



**BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE MARKET:
AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC POLICIES ON EDUCATION IN BRAZIL**

ENTRE O ESTADO E O MERCADO:
UMA ANÁLISE DE POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE EDUCAÇÃO NO BRASIL

ENTRE EL ESTADO Y EL MERCADO:
UN ANÁLISIS DE POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE EDUCACIÓN EN BRASIL

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ABSTRACT: This paper aims at showing the multiple relations that have been established between Brazilian Public Policies on Education and the interests of the Capital, whose artifice is the market. Therefore, documents issues by international organizations, such as the World Bank, the Brazilian Education legislation and references in Brazilian Education that discuss the intertwinement between the State and the market are analyzed. Thus, the first section of the text describes neoliberal influences on Education during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's, Luis Inácio da Silva's and Dilma Rousseff's governments whereas the second section clarifies market interests in Michel Temer's administration. Finally, we present arguments against the close relation between the State and the market, considering the consequences of such connection for teaching practices.

KEYWORDS: Education. Public policies. Market.

RESUMO: O presente artigo procura explicitar o quadro de múltiplas relações entre as Políticas Públicas de Educação brasileiras e os interesses do grande Capital, tendo o mercado como seu artífice. Para tanto, são analisados documentos de organismos internacionais como Banco Mundial, a legislação brasileira pertinente à Educação, dialogando também com referenciais da Educação brasileira que procuram discutir tais imbricações entre Estado e Mercado. Assim, são organizadas duas subdivisões com a intencionalidade de discorrer, primeiramente, sobre as influências neoliberais na Educação durante os governos de Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva e Dilma Rousseff; e, em segundo momento, sobre a explicitação dos interesses do mercado no governo Temer. Por fim, argumenta-se contra a relação íntima entre Estado e Mercado, pensando os desdobramentos de tal ligação para as práticas docentes.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Educação. Políticas públicas. Mercado.

RESUMEN: El presente artículo busca explicitar el cuadro de múltiples relaciones entre las Políticas Públicas de Educación brasileñas y los intereses del gran Capital, teniendo el mercado como su artífice. Para ello, se analizan documentos de organismos internacionales como Banco Mundial, la legislación brasileña pertinente a la Educación, dialogando también con referenciales de la Educación brasileña que buscan discutir tales imbricaciones entre Estado y Mercado. Así, se organizan dos subdivisiones con la intencionalidad de discorrer, primero, sobre las influencias neoliberales en la Educación durante los gobiernos de Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva y Dilma Rousseff; y, en segundo momento, sobre la explicitación de los intereses del mercado en el gobierno Temer. Por último, se argumenta contra la relación íntima entre Estado y Mercado, pensando los desdoblamientos de tal vínculo para las prácticas docentes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Educación. Políticas públicas. Mercado.

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INTRODUCTION

When we set out to analyze educational processes and everyday teaching practices in Brazil, we come across several conditions that interfere in the development of educational practices whose quality has been socially referenced. In the field of Education, we often see researchers carrying out studies that question material conditions found in Education as a whole. They address not only general issues, such as the wrecking of teaching facilities, teachers' low pay and lack of investments in learning materials, but also specific topics which involve teachers, the school staff, the principal and the student body, besides the material conditions they have to deal with in the educational environment.

In the debate about Education, it is a consensus that the lack of financial resources – both public and private ones – strongly affects the quality of practices conducted in the class. In order to enable teachers to teach good classes and students to learn well, several priority themes must be addressed. They include qualified access to schools, adequate learning materials, comfortable clothing and even good meals, so as to develop effective study habits. All these issues, which may seem simple, have significant impacts on the quality of teaching and learning processes conducted in class. Taking into account the importance of such issues, their influence on the development of the educational process and how Brazilian public policies have dealt with them are subjects that must be discussed.

The importance of debating material constraints that pervade the educational process is related to the fact that the importance of questioning the material basis that enables the educational process to take place is brought up in the social debate again. This is the reason why it is fundamental to examine the funds reserved for Brazilian Education and try to find out why they have taken certain paths.

