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The Cicada Announces the Fire of the Brazilian Public School: Analysis of the Era of Privatizing Guidelines

Alisson Slider do Nascimento de Paula

Centro Universitário Inta
Brazil

Frederico Jorge Ferreira Costa

Universidade Estadual do Ceará
Brazil



Kátia Regina Rodrigues Lima

Universidade Regional do Cariri
Brazil

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Abstract: This text seeks to analyze the privatization guidelines both globally and at the local level and their deployment in public basic education in Brazil. For that, a bibliographic and documentary study was used, using only public domain. It is possible to

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diagnose the double movement of endo and exprivatization carried out in the educational panorama of Brazil, especially through the insertion of large business groups, as well as the reforms undertaken to put into operation the privatization agenda of public basic education. It is observed that the insertion of the private sector into the spaces of human formation reverberate metamorphoses, including that of the social function of the school institution, since it incorporates a link with the business and financial logic and, consequently, will facilitate a loss of the public sense of education as a social right.

Keywords: privatization; public education; guidelines

La cigarra anuncia el incendio de la escuela pública brasileña: Análisis de la era de las pautas de privatización

Resumen: El presente texto busca analizar las directrices privatizadoras tanto en ámbito global como en el ámbito local y su desdoblamiento en la educación básica pública en Brasil. Para ello, se recurrió a un estudio bibliográfico y documental, utilizando sólo sobre dominio público. Es posible diagnosticar el doble movimiento de endo y exprivatización efectuado en el panorama educativo de Brasil en especial a través de la inserción de grandes grupos empresariales, así como de las reformas emprendidas para poner en operación la agenda de la privatización de la educación básica pública. Se constata que la inserción del sector privado y mercantil en los espacios de formación humana reverberan metamorfosis, incluso, en la función social de la institución escolar, pues ésta incorpora una vinculación con la lógica empresarial y financiera y, consecuentemente, será engendrado el vaciamiento del sentido público de educación como derecho social.

Palabras-clave: privatización; educación pública; pautas

A cigarra anuncia o incêndio da escola pública brasileira: Análise da era das diretrizes privatizadoras

Resumo: O presente texto busca analisar as diretrizes privatizadoras tanto em âmbito global como no âmbito local e seus desdobramentos na educação básica pública no Brasil. Para tanto, recorreu-se a um estudo bibliográfico e documental, utilizando apenas acerca de domínio público. É possível diagnosticar o duplo movimento de endo e exprivatização efetuado no panorama educativo do Brasil em especial através da inserção de grandes grupos empresariais, bem como das reformas empreendidas para pôr em operação a agenda da privatização da educação básica pública. Constata-se que a inserção do setor privado e mercantil nos espaços de formação humana reverberam metamorfoses, inclusive, na função social da instituição escolar, pois esta incorpora uma vinculação com a lógica empresarial e financeira e, consecuentemente, será engendrado o esvaziamento do sentido público de educação como direito social.

Palavras-chave: privatização; educação pública; diretrizes

Introduction

The title of the text refers to the phrase of Dalton Trevisan¹: “the cicada announces the burning of a red rose.” Here we understand that the cicada announces the fire of the public character of the Brazilian public basic education from a movement linked to the logic of globalization that can be reverberated in a double movement: exo and endoprivatization. In addition, it understands that the models of privatization of basic education are not exact to those developed by the central nations; however, the various policies that were influenced by the broader movement of capital, thus make it possible to process privatization projects for public education.

The state apparatus at the service of capital metamorphoses education into a business. However, from the modifications made in the constitutional text and the guidelines established and proposed for Brazilian education, it was noticed that it was not a question of attending to the educational aspirations of the popular sectors. However, it was a question of the need to extract profits from both the sale of educational services, as well as transfers of public resources to the private sector, or even the deployment of private management in the public sector. In Brazil, this logic had become feasible from the well-known public-private partnerships.

In this sense, the present text seeks to analyze the privatizing guidelines at both the global and local levels and their deployment in public basic education in Brazil. For that, a bibliographic and documentary study was used, using only public domain. With this, we discuss the conditionalities of globalization and its neoliberal rationality for the reordering of the State, the constitution of the political and legal body, and its significance for Brazilian high school.

