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Childhood education in time of redemocratization and dependency: contradictions and resistances in the municipality of Nova Iguaçu-RJ in the context of Historical-Critical Pedagogy

A Educação Infantil em tempos de redemocratização e dependência: contradições e resistências no município de Nova Iguaçu-RJ à luz da Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica

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Abstract

This article analyzes public politics for Early Childhood Education in municipality of Nova Iguaçu-RJ considering Historical-Critical Pedagogy to understand contradictions between democratic discourse post-redemocratization and persistence of Brazilian State's structural dependency on international agendas. Based on a materialist historical-dialectical method, the study analyzes documents such as Municipal Plan for Primary Childhood (2014), Municipal Education Plan (2015-2025), Law

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Nº 4.749/2018 and the Early Childhood Education Curricular Propose (2021), emphasizing how these texts incorporate conceptions from multilateral organisms, as UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). The analysis reveals that, despite formal advances of the redemocratization and recognition of Early Childhood Education as a right, politics remain guided a rational technocratic and neoliberal, instead of integral human education. Therefore, contradictions between democratization and dependency describes the incomplete character of the Brazilian redemocratization and the education rights whose effectuation require a praxis commuted with social reality transformation. In this context, the historical-critical pedagogy reaffirms itself as a theoretical and political horizon capable of guiding efforts for public, free and emancipatory Early Childhood Education, articulating theory, practice, and teaching resistance to humanize and emancipate the working classes.

Keywords: Early Childhood Education. Historical-Critical Pedagogy. Dependent Capitalism. Redemocratization. Nova Iguaçu-RJ.

Resumo

O artigo analisa as políticas públicas de Educação Infantil no município de Nova Iguaçu-RJ à luz da Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica, buscando compreender as contradições entre o discurso democrático pós-redemocratização e a persistência da dependência estrutural do Estado brasileiro em relação às agendas internacionais. Fundamentado no método materialista histórico-dialético, o estudo examina documentos como o Plano Municipal para Primeira Infância (2014), o Plano Municipal de Educação (2015-2025), a Lei nº 4.749/2018 e a Proposta Curricular da Educação Infantil (2021), evidenciando como esses textos incorporam concepções oriundas de organismos multilaterais, como UNICEF e UNESCO. A análise revela que, apesar dos avanços formais da redemocratização e do reconhecimento da Educação Infantil como direito, as políticas continuam orientadas por uma racionalidade tecnocrática e neoliberal, em detrimento da formação humana integral. Conclui-se que as contradições entre democratização e dependência expressam o caráter incompleto da redemocratização brasileira, e que a efetivação do direito à educação exige uma práxis comprometida com a transformação da realidade social. A Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica, nesse contexto, reafirma-se como horizonte teórico e político capaz de orientar a luta por uma Educação Infantil pública, gratuita e emancipadora, articulando teoria, prática e resistência docente em favor da humanização e da emancipação da classe trabalhadora.

Palavras-chave: Educação Infantil. Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica. Capitalismo Dependente. Redemocratização. Nova Iguaçu-RJ.

Introduction

This article derives from a conducted master's degree research that analyzed theoretical and political bases to guide Early Childhood Education formulated by public politics in municipality of Nova Iguaçu-RJ. Since this study, the present article intends to analyze contradictions between democratic discourse, from the municipal politics and the persistence of practices and Brazilian's State structuralist directives, in terms of international agendas, considering Historical-Critical Pedagogy (PHC). Thus, it elucidates how Early Childhood Education, considering post-redemocratization, can be characterized as a contested area between an education project, which indicates an omnilateral, defended by PHC, and technical and social children's adjustment project to the capital requirements.

The year of 2025 represents four decades since the Brazilian redemocratization's process, after finished the civil-military organizational regime. During this period, education, especially Early Childhood, expressed contradictions between institutional advances for democracy and persistence traces of dependent capitalism, which is extremely unequal. The consolidation of educational politics in a period after 1985, traced of tension between universalization's access and an effective democratization and socialization knowledge, elucidating how much social justice' principles still confront precariousness logic and hereditary authoritarianism control (Carmo, 2024).

In terms of Early Childhood Education, redemocratization did not mean a guarantee of public, free and quality education's rights. According to Carmo (2024), the expansion of this phase happened in the middle of a dispute between different formative perspectives: in one side, politics that understand children's right, in another, the same politics keeping an instrumental perspective, guided by international organism, such as UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), reinforcing a dependency from local directives in terms of global determination. This ambiguity reflects the centrality of redemocratization: enlarging rights without breaking with a structural dependency from dependent and peripheric capitalism. So, the question, considered in this article, can be postulated as the following: how Early Childhood Education local politics reflects a tension between democratic of emancipation project and reproduction's practices unequal and dependent?

Therefore, in order to understand these contradictions, we appeal to Historical-Critical Pedagogy, which was postulated from 1980 within the framework of educational efforts for redemocratization. In accordance with Saviani (2007, p. 402), a particularity for this period is related to the necessity to elaborate "pedagogy against hegemony, in other words, prioritize dominated concern and not serve to dominant ones".