In order to expose these thoughts, this paper was divided into two sections which aim at better comprehending the moves in public policies on Education in Brazil and the neoliberal influences¹ embedded in them. The first section describes some moves in public policies adopted by Fernando Henrique Cardoso's, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's and Dilma Rousseff's governments so as to establish relations and divergences they had regarding the interests of the Capital. The second section reflects upon the relations of educational projects developed in Michel Temer's government and explains the direct relation among these policies and the interests of international organizations, the foreign capital and privatism.

The last section consists of final remarks that support the idea that there is an organic relation between some Brazilian public policies and the international interests of the Capital and relate their impact to teachers' work. Thus, we highlight the importance of the discussion about presuppositions which are imposed to teachers' practices.

Concerning its methodological processes, this paper aims at describing results of a bibliographical review which uses some references, such as Boito Junior (1998), Chauí (1999), Leher (1999) and Chaves (2010), who examine the field of Education, mainly public policies on funds applied to Education. In order to enrich the debate, some documents issued by international organizations (BANCO MUNDIAL, 1995; 1996), the legislation which was recurrent throughout the reading of references in the field of Education (BRASIL, 2005; 2010) and other more current and relevant documents (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2011; 2017; BRASIL, 2016; 2017; 2018) were included in the debate.

NEOLIBERAL INFLUENCE ON BRAZILIAN EDUCATION

Several Brazilian researchers committed themselves to establish an organic relation between funds reserved for Education and policies on Education in Brazil in the 1990's. They understood that strategies used for determining funds in Brazilian Education extrapolate the interests of Education itself, but are ruled by interests of the foreign capital, large industrial and media corporations and even international organizations that call themselves neutral entities. Leher (1999) analyzes neoliberal policies on Education, mainly the ones ruled by guidelines of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and shows their direct relation to public policies applied to Brazilian Education after the 1980's.

In the document entitled "Prioridades y estrategias para la educación", the World Bank (1996) develops an unprecedented move in its financial records, since it starts to consider some areas, such as health and Education, strategic ones to control the State. Leher (1999) points out that this move differs from the one that had been carried out so far as the institution's financial project. Before that, health and Education had been areas of little interest. From the 1980's on, mainly in the 1990's, they have been seen as important areas in the social control of States that have adhered with few, or almost none, restrictions to neoliberalism.

Such scenario does not constitute an exclusive moment in Fernando Henrique Cardoso's explicitly neoliberal government (FHC) (1995-2002) since it was also partially adopted by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's (2003 - 2011) and Dilma Rousseff's (2011-2016) governments. Besides, it has been revitalized by Michel Temer (2016 -). In the 1990's, federal higher Education institutions (Portuguese: Instituições Federais de Ensino Superior – IFES) and basic Education were affected by neoliberal public policies but, at the beginning of the 21st century, new public investments were made in Education (DAVIES, 2004; LIMA, 2011).

The implementation of both the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDBEN) no. 9.394/96 (BRASIL, 1996) and the Fund for the Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Teachers (FUNDEF) – which was instituted in 1996, regulated in 1997 and nationally implemented in January 1998 – was unusually positive in the range of investments in public Education in the 1990's. We have mentioned the peculiarity of such actions because they are important initiatives that value public Education in Brazil. The LDBEN, which was established in 1996, was the first large step to re-direct public Education, since, before that, it had been mostly regulated by the legislation created in the Brazilian dictatorship period. Under this law, the Brazilian State must make public investments in Education based on the mandatory minimum percentage, as ruled by clause no. 69, Law no. 9.394/96 (BRASIL, 1996). FUNDEF constitutes specific funds for Education financing by collecting resources from taxes and state transferences. This fund is important, not only because it ensures direct Education financing, but also because it is the key-parameter to carry out the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Teachers (FUNDEB)ⁱⁱ (BRASIL, 2006).

Such elements, which have been positively brought up in educational debates, did not compose the general framework that would represent FHC's government and the very beginning of the 21st century. This scenario would be partially modified in Silva's government, in which public investments in Education were resumed. A preliminary analysis shows great expansion of public Education in the governments led by the Workers' Party (PT). For instance, data issued by the Ministry of Education (MEC) (BRASIL, 2012) show increase in the number of federal universities and institutions, vacancies in higher Education, progressive hiring of professors, teachers and technicians and the number of cities with access to public higher Education.