The Logic of Globalization and the Adjustment Neoliberal Base Structure

International organizations act as the arm of financial capital in its policy of borrowing resources. Although we understand the operative logic of these organisms, it is crucial to analyze their origins so that it is feasible to get closer to the constitution of the linkage of international organisms with the educational policy of the peripheral national states.

It was at the Bretton Woods Conference held in the United States in 1944 that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB)² were created to rebuild the European economy in the post-war II. This goal, linked to the Marshall Plan in 1947, conditioned the World Bank to become an organization aimed at fostering the development of countries. However, from 1956 onwards, the World Bank started to operate with loans directly to developing nations, especially Latin America. In these circumstances, the educational sector, as of 1960, becomes the new focus for this organism, especially when it comes to technical readjustment. Table 1 summarizes the progress of financial and technical assistance.

¹ Dalton Jerson Trevisan, was a Brazilian writer, considered the master of the story. Throughout his life he won several titles, including, was winner of the Camões Award for 2012, for the set of his work.

² The World Bank will play a major role in the orientation of higher education policies in Brazil. Therefore, we must refer to its genesis: “Created in 1944 in the wake of post-World War II institutional capitalist restructuring, the World Bank Group in fact, it is a multilateral credit institution, made up of seven institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA), which forms what is effectively known by the World Bank; the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), the International Center for Conciliation of Investment Disputes (CICDI), the World Bank Institute (IBI) and the Inspection Panel” (Bastos & Rocha, 2015, p. 2).

During that time, the World Bank published some documents that were strictly related to the education sector of the peripheral countries. The conceptions advocated in the documents stimulate the promotion of basic education, in addition to emphasizing the managerial responsibility of the private-commercial sector; to link the didactic-pedagogical activities with the Technologies of Innovation and Communication (TICs), among others.

Table 1

The progress of the IBRD lending policy

Phases	Bank policies
1945-1956	Concentration of loans (65%) in Western Europe for reconstruction and increased trade.
1956-1968	Participation in the process of industrialization in Latin America, especially infrastructure (energy, telecommunications and transportation).
1968-1980	Fight against poverty and misery. Prioritization of projects in the agricultural and educational areas, especially of a technical nature. Plenty of resources from petrodollars and an increase in the external debt of developing countries.
1980-1994	Beginning of the "policy-based credit" policy to promote macroeconomic adjustment policies. Investments to alleviate social tensions. Cross-conditionality practice.
1994-2005	Stage of the "Post adjustment" with the so-called second generation reforms: fiscal, educational, institutional deregulation, economic opening, privatization and social programs aimed at the poorest sections of the population. Sustainable development.

Source: Borges (2010, p. 368).

With the BM's focus on educational policy in peripheral countries, Leher (2004) reiterates that, in the 1960s, the then Vice President of the World Bank, Robert Gardner, did not consider it significant to lend financial resources for education and health, for the fact that the institution is a bank. However, from the management of Woods (1963-1968) and later on McNamara's, education stood out among the priorities of the World Bank. The author considers that

In the 1970s, this institution considered funding for primary and secondary schools of general education to be nonsense, defending technical and vocational education, modalities considered more suited to the (presumed) needs of developing countries. At the neoliberal turn of the 1980s, the educational orientation of the Bank suffered an inflection towards elementary education. The previous orientation was then strongly attacked as voluntarist and costly. In the 1990s, the neoliberal inflection not only remains valid as it is radicalized. (Leher, 2004, p. 151)

For the realization of such rationality in the Brazilian reality it would be necessary to deploy a structural adjustment based on the precepts of globalization. Ball (2001) adds that in the logic of globalization, the constitution and implementation of policies based on the rationality of international organizations can engender a kind of new paradigm of educational governance, contemplated by the logic of policy convergence (Dolowitz, Hulme, Nellis & Neill, 2000). From this understanding, Ball (2001, p. 100) considers that process is about the

[...] gradual disappearance of the conception of specific policies of the Nation State in the economic, social and educational fields and, at the same time, the coverage of all these fields in a single conception of policies for the economic competitiveness,

that is, the increasing abandonment or marginalization (not in terms of rhetoric) of the social purposes of education.