Thereby, a PHC, based on historical-dialectic materialism, proposes that "educative work is the act to produce in each singular individual, direct and intentionality, the human who is historic and collective developed by a group of men" (Saviani, 2011, p. 13). The concept that has already mentioned, understands the school as essential mediation in the humanization process, connecting a pedagogic practice with social totality and classes efforts.

The period of redemocratization coincided with an intensification of the international organism public attendance, especially UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children) and Banco Mundial (BM), in the formulation of educational public politics. In the Early Childhood Education area, attendance assumed a normative and inductor character, reorganizing the concept of quality and childhood according to universal parameters (Carmo, 2024).

Concerning Nova Iguaçu (RJ), documents such as Municipal Plan for Early Childhood (PMPI, 2014), Municipal Educational Plan (PME, 2015-2025), Law Nº 4.749/2018, that instituted "Play Week" and "Play Day" in the municipal calendar, and Curricular Propose from municipality of Nova Iguaçu (2021), incorporated conceptions that came from directives by multilateral organisms, reproducing technical vocabulary from "quality", "integral attention" and "children formation" (Carmo, 2024, p. 133).

According Florestan Fernandes (1975), dependent capitalism refers to a particular form to develop the capitalism production way in the peripheric countries, characterized by structural subordination to central economics, combined with modernization and backwardness. Thus, the system where the dominant national class assumes the function of intermediary to imperialist concern, in order to guarantee social and economic inequality reproduction.

Concerning Miriam Limoeiro Cardoso (1997), this category expresses a subordinated accumulation norm, doubly articulated, external, and internal, which associate economic growth with revenue concentration and autonomous development blockade.

Under these circumstances as a referential, this article analyzes Early Childhood Education politics in Nova Iguaçu-RJ, considering Historical-Critical Pedagogy concerning to dependent capitalism and elucidating how the tension between democratization and dependence appear in local elaboration of public politics and education's right accomplishment. In this way, it reinforces the necessity of retrieving education as critical-social humanized and practice, principle that was not considered in democratic efforts and follows dictatorship, remains as political-pedagogy horizon from PHC.

1.1 Methodology

The actual article is based on a historical-dialectic materialist method, which, according to José Paulo Netto (2011), functions as a theoretical way to reproduce, in thought, the real movement of the object, apprehending them totally with its contradictions. The method does not limit as an empiric description of phenomenon, nevertheless, understand historical and social mediations that provide them with significance. In this way, the analysis spanning from tangible empiric, such as politics in Nova Iguaçu-RJ's document about Early Childhood Education, to reach the tangible thought. In other words, theoretical synthesis reveals structural and ideological determinations that conform with politics.

The methodological approach assumes a praxis as central category for Historical-Critical Pedagogy. Respecting Saviani (2011), social practice comprises a starting point and the final ones to knowledge, making it a mediator element to possibility qualitative transformation of reality. This understanding is retrieved by Marsiglia, Martins and Lavoura (2019) when they affirm that dialectic method, in education, means "transition between empiric from tangible although mediation of the abstract". It overcomes both empiricism and logical formalism, recovering reflections about real movement in social practices.

In consonance with a tangible dialectic, Karel Kosík (1995) elaborates a critic to pseudo-tangibleness, which is immediate appearance from social phenomenon that appear as natural and independent, although they are historical products from human praxis. This conception guided the analysis when considering educational politics' document does not express only administrative intentions, though ideologies forms to materialize political projects and classes efforts in educational area.

The investigation pursues dialectic movement defended by Kosík (1995) whereas phenomenal appearance of the documents advances by the analysis of internal contradictions and reach a theoretic synthesis. This occurrence allows comprehension of educational politics in reproduction or social relationship transformation. Thus, dialectic method, as an approach progressive process for the real concretionary, goes beyond an immediate examination of the documents and reveals the way education is inserted in dependent capitalism determinations. In addition, deepened contradictions with neoliberal politics.

Further on, will be unfolded the analysis was constructed based on dialectic-historical materialist method and Historical-Critical Pedagogy foundation, structured in four principal pillars, which corresponds to sessions of this article. The first one, "The Early Childhood Education as political contested area", analyze historical context of this theme in Brazil and influence of neoliberalism and international organisms, such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children) and Banco Mundial (BM), in the formulation of public political to demonstrate how this area become a space of competition between emancipation and regulation projects, considering theory from dependent capitalism (Fernandes e Cardoso). Subsequently the session "Early Childhood Education in Nova Iguaçu-RJ: between the democratic discourse and dependent practice," applies dialectic analysis for municipal documents (Municipal Plan for Early Childhood (2014), Municipal Educational Plan (2015-2025), Law Nº 4.749/2018, that instituted "Play Week" and "Play Day" in the municipal calendar, and Curricular Propose from municipality of Nova Iguaçu (2021)), evidencing contradictions between democratic discourse

and a neoliberal practice. The third session, “The Historical-Critical Pedagogy as resistance and non-hegemonic propose,” introduces the PHC as a referential theoretical-methodological and political capable to produce tension for pedagogy hegemonic adaptive and neoliberals’ politics. So, at the end, in “Final Considerations,” recover main identified contradictions, reinforcing a Critical-Historical Pedagogy as political and pedagogic horizon capable to guide efforts to effectuation of public, free and emancipated Early Childhood Education’s right. It means that redemocratization remains incomplete while educational politics follow submitted to dependent and neoliberal logics.

