation/reinterpretation –, used in this research, seeks to unravel the interrelationships between the meaning of the content reproduced in the

⁵ The first matrix of Thompson's methodology and of Mannheim's theory is the logic of Weberian thought in which Cultural Sciences must seek to understand social action and its meanings. (WEBER, 1992).

symbolic form under study and the hegemonic worldviews of the society that created them. It is necessary to emphasize that it is always an effort of creative resynthesis, trying to explain the meaning of the current *doxa* inscribed in symbolic form.

It was found that the PPPs analyzed incorporate principles and values present in normative instruments and scientific theories, with very little focus on ideological components. The following guiding principles were detected that cannot be considered, at all, ideological components because they come from academic-scientific analyses: a) education as a force for social change; b) school as an institution capable of reducing social inequalities; c) community participation as a means of conflict resolution and; d) science as a guide to human actions. The main utopian component found in the analyzed political-pedagogical projects is democracy as a value.

Frame 1 – PPPs that have ideological and utopian components

SCHOOLS	IDEOLOGICAL COMPONENTS				UTOPIAN COMPONENT
	Education as a force for social change	School as an institution capable of reducing social inequalities	Community participation as a means of conflict resolution	Science as a guide to human actions	Democracy as a value
Alfa	1	1	1	1	1
Beta	1	1	1	1	---
Gama	1	1	1	---	1
Delta	1	---	1	1	1
Epsilon	---	---	---	1	1
Dzeta	---	---	1	---	1
Eta	1	1	1	1	1
Teta	1	1	1	---	1
Iota	1	1	1	---	---
Capa	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	8	7	9	6	8

Source: Research data

These elements cannot be considered entirely ideological components, but at the same time they are. It is a dialectical phenomenon: while they are, they are not. They cannot be considered ideological principles because they come from academic-scientific analysis and legislation. But at the same time they are because neither legislation nor academic-scientific knowledge are fortresses impregnable to ideological influence. Also because it can be seen that at least two of them (a, b) perform two social functions: they create an explanation for

asymmetries, inequalities, paradoxes and social contradictions; and they constitute beliefs around which the pedagogical work of school actors is grouped.

Education as a force that drives social change towards the reduction of social inequalities is a recurring theme in the social sciences and in the Science of Education. In both sub-areas of knowledge, the understanding that formal education is a driving force for social change was developed considering economic, social, political and cultural aspects. The theme of education as a force capable of reducing social inequalities dates back to classical studies of different theoretical shades, from the first decades of the 20th century. The process of generalizing scientific knowledge transforms it into common sense and even into an ideological component, when the data of reality contradict the belief that knowledge instituted as an ideology⁶.

This ideological component is found in 70% of PPPs, which consider this possibility as a result of social interactions, emphasizing cultural aspects more than knowledge as an input for the formation of the labor market. The content of the analyzed PPPs hides the ideological message that the school is a relational space capable of contributing to social change and, therefore, to the reduction of social inequalities, but forming the conscious citizen for a democratic context and not, necessarily, for democratizing scientific knowledge:

[...] the construction of a public school that actually educates for the full exercise of citizenship and is a real instrument of social transformation, a space in which to learn to learn, to live together and to be with and for others, in contrast to to the current model that generates inequalities and social exclusion that prevails in neoliberal-inspired educational policies (SEEDF, 2010b, p. 39, our translation).

These institutional documents ignore or ignore the reality of contemporary Brazilian youth, in which 70% of the young population is not inserted in formal work relationships, nor in formal education spaces. This is an inactivity that affects the majority of youth aged between 16 and 24, with a concentration on women, the poor, black women and mothers (MDSCF, 2013). The research named this generation as “nor, nor”, which means “neither studies nor works” or “neither in employment nor in education or training” (NEET). This startling data proves that schooling and work are not values for the contemporary generation of young Brazilians. The belief in education as a driving force for social ascension remained in the older generations.

⁶ Mannheim (1976) explains that one of the functions of ideology is to justify the gaps between beliefs and reality, not adopting the negative and evaluative connotation of ideology..