In addition, it can be understood that education, in this context, is progressively at the mercy of “normative prescriptions and assumptions of economism and the type of culture in which the school exists and can exist” (Lingard, Ladwig & Luke, 1998, p. 84). This understanding is articulated to the slogan of the learning policy that, thus, promoting the irradiation of concepts such as knowledge society, knowledge economy, lifelong learning, etc., representing the deepening of the colonization of educational policies by the imperatives of logic economic development.

In this sense, the logic of globalization conditions the movement of educational policies. Ball (2001, p. 101) considers that

The essence of the thesis of globalization rests on the question of the future of the National State as a cultural and political entity. This thesis is articulated through four strongly interrelated perspectives that refer respectively to economic, political, cultural and social transformation. In the case of the first two, the central question is whether, in the context of global economic transformation, individual nation states retain their ability to conduct and manage their own economies in the face of the power of "uprooted" multinational corporations, the flow and influx of global financial market and the expansion of modern industrial production.

Harvey (1996), however, points out the need to recognize the phenomenon known as globalmania, since the thesis of globalization is now used to explicitly justify the contexts of contemporary politics. However, the issue of cross-country policy conditionalities should be analyzed in detail. In the particularity of the Brazilian national state, the World Bank presents a logic of internationalization of the ideas that underlie the constitution of educational policies for public basic education.

However, in order to effect these metamorphoses it would be essential to make a structural adjustment that took account of the ideological and political demands that globalization advocated. The core of the World Bank's policy for dependent social formations, that is, the reordering of the state in Brazil began in the 1990s and still exists today. This happened in a broad process of privatization of social services that until then were exclusive to the state. In addition, these social services include the educational sector.

The process of reform of the Brazilian State is divided into four phases: the first corresponds to the governments Fernando Collor/Itamar Franco (1990-1994); the second refers us to the mandate of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002); the third concerns the PT governments: Lula da Silva/Dilma Rousseff (2003-2016) and; the fourth stage is the government Michel Temer (ongoing).

The phase that corresponds to the governments Fernando Collor/Itamar Franco, advocated a “supposed” fiscal crisis of the state apparatus due to its direct intervention in the resolution of social conflicts, thus highlighting a solution to the crisis, the state should position itself to the maximum for capital and minimally for work (Paulo Netto, 1993). Lima adds that this logic expands to a set of actions that "go from the privatization of state-owned enterprises (strategic sectors of the national economy) to the deregulation of social and labor rights."

Regarding the government of FHC, its stage was made through the rationality of the Master Plan of State Reform of the Ministry of State Reform Administration (PDRE/MARE). Lima (2012) analyzing this process considers that:

The consequences of this managerial logic in the work of public servants are evident. When the PDRE divides the state into sectors, it reorganizes the work of federal public servants in the following sense: in the nucleus or strategic sector (Legislative and Judiciary Branch, Public Prosecutor's Office, and in the Executive Branch, to the President of the Republic), occupying it with highly competent and well-paid public servants, identified as the ethos of the public service. In the nucleus of exclusive activities of the State (basic social security, taxation, fiscalization, justice, diplomacy and public security) it implements a managerial type administration through the professionalization of the servers and a statutory regime associated with the server position. (Lima, 2012, p. 442)

In this context, the non-exclusive services of the State³ were exploited by the private-commercial sector through management contracts and had as regulatory agent the State itself, which in turn acted "configuring social organizations as entities of a non- state, the servers will have their careers built from the logic of performance/productivity evaluation" (Lima, 2012, p. 443). The result of this process was the stimulation of voluntary dismissal, freezing of wages, feasibility of contracting civil servants in the public service, performance evaluation linked to the logic of gratification, thus diluting the principle of parity and isonomy. With this, there was a reconfiguration of the career of the federal civil servants who carried out their functions in the non-exclusive sectors of the State.

In the petistas, Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff (2003-2016) governments respectively, the conception of the neoliberal reordering of the state was based on three aspects: I) the dismantling of the boundaries between the public and private realized by means of the Public Private Partnerships ; II) the reorganization and implementation of new forms of management of the work of federal employees through the pension reform; III) the implementation of management contracts.