1.1.1 Early Childhood Education as politically contested area

The history of the Early Childhood Education in Brazil is associated with political and economics transformations that emphasize the redemocratization and the dispute between social projects around the school. Since the Federal Constitution of 1988, which consecrated Early Childhood Education as child’s right and State’s obligation, the fight for the material’s implementation has become a solid expression of contradictions between the democratic ideal and the reality of the State which, in the context of capitalism dependent, remains subordinate to the international capitalism requirements.

Marcela Pronko (2014) analyzes the neoliberalization’s process of education that has been initiated in the decade of 1970, featuring the position of Banco Mundial (BM) in the redefinition of educational policies on a global scale. According to the author, BM promoted a syllabus based on the logic of the market, which was able to introduce business concepts in public management and encouraging the creation of public-private partnership. This scenario turns education into a service subjected to economic rationality and efficient logic, shifting the State as a provider and turning into a mediator between society and business.

Pronko (2014) observes that, over the centuries of 1980 and 1990, organizations such as UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), and OCDE (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) has strengthened this prototype through international commitments, like the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA), which, even though it defends, apparently, the universal’ access, reinforced policies of a centered and selective nature. Therefore, the author reveals that education’s neoliberalization has deepened inequalities and limited public debate, subordinating the educational policies to performance criteria and social rentability, in detriment of an emancipatory conception of education.

The neoliberalization’s process of educational policies reveals what Florestan Fernandes (1975) denominated dependent capitalism: approach of a structural subordination that suits the external domination of an imperialist capital with an internal reproduction of social and regional inequalities. In the Early Childhood Education’s area, this dependency manifests itself in the adoption of international guidelines that standardize the child’s development pursuant to a universal standard of “education” and “carefulness”, disregarding the real conditions of working families and the local sociocultural context.

In the context of Baixada Fluminense, educational politics reveals structural contradictions between democratization speech and the procedures guided by the logic of dependency and the neoliberal rationality. As Barão, Alcântara and Lages (2012) indicates, the Education Development Plan (PDE)’s implementation reaffirmed the centralization of decision-making power at the federal atmosphere and the fragility of local democratic processes, considering that few districts conducted effective discussions with education professionals. The collaboration’s regime, foreseen as an instrument to strengthen the federative, in practical terms it has turned into a mechanism for accountability and control, reproducing the management model based on external evaluations and performance goals. In the Baixada’s public schools, the association between management, evaluation and financing has increased the precariousness of teachers’ working conditions and the dependency of federal resources, besides providing room for business influence and private foundations in the definition of educational policies.

Nova Iguaçu, through the 20th century, acquired control of the formation of Baixada Fluminense, not only because of their political and administrative centrality but also due to being a peripheral urban sprawl hub of Rio de Janeiro metropolitan region. This process has happened in a manner that emphasizes the territorial fragmentation, rapid urbanization, and historical inadequacy of public policies, which produced profound socio-spatial inequalities (Silva, 2017).

Introduced into an area characterized by social inequality and historical deterioration of educational infrastructure, Nova Iguaçu's RJ district was composed of like a laboratory of decentralization policies and public-private partnership. The implementation of programs and projects guided by international recommendations, for example the actions focused on "play", "early childhood" and "education quality", reveals the effort to reconcile the local demands with global imperatives of regulation and performance. However, under the guise of a technical and humanitarian consensus, those policies conceal a deep contradiction: the universalization of access coexists with an intensification of precariousness and pedagogical practices fragmentation.

1.1.1.1 Early Childhood Educational in Nova Iguaçu-RJ: between the democratic discourse and dependent practice

The Early Childhood Education has become, during last decades, the principal contested area of Brazilian educational politics, not only by formal expansion of childhood rights but also due to growing of incidence of international agendas.

The public politics analysis of Early Childhood Education in municipality of Nova Iguaçu-RJ reveals contradictions that cross Brazilian educational area for four decades: in one side, the formal advance from democratization and rights regulation, on the other hand, maintenance of structural political, economics and ideologies dependence from capital requirements and international organisms. According to Florestan Fernandes (1975), the dependence is not only economics, but also cultural and political, what adjusting the pedagogical praxis of peripheral State. This process reflects the way municipality structures its educational politics, reproducing within a localized context the regulation of global directives and childhood control.