However, besides the visible expansion of investments in public teaching, from 2003 to 2016, there was also a change which led to the inclusion of dialogues with social movements, civil organizations, professional categories in Education, Unions and the civil society in strategies for public Education in Brazil. An example is the implementation of Law no. 10.639, from January 2003, about Afro-Brazilian culture teaching (BRASIL, 2003) and its application, in accordance with Law no. 11.645, from March 2008 (BRASIL, 2008), which establishes that Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous culture teaching is mandatory in Brazilian curricula. Philosophy and Sociology teaching in High School was also made mandatory by Law no. 11.684, from June 2008 (BRASIL, 2008a), during the PT government.

Therefore, a superficial analysis shows that there was evident expansion and qualification in public Education in the PT governments, in terms of investments in both basic and higher Education and regarding inclusion of knowledge that had been discharged or lessened in Brazilian curricula. However, such situation does not hide the development of neoliberal

strategies which also remained in effect in these governments. Even though there was an expansionary project in Education, we could also perceive that the interests of the market, international organizations and large corporations were not affected; on the contrary, they were also the focus of the great expansion that Brazilian Education went through.

In agreement with the guidelines issued by the World Bank, we may observe that, in higher Education, for instance, projects which aimed at increasing the number of vacancies at higher Education institutions (IES) and their facilities started in 2004. Law no. 11.096, from January 2005, established the program called University for All (PROUNI), whose main objective was to grant full and partial scholarships to undergraduate students in private higher Education institutions, which may be either for-profit or nonprofit organizations (BRASIL, 2005). In April 2007, Decree no. 6.096 was promulgated. It instituted the program called Programa de Apoio a Planos de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais (REUNI), which aimed at creating conditions to enable access and permanence of undergraduate students in higher Education and better use of facilities and human resources available in federal universities (BRASIL, 2007). In January 2010, Law no. 12.202 was promulgated to carry out changes in funds for Brazilian students by the Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior (FIES), so as to grant funds to undergraduate students who are enrolled in paid higher Education courses (BRASIL, 2010).

Among several actions that enable us to analyze the scenario which shows the expansion in Brazilian public teaching, we chose the three programs mentioned in the previous paragraph because they illustrate close relations among educational strategies of Brazilian governments and guidelines issues by international organizations, such as the World Bank and the IMF (LIMA, 2011). This situation is evident not only because of direct investments of public resources in private higher Education institutions through programs such as PROUNI and FIES, but also due to circumstances that involve the expansion process triggered by REUNI, since new vacancies were offered in public higher Education and, simultaneously, requirements concerning both curricula and faculty organization were made. Therefore, it is clear that the move aims at injecting public resources into private business and at complying with international organizations' recommendations by re-adequating undergraduate courses and the ratio of professor to student.

Such situation is clear when we analyze data on public investment in the previously cited programs. In the analysis that encompasses the period between 2004 and 2014, Mendes (2015, p. 4) states that

the expansion of higher Education financing for students enrolled in private institutions should be highlighted. This program, which has been known as "Fundo de Financiamento Estudantil (FIES)" is the major one in federal investments in Education, except the ones in human resources. It used R\$ 13.8 billion in 2014 and

represented increase in 1,100% by comparison with 2004. It is 15% of the federal spending in Education.

According to Mendes (2015), in 2014, R\$ 601 million was passed on to private institutions by PROUNI. This type of subsidy, which is granted to the private sector, gets even more disturbing in the light of the following data:

Let us take FIES as an example. In just four years, from 2010 to 2014, costs of the program increased from R\$ 1.2 billion to 13.8 billion. Students and private institutions which were financed by the program increased much. Several institutions that were mainly financed by the resources of the program became strong businesses listed on the stock market (MENDES, 2015, p. 8).

A direct comparison enables us to focus on data on investments in the public sector in the period mentioned by Mendes (2015). From 2003 to 2014, when 18 new federal universities were opened and the number of vacancies and facilities in universities increased to a great extent, investments in public universities had not got close to funds given to private ones yet. For instance, public investments in federal universities added up to R\$ 8.8 billion in 2014 (MENDES, 2015).