The fourth phase, underway, is administered by the Temer government. It is an ultraliberal government, from the outset (in 2016) carried out an administrative reform in the ministries, changing, in this way, its *modus operandi*⁴. It approved the ceiling on public spending⁵, freezing the Union's investments for 20 years, expressing a perverse threat to Brazilian society, especially regarding basic rights such as health, education and security. It has made cuts in social programs; dismantlement for workers through labor reform; implemented the reform of secondary education by widening the gap between public and private schools, as well as the reorganization of the National Curricular Common Base (BNCC), which incorporates the intentions of international organizations in terms of professionalization through the formation of training paths, curriculum of the base, with the document published by the World Bank in partnership with the National Confederation of Industry (CNI) in 2010 entitled "Industry and Brazil: an agenda for growing more and better", in which the basic education and the need for the formation of the Brazilian workforce. "Basic education is the basis of the human resources training process. In order to learn a profession

³ We list here: museums, technical schools, research centers and universities.

⁴ According to Bitencourt (2017, s.p.), "Rights-binders that promote the country's growth and development to secure its future and the maintenance of its sovereignty have been altered. In the reform, the Special Women's Secretariat was terminated, the Ministry of Social Development was associated with the Ministry of Finance - treating public welfare as a tax issue - the Ministry of Economic Development was precarious and the Science and Technology to Communication - reducing the strategic importance and relevance of both sectors".

⁵ It is Constitutional Amendment 95, dated December 15, 2016. This amendment changes the act of transitional constitutional provisions to establish the New Fiscal Regime. We will put more emphasis on your analysis in the next chapters.

and to follow technological changes one must have acquired a good capacity for reading, mathematics, interpretation and logical reasoning "(World Bank/CNI, 2008, p. 153). In these circumstances, we understand that from the recommendations of the WB and the Brazilian structural adjustment, a fertile soil is created for the private-commercial expansion of Brazilian basic education. In addition, the conditionalities of the dilution of public-private boundaries in the United States and other central national states shape the logic of globalization and privatization policies in Brazil.

Political-Juridical Panorama of the Endoprivatization and Exoprivatization of Brazilian Basic Education

The fiscal adjustment measures arising from the reordering of the state apparatus permeate the popular front governments (Lula and Dilma, respectively). However, in these governments, several policies are seen as focalist and compensatory. At the beginning of the government Fear the conception of austerity returns reverberando, consequently, diminution in the public budget. In view of the economic crises, especially since the 1970s, it is understood that government policies have an underlying content that contributes to the private-market agenda.

According to Gawryszewski, Motta and Putzke (2017, p. 730), "in the field of education, specifically on the issue of private management of public schools, we consider that the private-commercial agenda has already taken on a public dimension, at least since the last decade, with initiatives on an experimental basis". In fact, the corporate agenda for the privatization of public education is, if not only, in the United States of America, but there is a strong and expansive indication of the private management of public schools.

In the North American context, privatization of the education sector erupted in the 1990s. Adrião (2014, p. 271) understand as "the era of privatization", in which the main features in the USA are: "contracting out; vouchers or choice. Deregulation of schools and volunteering". In addition, these characteristics concern the substitution of the state supply of basic materials for the maintenance of the school service; "Reduction of the district's requirements on the curricular design or on ways of hiring the professionals and, finally, the stimulation to volunteer work as an action to complement the school activities".

In addition, the models of private management of public schools have been a great trend radiated in several countries (Japan, Chile, Mexico, France, consolidated, especially in the USA). This type of privatization took place in a context of neoliberal rise and implementation of austere measures stemming from the economic stagnation of the 1990s and political instabilities (Gawryszewski, Motta & Putzke, 2017). In the quest to attend to the Greeks and Trojans, that is, to contribute to the treatment of public school education based on the demand of the popular sectors and, contradictorily, contribute to supplement the privatist agenda, it was necessary to implement educational policies that could restore political stability and direct the training of working youth to consolidate a more competitive social organization, thus creating an educational market.

According to Gawryszewski, Motta & Putzke, (2017), the discourse of greater efficiency in the private sector becomes a subterfuge for intervention in public basic education. recurrent fiscal crises engender a series of obstacles for the educational service to be offered with satisfaction.