The analysis and presentation of documents such as Municipal Plan for Early Childhood (2014), Municipal Plan for Education (2015-2025) and Law Nº 4.749/2018, which instituted the "Play Week" and "Play Day" in the municipality calendar and the Curricular Propose from Nova Iguaçu (2021), will be done in chronologic order as anaclitic strategy to avoid historic movement of educational politics consolidation in the municipality since policy procedures of international organisms.

The Municipal Plan for Early Childhood in Nova Iguaçu (PMPI, 2014), express structural contradictions and characterizes the Brazilian educational politics considering the dependent capitalism. Under the semblance of commitment to child's rights, the document reveals a conception of Early Childhood Education subordinated to human capital logic and rearrangement of State to be an agent of commodification the socials rights. In the light of the neoliberals' reforms, which redefined the function of State from the 1990s onwards, (Moreira and Lara, 2012), the PMPI reinforces the State as a mediator between capitalist interests and socials demands, shifting the rights universalization focus outward manager efficiency and a private-public partnership.

The discourse of integral child protection is connected to a promise of sustainable development and poverty alleviation, which alludes to Human Capital Theory (Santana & Fracalanza, 2023). Thus, childhood is not understood as a period of integral human education, but as productive investment, in other words, a capital that must be cultivated for the future workforce.

Accordingly, the PMPI adheres an economist conception and instrumental education, comprehended as a "decisive factor in the economic and social development" (Nova Iguaçu, 2014, p. 40). This formulation, in agreement with Saviani (2018), expresses bourgeois ideological inversion: rather than comprehending education as mediation to

an integral human instruction, the document subordinates it to the capitalist logic of accumulation, considering economic development as last purpose of education. It concerns the ideological use of education that hides society's material contradictions under progress and a generic inclusion.

However, the attendance of private institutions and non-governmental organizations in educational plan, such as the Instituto C&A and the Solidariedade França-Brasil (SFB), in the "bourgeois' committee", in accordance with a classical Marxist critical. Private-public partnerships and the outsourcing of educational management, presented as innovative solutions, represent a privatization mechanism that disguised to educational politics.

The childhood, in this context, is considered as abstract essence, moved from the tangible life of children from the Nova Iguaçu working classes, submitted then to a precarious condition, to exclusion and poverty.

In this manner, the conception of childhood propagated by PMPI not only diverges from children's tangible material conditions but also reproduces a dominant social form to understand childhood, decoupled from the relationships between State, capital, and work. How indicates the dossier's organizers of the abstract childhood to real children, the way of understanding childhood "do not move general social form, inasmuch expose social inequalities from an unequal society that is comprised by exploration of the others work" (Conde, Hermida and Garcia Barbosa, 2021). It makes clear that all childhood abstract definitions tend to become invisible children from the working classes and their real conditions of existence.

Therefore, ignoring these social and historical determinations, pedagogical orientations operate as ideologies mediations that makes natural the poverty, exclusion and to precarious conditions whose children from Nova Iguaçu experienced in life. From this perspective, a Historical-Critical Pedagogy affirms that they do not have an abstract childhood: there are tangible children, historically conscious, which education can only be thought of objective conditions of life and society's contradictions.

The PMPI text brings us a definition to Early Childhood Education:

Thus, we have Early Childhood Education as children's right, as an action in the present and not only a future projection, such as the best economic rate of return, future social earnings. The most relevant thing is to be happy, forgetting the idea that success is only related to money people receive. (Nova Iguaçu, 2014, p. 45).

Nevertheless, the PMPI intends to dislocate the economist logic, but, on the other hand, it has reinforced the outsider concept of happiness, as told us by Barbosa (2006) from Marx. The individual happiness promise, disconnected from social transformation, is an alienation form: the subjectivity is deployed to reproduce a capitalist order, dissimulated to autonomy and welfare. In this context, ideological happiness executes its function, which is neutralizing classes' conflicts and legitimate politics which makes inequality natural.

The Municipal Plan of Education in Nova Iguaçu (PME-NI) (2015-2025), according to a National Plan of Education (Law Nº 13.005/2014), establishes as an objective the increasing the availability in Early Childhood Education and professional recognition of teachers. However, the critical analysis of their objectives and strategies reveals it emphasizes the fulfillment of the quantitative indicators and targets, in detriment of social quality education. Although the plan enunciates universalization and quality metrics, the discourse that maintains it is based on efficiency principle, private-public partnership and measuring results. All these elements elucidate the neoliberal logic of influence in the formulation of local educational politics. In this way, a centrality assigned to increasing qualitative of availability and fulfillment indicators, by the PME-NI, cannot be understood as a technical or administrative option only. It is related to a concrete expression of restructuring the State's function under a neoliberal hegemony, which an educational politics operates in accordance with a commodification's logic and the growth of private businesses in an educational area. In agreement to José Claudinei Lombardi (2018), "we are under the bourgeois' State, in the midst of neoliberal economics political" (p. 174), characterized by "downplaying the State in social attendance, though overestimate State in capital supporting" (p. 175), what results in an expansion of "mechanism to allocate public resources to an private sector" (p. 175), even in education.