Mendes' analysis (2015) also points out another problem of direct investment of public resources in private institutions: it is the financialization and international capitalization of private institutions in the educational sector. According to Chaves (2010, p. 491):

Besides merges, which have created giants in Education, "teaching companies" now open up in the stock market, aiming at more intense and uncontrollable expansion. There are four educational companies that point out in this market: Anhanguera Educacional S.A., whose headquarters is in São Paulo; Estácio Participações, which controls the Universidade Estácio de Sá, in Rio de Janeiro; Kroton Educacional, which belongs to the Rede Pitágoras, whose headquarters is in Minas Gerais; and SEB S.A., which is also known as "Sistema COC de Educação e Comunicação", whose headquarters is in São Paulo. It should be highlighted that a large part of the capital of these companies comes from foreign businesses, mainly North-American banks which invested in this sector and found a market that enables them to increase their profits.

We should emphasize that the data collected by the author show the financial potential of private teaching institutions. However, if such information seems startling in the scenario which shows that the Brazilian private teaching system financially dominates higher Education, the situation gets even worse in the light of updated data on the merger between both giants Kroton Educacional and Anhanguera Educacional S.A., authorized by the Conselho Administrativo de Defesa Econômica (CADE) in 2014. The scenario has not got worse because the CADE vetoed the merger between Kroton Educacional and Estácio Participações. Such veto resulted from the fact that the antitrust committee understood that the merger would give Kroton Educacional disproportionate domain in the private educational sector and prevent fair competition from happening.

The relation between guidelines of educational grants in Brazil and strategies of international organizations gets even clearer when the scenario of huge investments in the private sector and proposals of the World Bank in its publications are taken into consideration. In the document entitled “La enseñanza superior: Las lecciones derivadas de la Experiencia”, the World Bank highlights the importance of the private sector when it establishes that:

la introducción de una mayor diferenciación en la enseñanza superior, es decir, la creación de instituciones no universitarias y el aumento de instituciones privadas, puede contribuir a satisfacer la demanda cada vez mayor de educación postsecundaria y hacer que los sistemas de enseñanza se adecúen mejor a las necesidades del mercado de trabajo (BANCO MUNDIAL, 1995, p. 31).

The World Bank’s insistence on the need for education reforming countries which are considered “members” has been reinforced by several of its publications. They show that, even with global improvement in enrollment rates in both basic and higher Education, a learning crisis is going on. It is the new main concept of insertion strategies of the World Bank’s guidelines in national economies. The document entitled “Learning for all: investing in people’s knowledge and skills to promote development” states that:

in the domain of the World Bank Group, both the World Bank and the IMF shall work together to increase the knowledge about the role played by the private sector in Education and help countries create environments regarding policies and normative structures that align efforts of the private sector by means of international and national *strategic partnerships*, in order to improve the educational systems (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2011, p. 13, our emphasis).

Publications of the World Bank have shown strong concern for the importance of the private sector in the educational development of its partners, since it contributes to the development of both the home market, by qualifying the workforce, and the international economy, by adjusting national economies to the neoliberal ideology. Concerning this movement, Chauí states that:

the State reform has a basic ideological principle: the market has, therefore, socio-political rationality and is the main agent of welfare in the republic. This principle means that social rights (such as health, Education and culture) are placed in the sector of services defined by the market. Thus, the reform shrinks the democratic public space of rights and broadens private space, not only where it would be predictable – in activities connected to economic production – but also where it is not acceptable – in the field of previously conquered social rights (CHAUÍ, 1999, p. 3).

Such scenario, i. e., the organic relation between Brazilian Education and the interests of the market and international organizations was explicitly encouraged by FHC’s government, and in PT governments – Silva’s and Rousseff’s ones –, such relation was also advantageous to the foreign capital, the market and such organizations. Previously shown data on values granted to the private sector clearly expose benefits given to it by Brazilian governments.

However, in order to contextualize the political and educational scenario, it should be considered that, indirectly, such governments differ in terms of investments in public teaching. Rates of basic schooling and access to higher Education in PT governments are undeniable. Besides, these governments resumed some issues of political guidance which are slightly different from the neoliberal ideology.

Even though we consider the priority of private investments in Brazilian Education in the last decades, we may notice that IES and basic Education have developed much. Due to events that occurred at the end of the PT governments and the strong world financial crisis, the scenario of Brazilian public Education had to undergo successive cost cutting which started in Rousseff's government and was broadly applied and defended by Temer's government.