According to the authors mentioned above,

The supposed need for greater agility and efficiency in administering education networks is also anchored in the argument that privatization of management would leverage the guarantee of the "right to learn", allowing the poor to have an education of the same quality as the elite and breaking the segregation of classes and groups of

social minorities, choosing schools that obtain better results in the evaluation processes. In other words, the private management of the public school would stimulate competition between schools and against traditional public schools, which, because of a natural spontaneous order, would stimulate greater attention of the whole educational system, thus generating, more quality in learning. (Gawryszewski, Motta, Putzke, 2017, p. 735)

With the crises of the capitalist system, especially the one set off in 1970, it drives capital to seek new markets that are characterized as solutions to its crises. In this context, the educational area is a highly profitable niche for the economic sector, especially when it comes to countries with a significant population with low levels of education, this scenario conditions education as a strategic sector, mainly because it plays an essential role in class formation worker. This popular sector must also develop particular skills demanded by the market.

It is worth noting that the three most important modalities in the US are: Vouchers or Choice; Charters Schools and Educational Management Organization (EMO). Regarding each type of privatization, Mathis (2008) states that the first corresponds to the possibility of the freedom of a family to choose a school in which it evaluates more appropriate, while the State should guarantee the permanence of their children. The second modality concerns private institutions that receive public resources and allow free access; Finally, the third modality deals with the EMO in which it designs the concept that private management is more efficient. It is characterized, therefore, through the creation of charters by companies, emphasizing that in specific cases charter school networks are constituted.

It was in 1992 that the first charter school was opened in the United States in the city of Minnesota. Nowadays, about 6% of US schools are run by a private organization, which corresponds to about 2.9 million students in 6,723 school units. In addition, Robertson (2015) states that in counties with more than 40% of public school students enrolled in charter schools are Detroit, New Orleans, and Washington.

The motivation that drives EMO, for Gawryszewski, Motta & Putzke (2017)

It is the possibility of accumulating capital. Since 1999, the number of EMOs that run public schools in the United States has grown 328%, rising from 360 to 1,541 units in 2009 [...]. With the strengthening of the EMOs, a corporate chain was established that operates in US soil. According to the Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO), a research institute linked to Stanford University, there would currently be 38 EMOs in the country that control at least 3 school units each. The growth of charter schools, particularly in the form of education management chains (CMOs and EMOs), is linked to the strong influence of private foundations of large corporations, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (Microsoft), the Walton Family Foundation (Walmart supermarket chain), the Eli & Edythe Broad Foundation (real estate branch) and the Michael & Susan Dell Foundation (Dell, IT company), plus think tanks supporters, billionaires as the company's Chief Executive Officer Netflix, Reed Hastings, and the political factions themselves in charge of the spheres of government in the United States. (p. 737)

Foster (2013) called this type of practice executed by these foundations of “philanthropicism”, since their donations are directed to selected investments that guarantee a qualitative return on the proposed purpose. By way of example, Gawryszewski, Motta & Putzke (2017, p. 738)

Eli Broad's investment plans totaling \$ 490 million were reported for construction of 260 new charter schools in Los Angeles; the Walton family has announced

investments in the order of 200 million dollars in the next years; and Netflix CEO Reed Hastings announced that he would create a philanthropic foundation with his name investing \$ 100 million in Silicon Valley. Faced with so much investment by large corporations, it was hoped that it would enhance the levels of performance defined in the large-scale evaluations instituted by the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001.

This scenario reinforces the conception of exprivatization⁶ of Brazilian public basic education. Indeed, these conditionalities are characteristic of the International Labor Division, which gains ground in the notion of globalization of the economy in which political and ideological directives are radiated from the nation states from the center to the capitalist periphery. In effect, the countries of dependent capitalism (Fernandes, 1975) incorporate these orientations in function of the financial game proper to the global system of capital. In these circumstances, the peripheral countries are positioned in the logic of importers of policies, in this case privatization policies.

In Brazil, this movement also has another dimension, which can be characterized by the idea of endoprivatization⁷, since the local government undertakes and constitutes a policy that corresponds to the national educational reality. In fact, the local business class itself has its own interests, although conciliatory with international ones, seeking beyond the evident extraction of profits, also the constitution of a consensus from pedagogical programs linked to hegemonic rationality.