Moreover, it is possible to comprehend the PME-NI as a tangible expression of mediation between global and local in terms of public politics, which is considered a typical phenomenon of dependence condition described by Florestan Fernandes (1975) and Limoeiro-Cardoso (1997). In this case, the municipality is not considered independent, but only as an executor of the postulated directives in higher authorities, specially, the ones related to a Education National Plan (PNE) and multilaterals organisms which influenced it, such as Banco Mundial (BM) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), Pronko, 2014. Hence, the decentralization, presented as democratization management, can be understood as responsibility transfer without redistributed proportional resources, one characteristic of dependence and structural subordination of municipality to national and international politics.

Furthermore, the analysis of the metrics and strategies from PME elucidate the predominance of equity and efficiency discourse, instead of human emancipation. The category “quality education” is allied to an index as IDEB (Basic Education Development Index), technological adoption and teacher training focused on results, nevertheless without critical reflection about socials learning determinations, including “total quality” logic, characteristic of the neo technicism and corporative pedagogy (Saviani, 2018).

However, from the perspective of Historical-Critical Pedagogy, the document needs a dialect understanding about the relation between education and society. Considering education only as a method to reduce inequalities, the plan ignored that these diversities are developed by social structure of work and the property. The absence of the analysis about conditions of existence materials of childhood population from Nova Iguaçu, characterized by historical inequality and social vulnerability, reveals the ideologies character and mystified educational politic, in the Kosik’s opinion around pseudoconcreticity (Kosík, 1995).

Thus, another fundamental aspect we can consider is centrality of private-public partnership (PPPs) in the PME-NI’s text. The continuous reference to these partnerships to Early Childhood Education expansion, teaching education and infrastructure reveals a change in the State’s function, who become mediator of educational services and not a provider anymore. How comment Feitosa, Segundo and Santos (2015), PPPs, in the neoliberal perspective, describes a transfer of risks and responsibilities to private sector, under the argument about efficiency, while promoting the education of commodification.

Considering the specific situation of Early Childhood Education, the PME-NI recognizes legal advances, as registration’s rights and function of responsibility as inherent aspects of education, despite presenting effective mechanisms to deal with socials inequalities. Hence, universalization metrics until 2016 and increase availability in Early Childhood Education in 50% until 2025 are maintained become detached to a consistent financing plan and a critical analysis about education’s function in an integral human development.

Furthermore, in the political and ideological perspective, the PME was constructed around a conciliatory conception between State and civil society. The defense of social involvement in the plan elaboration appears as a rhetorical element, once the collaborative was conditioned to tight deadlines a normativeness orientation from PNE, making it closer to the critical of bourgeoisie democracy, in which decisions going on circumscribed to a previously established limits, draining the effective social involvement (Lombardi, 2018).

Therefore, the analysis reveals the Municipal Plan of Education from Nova Iguaçu (2015-2025) is a document tensioned between a democratic promise and a structural dependence, in other words, it is in middle from an equity discourse and commodification practices. Thus, this contradiction demonstrates that, in dependent capitalism contexts, educational politics tend to reproduce, under the inclusion discourse, the same exclusion mechanism that intend to contest. It is explained by Lombardi (2018) when says theses politics administrated the existent inequality, without go beyond the limits imposed by capitalist social structure.

Regardless the institution of the Play Municipal Week and Play Day, according to Law N. 4.749/2018, represents the Nova Iguaçu pedagogic-political effort to incorporate the right to play as an essential aspect of childhood, respecting international agreements and directives of National Common Curricular Base (BNCC). This law has a foundation in referential as a convention about child’s rights, which reaffirms the act of play as a universal right, and

intent materializes, in a local scope, a global orientation of integral education. Hence, the dialectic analysis of these politics reveals that, under appearance of child's recognition as a historic individual and their rights, keeping on tracing a dematerialized pedagogy, characterized by hegemony of authenticity conception and by absence of guided educative intentionality that a critical conception of human's education.

Therefore, in a philosophical plan, the act of playing is presented as a genuine expression and natural childhood development, following a traditional, which was introduced by Friedrich Froebel, who considers playful activities "one of the most pure and spiritual humans' activities" (as cited in Arce, 2002 p. 190). Considering Historical-Critical Pedagogy (Saviani, 2011), this approach reveals a limit because it ignores the mediator's function to learning and the culture as instruments of humanization. Playful activities, although important, cannot be comprehended as an independent phenomenon, but as mediated social activity whose educative function depends on intentional intervention of a teacher.

In terms of educational perspective, the project "Play Day" (Nova Iguaçu, 2020) express an effort to systematize the act of playing as a curricular component connected to "experienced areas" in the National Curricular Common Base (BNCC). However, the adoption of this curricular matrix reaffirms a pedagogic model grounded in immediate experience where teachers assume the function of observation and facilitates natural child's development. The emphasis in "interactions and playful activities" as an axis that structures teacher's job without owing recognition learning as a necessity of mediation, reinforce what Arce (2021) named invisibility the teacher's function because he considers a child as a protagonist of your own development. In this perspective, extensively disseminated by international organisms and legitimated by rights' discourses, equates a child's education under neoliberal hegemony where teachers are not responsible for an educational function and the act of playing becomes an instrument for social adaptation.