TEMER'S GOVERNMENT AND THE ELUCIDATION OF MARKET INTERESTS IN BRAZILIAN EDUCATION

The analysis that we have carried out so far could make our reasoning follow the multiple relations between Temer's government and the demands of the financial market and international organizations. We have already stated that no government in the last decades – including FHC's, Silva's and Rousseff's governments – may be considered abnormal regarding public teaching valorization, to the detriment of the private sector. Therefore, we could certainly keep describing Temer's government movement with similar arguments to the ones we have used so far. However, in the light of Temer's government's explicit actions which aim at weakening public Education, we think that a special section of the paper should deal with the public policies that have been adopted since mid-2016.

One of Temer's government's first actions showed how Education would be treated in his term: he invalidated the members of the National Education Council (CNE) that had been called by the previous president. One of Rousseff's last administrative acts was the call of CNE councilors who had been recommended by groups of the civil society, Unions, representatives of institutions connected to Education and federal teachers/professors, in agreement with triple lists sent by these institutions. Even though 12 out of 24 CNE positions (4-year terms) could be chosen by the president, recommendations made by social movements had been respected. In June 2016, Temer revokes that council and imposes a new arrangement to the CNE (BRASIL, 2016).

The importance of this act lies not only in the obvious respect for the arrangement that is recommended by social movements and civil organizations, but also in the major role that this council plays in the development of the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), as explicitly specified by the LDBEN in 1996. Since the BNCC is responsible for choosing the

contents that are taught in basic Education, it has become the target of several public and private interests.

Changes in policies on Education carried out by Temer's government are absolutely favorable to the interests of international organizations, mainly the World Bank. The analysis of some fast changes implemented by this government shows that there are coincidences between them and the conceptions of the World Bank, both in previously cited documents and in other guidelines that were specifically developed for Brazil.

Several publications issued by the World Bank (1995; 2011) determine that member countries must carry out reforms and adjustments in their educational systems. The Brazilian government asked the World Bank to work on a report – publicized in November 2017 – which accurately exposes plans that should be developed by the country in order to stabilize the national economy, achieve the fiscal goals and reach surplus development (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2017). In the document “A Fair Adjustment: Efficiency and Equity of Public Spending in Brazil”, the World Bank Group points out actions that must be developed by the Brazilian State to reach fiscal balance. The study recommends actions in several areas, such as public service, social assistance, social security, health and Education.

Regarding Education, three prior axes in the reform are analyzed: the first axis refers to public spending with Elementary and High Schools, the second axis deals with the fact that 25% of the city income should be assigned to Education and the third one refers to the inefficiency in public spending with higher Education (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2017). Concerning the first axis:

Inefficiency in Elementary and High Schools has been mainly related to the excessive number of teachers. About 39% of inefficiency in spending with Education in Brazil are associated with low student-teacher ratios (STR). If all schools reached their limits of performance, Brazil could increase the number of students per teacher in 33% in Elementary School and in 44% in High School. Alternatively, decrease in the number of teachers, considering the current number of students, would represent savings of about R\$ 22 billion (0.33% of the GDP), i. e., R\$ 17 billion in Elementary School and R\$ 5 billion in High School (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2017, p. 129).

As mentioned before, the efficient student-teacher ratio is one the main measures recommended by the World Bank. This fact should be highlighted since, on one hand, there are certainly several teachers who work fewer hours than the number of working hours that was established by the public contest they took. On the other hand, a significant number of teachers faces a very different scenario in their routine. In both Elementary and High Schools, we often find classes with about 20 students.

However, in higher Education, it is very common to find courses which offer a hundred vacancies through the Unified Selection System (SISU). For instance, we can check the list of vacancies that federal universities published at the end of 2017. In the case of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande (FURG), the list of vacancies published in its site ranges from 10 vacancies in Countryside Education to 100 vacancies in Accounting Sciences (FURG, 2017). Similarly, the Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL) ranges from 7 vacancies in Music to 132 ones in Law (UFPEL, 2017). As opposed to data provided by the World Bank, it seems to us that full classes in basic and higher Education are common in Brazilian educational processes.