For the Brazilian business sectors, combating low enrollment rates becomes a slogan in their speeches.

In the evaluation of the entrepreneurial class, the dramatic indexes of mass schooling in the peripheral countries indicated the need for changes in human formation in both the technical and the ethico-political aspects to ensure the consolidation of capitalism in its new phase. Expanding access to school education for the preparation of men and women for the new century, even under restricted parameters, has become a requirement to be faced by the forces of capital. (Silva, 2008, p. 3)

This panorama connects with the logic of exprivatization when we identify the All for Education Movement as the subject that heads the logic of the endoprivatization of Brazilian basic education. The general guidelines for this movement were generated at the World Congress of Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as its coordinating body. The World Declaration of Education for All, organized by the World Bank, these international events aimed at discussing issues related to the educational sector, besides being chancelados by these organisms, become a reference to denote the current paths of the popular sectors from the formation school.

In this context, large groups linked to financial capital have been incorporating and expanding their ownership networks in the education sector. The most recent was Saber⁸ to

⁶ It refers to global conditionalities that make it possible, at the local level, to transform the state public school into a private institution that competes in the market for students and grants.

⁷ It consists of something internal, that is, autonomous creations, although with transactional corporations behind, of several companies that offer educational services, for example, resolution of curricular, pedagogical, maintenance problems.

⁸ Saber is the holding company that is directed to the basic education market and will bring together Kroton's current businesses in this market, including education and contract systems.

announce the purchase of the Lato Sensus School, which operates throughout the basic education of the State of Amazonas. In April 2018, when Saber was announced by Kroton, it was, in the same sense, announced the acquisition of the Leonardo Da Vinci Educational Center, in the State of Espírito Santo. It is worth noting that the Lato Sensus College has four educational units in Manaus, and one in the city of Rio Branco, in the State of Acre. It has a universe of 3,806 students, this institution is one of those that obtains the highest pass in the National High School Examination (ENEM) in Brazil. In addition, Kroton also announced the acquisition of Somos Educação approved, including, without restrictions by the Administrative Council of Economic Defense (CADE). This deal cost about 4.566 billion reais.

This privatizing rationality is feasible in function of the political and juridical framework that was constituted in the process of state reform. The modifications suffered by the constitutional text in function of the Constitutional Amendment n. 19/1998 which inserted elements for a New Public Management. Adrião (2014, p. 265) states that

the regulatory framework that followed EC-19 forms the mechanisms that allow and induce the privatization of public education. We speak especially of Federal Law n. 9,790 of 1999, regulated by Federal Decree no. 3,100/99, which deals with Civil Society Organizations of Public Interest (OSCIPI), qualified as legal entities under private law, not for profit, whose purpose is to carry out social services no longer considered to be the exclusive function of the State. The agreements between the Public Power and OSCIP for the realization of such “service”, which includes education, are defined by the term of partnership.

It is also valid to include the Fiscal Responsibility Law (LRF), Complementary Law n. 101/2000, which, by setting the limit of public spending on personal expenses of 60% of revenues “has led to an increase in partnerships between municipalities and the private sector, stimulating the option of outsourcing services especially in areas of greater presence of hiring labor, as is the case of education” (Adrião, 2013, p. 282). In addition, in the national context, measures to encourage Public and Private Partnerships for the educational offer

They work on public education networks that are mostly managed and financed by municipalities, which historically present themselves as the most fragile sphere of our federation, both financially and technically, limited even more by the clientelistic tradition of our political culture. It is, therefore, first of all about municipal and state education (subnational governments) that focus the education reform guidelines, whose agenda until recently for basic education was guided by two strategies: the introduction of competitive mechanisms in public management as performance awards; "Ranchings" and transfers to the “non-profit” private sector of the provision of a given state service or policy also funded by the State. (Adrião, 2014, p. 266)

At the limit, this scenario involving the private sector within the process of public education in Brazil, in recent years, secondary education has gained prominence in terms of the policies and reforms denoted for its *modus operandi*. Modifications range from partnerships between schools and the business sector, to the creation of a curriculum that meets the demands of the market, that is, contributing to the training of workers with qualifying qualifications, as well as their early insertion in the world of work, if not in their occupation in the reserve industrial army, because the chronic unemployment that the present phase of capitalism preaches in the peripheral nations.