Furthermore, cultural-historical psychology, in agreement with Vigotski, Leontiev and Elkonin, reconceptualizes the act of playing not as a genuine activity but as a guided activity for development in Early Childhood Education. Accordingly, the symbolic game and playful activities with social functions represent privileged moments of culture's internalization, articulating superior psychics function and child social integration. Though, the act of playing should be postulated as an intentional activity organized by teacher, who introduces ludic contents and social points, becoming routine in conscience. This perspective spitted with spontaneity contemporaries political it reaffirms a pedagogic-politic aspect of teacher's job as argued Pasqualini (2010) e Souza e Malanchen (2021).

In political context, the "Municipal Play Week" express an internalization, in the local level, a global agenda coordinated by multilaterals organisms as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children), which have been promoted the right to play as sustainable human development since the 1990s. Although effectuation, this directive represents an advance in terms of formal childhood recognition, also reflects an educational political realignment for symbolics rights area, instead of material effectuation of the rights. Documents and programs with these characteristics should be analyzed as products of the balance of forces: they seem to be universal and neutral but describe hegemony projects.

Considering the pedagogic practices perspective, the law and project of Municipal Secretary of Education (SEMED) elucidate a childhood conception like humanist and constructivist psychology but far from the critical-historical perspective, which understands childhood as a social step determined by human development. For a PHC, in agreement to Saviani (2011), the objective of education is promoting a transition by syncretic experience to theoretical reflection, to make child enable to have a critical adequacy of the culture. The act of playing is method and not the end itself. It is educative when articulates a pedagogic, conscious, and social project that becomes referential and focused on human emancipation.

Furthermore, the analysis of Curricular propose to Nova Iguaçu (2021) municipality demonstrates a document that, although appeals to liberal expressions, such as "human education", "social transformation" and "historical contents accumulated by humanity", deeply tensioned by educational reforms with neoliberal character that was inherited by 1990s and 2000s. This discursive ambiguity shows, in local plan, the contradiction between democratization and dependence, which is characteristic of educational politics postulated under dependent capitalism

(Fernandes, 1975; Cardoso, 1997). The pedagogic discourse assumes an emancipatory appearance but also maintains a subordination' structure to international directives and productiveness logic that restricted an education to competences constitution.

Nevertheless, when proposing a “pedagogic practices constructed and focused in values, concepts, ability, competences and attitudes” (Nova Iguaçu, 2021, p. 10), the document adopt a vocabulary specific for competences of pedagogy, consolidating a epistemological orientation introduced by BNCC (Brazil, 2018) and legitimated by multilaterals organisms, such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and Banco Mundial (BM).

Hence, the school's conception that was explicated in the Curricular Propose reinforces this displacement. When mentioning Dowbor and affirms that “a school will be leave to teach and become in a manager of knowledge” (Nova Iguaçu, 2021, p. 15), the document includes the ideology of “knowledge's society”, disseminated by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and other international agencies. How adverts Duarte (2001), this awareness accomplishes an ideologies and specific function when disguise materials contradictions of contemporary capitalism, cause an illusion that information access and technological innovation are sufficient to social emancipation.

Therefore, the rhetorical of “democratic management” is the “valorization of school routine” that appears as another discursive axis of the document. Thus, the teacher's involvement in the curricular elaboration is introduced as an inquiry and not as a process of collective deliberation. Hence, it demonstrates a trend of the local politics to transform democratic management into a method without content, a mechanism to legitimate previous decisions by technical centers and by national orientations.

Considering this perspective, the emphasis in “general competences of BNCC” reinforces a preachy and psychological conception of education, in which the development is postulated as individual process, disconnected by social determinations. This pedagogy, as argued by Lavoura and Ramos (2020), represents a kind of pragmatic neoconstructivism that dislocates the objectivity of contents to behavioral performance of students. Thus, that orientation is opposed to a PHC proposal, which understands the curriculum as a necessity mediation between the systematized knowledge and omnilateral education, intending to criticize adequacy of culture.

However, the analysis of curricular structures designated to Early Childhood Education (Early Years, 2-3 and 4-5 years) reveals a uniform objective of learning, without consideration by specifics steps of psychic development. This patronization, which ignores the historicity of childhood neoformations, contradicts the cultural-historical psychology and proper dialectic conception of development. In agreement to Pasqualini and Eidt (2016), childhood development is not straight or biological, though historical and social, determined by tangible conditions of life and dominants activities in each period. Though, the process to institutionalize curricular metrics obstructed the necessity of pedagogic mediation to increase child reflection, changing it from syncretic to theoretical.

Despite homogenization of the objectives of learning, identified in curricular structures of Early Childhood Education comprises the tangible expression for an expansive movement to emptying the educative job, which goes beyond the pedagogic aspect and becomes a part of the neoliberal reform's context and international political to curricular standardization.