Another topic that is highlighted by the World bank in the document that debates the fiscal adjustment of the Brazilian State refers to spending that the Constitution connects to the area of Education. Regarding this issue, the World Bank points out that:

Entailing spending in Education to 25% of city income also contributes to spending inefficiency. Richer cities, with high net income per student, tend to be less efficient than poorer cities. Therefore, it is likely that, in order to comply with constitutional rules, many rich cities must pay for items that may not improve learning processes. [...] Besides, this extra spending is not always necessary, since it does not result in better learning. The consequence is more increase in inefficiency (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2017, p. 130-131).

Arguments introduced by this document show that advances conquered by social movements and civil organizations regarding minimum percentages of investment in Education have become, from the neoliberal perspective, solutions for the fiscal imbalance of the Brazilian State. In the document, it is also clear that extra costs of public spending do not necessarily result in better learning. We wholeheartedly agree with it. On the contrary, it seems to us that the cut of financial resources – called disinvestment in the financial market – does not contribute to socially needed learning levels since, due to visible wreckage of school facilities, some even use industrial materials, such as containers, to meet the demand for new classrooms. Thus, suggesting the disconnection between the minimum investment means that many teaching institutions cannot be maintained.

The third axis mentioned by the World Bank refers to public spending in higher Education and compares spending averages of federal universities and state and private ones. According to the document:

On average, by comparison with a student who attends a private university, a student enrolled in a federal university in Brazil costs double or triple. From 2013 to 2015, the average annual cost per student in private non-profit and for-profit universities was about R\$ 12,600 and R\$ 14,850, respectively. In federal universities, the average was R\$ 40,900. Public state universities cost less than federal ones but are also more expensive than private ones, since each student costs about R\$ 32,200. The cost per student in federal institutions – most were opened after 2008 – is about R\$ 27,850 (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2017, p. 131).

The document also ponders on the added value of public and private teaching by specifying that data analyzed by the World Bank are based mainly on the ones provided by the students' national evaluation called the Exame Nacional de Desempenho dos Estudantes (ENADE). Even with the reflection on the added value enabled by public and private institutions to students' development, there is no problematization of the efficacy of evaluation methods applied by both the government and the World Bank.

The analysis based on the cost of student in either public or private institution does not take into account all structures available in public higher Education institutions which offer educational, cultural, political and economic practices not only to students enrolled in graduate and post-graduate programs, but also to the community where they are located. Thus, they enable the community to access cultural activities which are not provided by cities and states. We believe that it is one of the multiple possibilities of analyzing the positive impact caused by public IES on their contexts. Besides the obvious insertion of graduate and post-graduate programs, there are few cases of private IES which show such capillarity in their communities. Increase in the number of online and semi-presential courses offered by private teaching institutions is also a factor that keeps the distance between them and the community.

The report of the Brazilian fiscal adjustment establishes that issues of high impact have been neglected in the debate, to the detriment of unrestricted defense of interests of the foreign capital, international corporations, private institutions and the neoliberal ideology. The adjustment is also mentioned by the World Bank (2017) as an urgent issue so that the fiscal balance of the Brazilian State can be found. An assertive movement of Temer's government in relation to the recommendations of the report issued by the World Bank is the Constitutional Amendment no. 95, from December 2016 (BRASIL, 2016a) which limits public spending. It is also known as the PEC of Spending Limits and clearly shows that the government meets the interests of the Capital.

We can also perceive the organic relation between the government's interests and the ones of the private sector in other measures taken by Temer's government. For instance, the presidential veto to the budget of goals of the National Education Plan – veto no. 277 from 2017 (BRASIL, 2017). It also agrees with Decree no. 9,262 from January 9th, 2018 (BRASIL, 2018), which eliminated several public positions which are needed for public Education, such as pedagogues, geographers, researchers and technicians in educational issues, in different areas of public services.

Such actions seem to be evidences of the neoliberal ideology adopted by Temer's government. As we have highlighted throughout the development of this paper, such ideology was not only adopted by Temer's government, but also by governments which express

support to neoliberal dynamics less explicitly. We also observed that, in general, public Education has suffered due to cut of financial resources and recent fiscal adjustments.

FINAL REMARKS

This paper aimed at supporting the idea that there is an organic relation between what is taking place in the Education as a whole and the interests of the market arisen by the Capital, the private sector, large companies, educational and media corporations and other influences that affect Education. With this argument, we aimed at showing that structural issues have become prior elements in teaching practices. Thus, teaching, which is a part of Education, is not unnoticed by these interests; as a result, teachers' practices encompass some consequences that these structural elements impose to what they do in class.