In the PPPs analyzed, we found, in the mission category, that the function of schools is to form critical and active citizens for life, for a democratic society and for the job market: “To form participatory citizens, through educational action, practices and ethical principles allied to respect for human dignity [...]” (SEEDF, 2019, p. 60, our translation). Education is conceived in these missions as a catalyst for individual change and, consequently, for social change, by providing individuals with the cognitive and knowledge instruments to actively insert themselves into productive, political and cultural life, acting as actors towards social change. The school is, in this conception, the institution responsible for democratizing these inputs. Mannheim (1972) walks in the wake of this thought by conceiving education as an essential 'social technique' in the constitution of a democratic and planned society.

In Brazil, schooling is still seen as a factor for reducing social inequalities and, therefore, for social change. However, this belief embeds the false notion that “[...] income inequalities are directly linked to differences in qualification” (SOBRAL, 1980, p. 41, our translation). Studies prove that there are structural factors that maintain and reproduce social inequalities and that education alone is not enough to transform Brazilian society into a society with less social inequality and more social justice:

There are several factors that may be determining the difference in income not explained by the difference in schooling, among which we can mention the life expectancy of the inhabitants, ethnic factors, age structure of the population, quality of the existing infrastructure, presence/absence of incentives to the development and historical factors (SALVATO; FERREIRA; DUARTE, 2010, p. 783, our translation).

In fact, the correlation of factors is the inverse of what is inscribed in political-pedagogical projects. On average, the economic conditions of income are conditions for access to schooling, especially the highest: “the level of schooling reached by young people is predicted by indicative factors of the socioeconomic situation, cultural capital and social capital accessible to their families” (SILVA; HASENBALG, 2000, p. 10, our translation).

What can be seen is that the belief expressed in 80% of the PPPs analyzed contrasts with the Brazilian reality, so much so that, in order to reduce the brutal inequality of education, five and a half⁷ governments implemented public educational policies to reduce

⁷ The governments were: Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-1999 and 1999-2003); Luís Inácio – Lula – da Silva (2003-2007 and 2007-2011; and Dilma Vana Rousseff (2011-2014 and 2014-2016). The educational policies were: National Fund for the Development of Elementary Education and the Appreciation of Teaching – FUNDEF (1996-2008); National Minimum Income Program linked to education - Bolsa Escola (2001-2004); National Fund for the Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Education Professionals - FUNDEB (2009-2020); Bolsa Família Program (2004- *); University for All Program – Prouni (2005-*); Program to Support Restructuring and Expansion Plans of Federal Universities – Reuni (2007-2012). * Post-2016

educational inequalities in Brazil and were successful, but the socio-economic, as well as political-cultural, structures that maintain economic inequality were not touched. Scientific studies, from several different decades, corroborate that the power of education to reduce inequalities is limited: “simulations also indicate that, even in the long term, there are clear limits to the impacts that education can have on income distribution” (MEDEIROS; BARBOSA; CARVALHAES, 2019, p. 45, our translation).

The democratic management model, both of society and of the school, is found in 50% of PPPs. In this, the role of the participation of individuals and groups is emphasized. Participation in school, community and societal decision-making processes is considered an act of freedom, a moment of equality, and a relational space of power. On the other hand, in the institutional documents analyzed, 90% consider participation as a means of conflict resolution. This belief goes hand in hand with the school's mission to grant the formation of critical and active citizens who “start to play a leading role in the development of the city, in the struggle for better conditions for their blocks, their neighborhoods, their streets” (SEEDF, 2010b, p. 08, our translation).

Belief can be considered an ideological component because it disregards the objective injunctions that economy, politics, culture impose on individuals and groups. The distance between belief and objective reality is one of the idiosyncrasies of ideology, allocating the power of social change to the individuals who participate, that is, it falls back to individualism.

From the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, the school, in the western world, consolidates itself as a space for the dissemination of scientific knowledge, although promoting its simplification, adapting it to the level of schooling and the age group of the target audience. This current understanding of one of the social functions of the school is linked to the concept of science as a guide for human actions, prevailing in the modern and contemporary western world.