Thus, under the Historical-Critical Pedagogy, emptying the educative job in the Nova Iguaçu curricular propose, is manifested in two interdependent plans: (1) an epistemological subordination to international political to curricular standardization; and (2) a political neutralization of teacher' function.

Following this line of reasoning, the first emptying plan to educative job in Nova Iguaçu (2021) curricular propose is manifested in epistemological subordination to international agencies directives that, between 1970s and 1990s, has been guiding global education according to neoliberal economic principle. The educational reforms that was postulated in Latin America do not come along to internal demands, but they are expression of a global project promoted by organisms such as Banco Mundial (BM), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Agency for Children) and the PNUD (United Nations Development Program),

which “promote international events and elaborate educational directives for Latin America countries in order to reduce illiteracy and finished with violence and poverty” (Vieira, 2006, p. 97). However, these proposes restructure the function of the State and the school when suggest transferring responsibilities, what previously belonged to public authorities to market sphere and civil society.

In terms of second plan, according to Alessandra Arce (2001), the political neutralization the teacher’s function comprises central axis of process to emptying the educative job in neoliberal educational reforms. It means, these teacher educational politics change the condition of teacher from the intellectual critic to technical executor activities previously defined. According to the author:

Didactical books and manuals have become essential in the curriculum, which must have the same support and source of knowledge for teachers. Teachers who do not need a long initial education program. They used to learn in practice, on the job, and it is enough for their learning, however, distance education, through radio and TV, must be fundamental and effective. Deal with manuals and books means dominate some technical abilities, besides they are able to reflect about their own actions, which characteristics are enough because this kind of professional, in despite of others, must not be also flexible and, if possible, adhere a different activity in the labor market and not limited their attention only being teacher. Finally, in the technological development context, teacher is not so essential, “except for those who do not dominate reflexion and learning processes” (UNESCO, 1998, p. 156). In this perspective, teachers need to be intellectuals who have technical bases and practices strongly founded in methodological, historical, and philosophical principle; their personal characteristics become more appreciated instead of professional education (Arce, 2001, p. 262).

Based on this ideology, it is possible to contend that Nova Iguaçu Curricular Propose reproduces the movement when center the teacher’s function around ability and competences execution, in agreement with pedagogy competences disseminated by Banco Mundial (BM) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). This dynamic deepens the fragmentation of educative jobs, reducing teacher actions to a technical area and it neutralizes their potential as transformative social practice. However:

The knowledge is definitely retreated the teacher, existent dichotomy between theory and practice is eradicated, consequently, removing this theory, reducing it to simple information; in this perspective, teacher become a kind of pedagogy shop assistant in a fast food, which serves clean, efficient and quality information, to the extent that students understand how to absorb functionalist and pragmatic information using a teacher as an example (Arce, 2001, p. 262).

Under a historical-critical perspective, this process represents a denial of systematized knowledge once the teacher ceases to be an individual of praxis and becomes a simple curricular demands executor imposed by an external rationality to school.

In summary, the Nova Iguaçu (2021) Curricular Propose represents a hybrid document, in which the progressionist pedagogy language is mobilized to sustains a content straight to education project. The promise of a democratic school, plural and formative, to lose ground to a performance pedagogy, is focused on adaptability, in self-management and constant learning. Privileging competences and ability instead of adequacy of scientific knowledge, municipal curricular politic reiterates the adaptive function of school considering the Brazilian dependent capitalism — it means an education that prepares students to survive instead of transform.

Nevertheless, analyzing these documents under a Historical-Critical Pedagogy perspective, it is possible comprehends that Nova Iguaçu educational politics are not a result of isolated choices, but comes from an entirety social and historic characterized by contradictions between democratization and dependence. This contradiction is explicit in both situations: legal form of the plans and laws, and in the practice routine of school. While the official discourse celebrates the universalization and quality, the materiality of educational conditions, the precarious conditions of teacher’s job, insufficient infrastructure, and emptied curriculum, it reveals the deepening social and territorials’ inequality.

1.1.1.1.1 The Historical-Critical Pedagogy as resistance and non-hegemonic propose

The Historical-Critical Pedagogy, postulated in 1980 decade, became one of main theoretical reference for struggle educational waged in the context of Brazilian's redemocratization. Differently from adaptive and individual pedagogies that propagate, under the sign of "total quality" and "competences by learning," the PHC comes from an education concept as social practice historical determined and connected with classes efforts. It understands the school as a fundamental mediation in the omnilateral education of the human, whose activity is socializing systematized knowledge historical constructed by humanity (Saviani, 2013). Hence, the PHC is presented as a political-pedagogic project to resistance, committed to a social reality transformation.