We mean that what we do in class, what teachers do in different areas, has been strongly conditioned by interests which are not explicit in teachers' everyday work. It is obvious that interests which influence educational practices are those of students, teachers, the management staff and the school community. However, how can we explain the influence of other elements that hide in our class practices? How can we plan and teach a good class with great references in the area of Education and conduct reflexive, critical and independent debates, if we are not sure that students have physical conditions to be in class, considering the burden many of them have to face? How can we assess the "success" of classes taught by teachers who face low pay, lack of professional stability and devaluation given to the area of Human Sciences in Brazilian curricula, besides their everyday life burden?

We know that such questions challenge our ability to answer them, given the magnitude of these elements in debates on Education. However, we think that it is fundamental to take them into consideration so that the elements they bring up should always be pondered in the evaluation of activities – successful and unsuccessful ones – in educational practices. It means that we disagree with the amount of individualistic criticism against teachers' performance and with the belief that they are the only persons who are responsible for what is satisfactory and unsatisfactory in class.

Such arguments do not mean that we disregard teachers' inherent responsibilities. After all, we know that we are extremely important in the production of knowledge and critical and reflexive behavior in class. However, we should also point out that blaming teachers for problems in Brazilian Education is not fair, given the influences we have exposed in our arguments in the three topics developed by this paper.

Finally, we believe that relations between public policies on Brazilian Education and the interests of the market and the Capital affect educators' practices immensely. Such relation demands certain teaching practices and may often make teachers yield good planning and activities but, even so, they may not reach satisfactory development in their practices.

We aimed at explaining throughout the development of this paper that material elements imposed by the bond between the State and the market affects educational practices directly, hence, teachers' work. We understand that this relation gets more evident because teaching practices involve not only teacher-student dynamics but also several pedagogical issues.

Teachers' planning is related to the contents that need to be taught, the final objectives of our practices, the themes that need to be intertwined and other pedagogical commitments we take over in the teaching process. Their organization is also directly related to several documents, studies and legislation – that guide what should be done in school–, whose production is based on the society's multiple interests. In this case, interests of sectors of the society which are aligned with the Capital are highlighted.

At the beginning of this paper, we mentioned that several approaches could be developed. However, our effort led to the explanation of neoliberal interests in Education as a whole since we see the way that connects the interests of public policies and teachers' everyday work. Therefore, our focus was to show that these interests, even though they may seem far from teaching practices, are part of our routine when, for instance, we choose certain contents and methodologies and when we establish relations with our students. Due to Economics and Politics, these relations may get increasingly superficial.

Because we understand the organicity and strength of the bond among what is carried out in class, in Education as a whole and macroeconomic interests, we support the need to resume a study, as complex as possible, of this relation as a principle of educational practices.

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FOOTNOTES

ⁱWe referred to the terms “neoliberal/neoliberalism” several times throughout the paper. In order to characterize them, we looked for subsidies in the Marxist literature: “contemporary neoliberal ideology is essentially economic liberalism which values the market, competition and freedom of entrepreneurship, but aggressively rejects State intervention in Economy, in a generic and vague way. This economic liberalism is different from political liberalism, interested in a citizen’s individual rights and a political regimen which is representative and adequate to the exercise of those rights. Neoliberal ideology resumes the old bourgeois economic way, generated at the dawn of capitalism, and operates this discourse in new conditions” (BOITO JUNIOR, 1998, p. 16), or can be supported “[...] in four different but intimately related ways: as a set of ideas inspired in Economy schools from Austria and Chicago and in the German *ordo* liberalism, and created under the aegis of the Mont Pelerin Society; as a set of policies, practices and institutions inspired and/or validated by these ideas; as a class offensive led by the State against workers and the poor, in the name of the bourgeoisie in general or finances in particular; and as a material structure of economic, social and political reproduction, implying that neoliberalism is the way contemporary capitalism exists or an accumulation system” (SAAD FILHO, 2015, p. 59).

ⁱⁱThe FUNDEB differs from the FUNDEF, mainly regarding resource allocation which constitutes the fund. Resources from the FUNDEF used to aim at basic Education but, after the creation of the FUNDEB, it also incorporated early childhood Education and High School.

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