Science and technology are increasingly being valued in different social groups, being conceived as a possibility to explain reality and solve social problems. The belief in the power of modern science and scientific knowledge permeates several contemporary societies, in a crescendo, after the second world war and after the third technological revolution of the seventies of the twentieth century (SHWARTZMAN, 2008).

governments maintained these public education policies because some were embodied as state policies, passed by the federal legislature, transformed into constitutional amendments and federal laws.

This ideological conception was found in 60% of the analyzed political-pedagogical projects. They claim that education aimed at formation of active citizens should provide scientific knowledge so that questions about the world can be better answered and problems solved. Such conception of the social function of scientific knowledge and of the school as disseminating it is explicit in several PPP's: "to demonstrate, through the domain of scientific-technological foundations, the importance of research and the advancement of science, in the sense of responding to the challenges and questioning of the modern world" (SEEDF, 2010a, p. 08, our translation).

Democracy is presented, in the analyzed PPPs, as a fundamental component to achieve a more just and egalitarian society, for the change not only of school management, but also of education, politics, but, mainly, society. Democracy is affirmed as an ideal to be molded in different social institutions:

Ensuring dialogue and exchange relationships with the school community for a liberating and inclusive education with the aim of politically transforming the realities of social inequality, in its transversalities, and guaranteeing democratic processes at school and in society (SEEDF, 2018, p. 20, our translation).

The utopian component of democracy as a value is found in 80% of the analyzed PPPs, in which the conception that democracy is a primordial factor for the formation of critical and active citizens is found; for the consolidation of a quality public school; and to "[...] develop capacities and skills aimed at responsible and solidary participation in society, through democratic practice, aiming at the full exercise of citizenship" (SEEDF, 2010a, p. 08, our translation).

Democracy, in the Brazilian case, constitutes a direction towards which social movements, policies and school practices aim to reach. Society and the Brazilian State, as well as formal education, cannot be considered effectively democratic, since there are social actors excluded from these processes, without real participation, without citizenship rights. So, in the Brazilian case, democracy is still a project for the future to be shaped in social and school practices.

Finding democracy as a utopian component to be incorporated daily into school practices, to be shaped in social institutions is not surprising, since PPP's are based on scientific theories and legal documents that adopt the model of democratic management at school, democracy as a value for the social, and the interrelation between them: "[...]

democratic management is an important step in learning democracy” (SEEDF, 2018, p. 04, our translation).

Final considerations

For Mannheim (1976), thought is socially determined, according to the social group that produced it. Thought produces individual and subgroup manifestations in a society, but it is not an individual phenomenon at all.

The content analysis and depth hermeneutics carried out in the contents of the political-pedagogical projects of public high schools in the Federal District in the periods from 2010 to 2012 and from 2018 to 2019 allowed to capture the collective thinking of the social segments that constitute subjects of the pedagogical process in this institution. The analysis of the collected PPPs showed that they are based on legal documents and scientific theories in the human and social areas. The legal foundation is anchored in the Federal Constitution of 1988, in the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (9,394/1996), in the National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education, in the National Curriculum Parameters and in the Basic Education Curriculum of the Federal District.

In short, the underlying ideological components in the analyzed PPPs are anchored in the belief that the education offered at school can solve society's problems. They believe that the school's mission, objectives and/or principles are to form the citizen who acts in a critical way and who transforms the current world, in the direction of a democratic society, supported by rational knowledge.

However, what is seen in contemporary times is the opposite, with multiple manifestations of hatred for the so-called social media⁸; with movements of denial⁹ of science, democracy, the pandemic caused by the coronavirus, vaccines; and with flat-earth groups¹⁰. Institutional documents relegate to secondary importance essential factors for the transformation of social structures, such as the elimination of the immense concentration of wealth that has characterized Brazil since the colonial process; the promotion of a fairer and less unequal distribution of income; promoting access to social benefits such as work, housing, health, urban infrastructure and formal schooling. The PPPs analyzed incur the naive belief that the knowledge provided at school is sufficient to change this social reality.

⁸ See: Stroppa and Rothenburg (2015), Stein, Nodari and Salvagni (2018) and Sarlet (2019).

⁹ See: Pivaro and Júnior (2020), Ramalho (2020), Vignoli, Rabello and Almeida (2021).

¹⁰ See De Albuquerque and Quinan (2019) and Marineli (2020).

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