Inspired by dialectic-historical materialism foundations, the PHC proposes that knowledge is not restricted to a technical domain or adapted to received conditions, though comprises as liberality instrument and critical conscience. The Pedagogy, founded in Marx and Engels, and deepened by authors such as Duarte and Marsiglia, understand the educative process as synthesis of multiples social practices determinations, which school activities mediate genuine knowledge transition to elaborated ones. Counter to constructivists and neoliberals' trends, that prevail in contemporaries' politics, the PHC reaffirms the function' school as a place to acquire scientific, artistic, and philosophical knowledge, which is essential for human emancipation.

The Historical-Critical Pedagogy comprises itself as a theoretical and practical answer to adaptive pedagogies hegemony and neoliberals' politics that hollow out the formative function' school and teacher. Based on historical materialism and dialectic conception of history, the PHC understands education as social practices determined by existence materials and, therefore, as a place to ideological challenge and the possibility human emancipation (Saviani, 2013). In contrast to approaches that limit learning to technical abilities transference, the PHC suggests a scientific, philosophical, and artistic knowledge socialization historical accumulated by humanity. Hence, understanding that person's conscience is only built by adequacy of the systematized knowledge and become individuals capable of comprehending and transforming the social reality (Saviani, 2012; Lombardi, 2018).

In this scenario where epistemological subordination to international politics to curricular patronization and teaching job neutralization, a Historical-Critical Pedagogy emerges as resistance to reaffirm political character of the educative act and the teaching's function as an elaborate knowledge mediator. From this perspective, the PHC does not limit itself to criticizing capitalism contradictions, however, proposes a practical direction to accomplishment: a dialogue between theory and practice, a praxis, as a conscious human activity, guided to historical conditions transformation.

In Saviani's opinion (2012 p. 3), "the man does not was born man, he becomes a man". It means the human education is not genuine, hence result of educative process mediated by work and knowledge. Thus, the PHC understands childhood as a decisive moment in human education, where the school's activity is to introduce children to cultural patrimony accumulated by humanity, given them possibility to comprehend a tangible reality and their contradictions. Hence, opposed to hegemonist pedagogics, which considered a childhood spontaneity and ludic dimension lacking formative intentionality, the PHC suggests that play and their intentions are pedagogic intentional way to develop superior psychological functions, according to cultural-historical psychology principles.

Therefore, Historical-Critical Pedagogy offers a methodological direction and politics to educative work. It understands that school's function is to mediate a routine knowledge scientific transition, overcoming the curricular fragmentation and naturalization of social inequalities. Teacher, who is conscious of your social function, becomes an agent that organizes objective conditions to learning, assuring that knowledge's access could be an instrument of emancipation and not being a reproduction of alienation. In this way, the PCH reaffirms the sense of revolutionary education, recovering the function of teaching as a political action of collective critical resistance, a fundamental counterpoint to neoliberals' pedagogies and to technicians' directives that subordinate knowledge to capital requirements.

Final Considerations

Forty years before starts Brazilian redemocratization, the contradictions that characterizes a national education remains revealing the incomplete character of this historical process. The political transition from 1985 represented an undeniable achievement of the popular disputes and social movements but also strengthened a state pattern that remained structurally subordinate to global capital and agendas of multilateral organizations. Early Childhood Education area, this contradiction has manifested itself in an unquestionable manner: while post-dictatorship period reinforced the recognition of the right to Early Childhood Education, also transformed this right into a symbolic commodity and an instrument of social control.

The analysis of educational policies of Nova Iguaçu-RJ demonstrates how structural dependency of Brazilian State manifests itself on a local scale. The Municipal Plan to Early Childhood Education (2014), Municipal Plan to Education (2015-2025), Law N° 4.749/2018 and Proposal Curricular of the Early Childhood Education (2021) reiterate the tension between the democratic discourse of inclusion and technocratic practice of regulation and monitoring, which was strongly oriented by international parameter. In this reality, education appears to as a promise of equity, however, it is frequently conditioned by the logic of efficiency and performance, which can reproduce structural inequalities and limit the human development of children from working-class families.

Thus, considering the four decades that separates the end of dictatorship from 1985 and Brazil from 2025, it is possible to affirm that the educational redemocratization is still in progress and depends, in part, on the ability of education workers to understand and confront the historical factors that condition their practices. The book Historical-Critical Pedagogy provides, in this regard, a theoretical and political scenario that allows not only to analyze the contradictions of contemporary school but also act on them. In conceiving the educational function as transformative praxis, the PHC reaffirms that the historical paper of school in the formation of conscious and critical individuals, capable of intervening to overcome it.

Redemocratize, therefore, means going beyond institutionalist political: it has the capacity of contesting the meaning of education, rebuild the pedagogic work based on the needs of the working classes and resist the neoliberal capture of the right to childhood. The fight for a public, laic, free and emancipatory Early Childhood Education is, nowadays, one of the most powerful expressions of resistance to dependent capitalism and dehumanizing rationality. The structural fissures, opened by critical pedagogical practices and collective movements of educators, remain alive a concrete utopia of schools that teaches, form and humanize, schools that, by socializing the historical knowledge produced, contribute to the construction of a new form of sociability for children of the working classes.

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