The Presence of the Private Market in High School Gears

In Brazil, since the 1970s and 1980s respectively, the debate on the reforms of the second grade (then middle level) obtained a centrality in the official discourse due to the theme of professionalization due to the economic transformations that were radiated on a global scale. In this context, Law No. 5692/71 promoted the compulsory professionalization of young people in the Brazilian public secondary school.

In 1989, the World Bank published a report that diagnosed the ills of Brazilian high school. “The document pointed to several paths that we have gradually adopted through new educational policies” (Zibas, 2001, p. 76). The discussion of Bill No. 1603/96, which was already being evaluated by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), requested a loan of R \$ 300 million for the implementation of the High School and Technical Education Reform period. Within this process, it is evident that with the transformations undertaken within the scope of the State, education does not escape its reach, so, from the attempts made by the state reform - which is already conditioned by the global transformations of the social capital system - to this scope.

In the Lula da Silva administration, through Decree 5,154/04, the integration of secondary education into professional education was made possible. However, this integration has come under the scrutiny of education and school systems. In the state education system, the priority was given to regular education, thus taking into account national legislation. This integration was promoted through partnerships between the public and the private sector, resulting in the insufficiency of professionals with their own training to meet this demand, thus constituting a precarious situation. (Melo & Duarte, 2011). Measures created to enhance secondary education and its integration with vocational education were supplemented by the reorganization of the National High School Examination (ENEM). This reorganization conditioned curricular changes in high school, since the ENEM unified the vestibular of the Federal Institutions of Higher Education.

With all the metamorphoses experienced in high school in 2016, in the Michel Temer Government, the debate began for its new reorganization, which was carried out through MP no. 746/16, in which it reformed the curriculum of secondary education within formative itineraries. However, compulsory subjects no longer have a presence in the curriculum reverberating in repercussions on civil society and the educators' movement. The reform, however, retreated in 2017, Law No. 13,415/17, which established the guidelines for the implementation of (new) secondary education in Brazil, was sanctioned.

Reformers understand that Brazilian economic growth depends on overcoming educational obstacles, since investment in human capital is productive from the capitalist point of view. For Motta and Frigotto (2017, pp. 357-358).

[...] in the field of education, would be necessary to raise Brazil's competitive position in the international market: investment in the quality of secondary education, even with an increase in the school day, with a view to better achievement in school performance; reshaping the curriculum, adjusting it to changes in the world of work, in line with the supposed education of the 21st century; the expansion of the number of vacancies; and containment of school dropout.

This new reform with its intent focused on productivity through human capital meets the logic of the market, for this is necessary a curriculum flexibilization to make feasible the implementation of this training model. However, some questioning is necessary: if only three public schools are present in the ranking of the first 100 schools of the Enem, how can curriculum-oriented flexibility in production contribute to the elevation of this scenario? With the high school curriculum designed

for the productive sector, is the existing well between private and public schools increasing, and consequently the reaffirmation of a dual education system?

In this perspective, the debate on the National Curricular Common Base (BNCC) was initiated in the Dilma Rousseff administration (2011-2016) with a view to the constitution of a National Education System (SNE). However, with the impeachment of Rousseff and the establishment of Michel Temer's government, the BNCC was revised again and underwent several changes, especially for high school.

The curriculum can be interwoven under various theoretical traditions, as well as the various ways in which education was historically constituted. In this sense, we understand by curriculum the set of pedagogical experiences that the students will experience throughout their formative course, which relates to teaching and learning contents, to experiences pedagogical plans made up of teachers, schools and education systems. In addition, the curriculum aims to constitute the identity of students throughout their training process (Hall, 2003).

In this sense, Ball (2001) understands that from the conditionalities resulting from globalization global political guidelines are constituted to be developed in the local particularities of the National States. Dolowitz et. all (2000) understand these processes as the transfer of policies that are generated through the guidelines of the international organisms. In fact, this process ratifies the subjection of education to the normative assumptions of economism. In 2017, the research organized by Fernando José de Almeida, with the support of the National Education Council (CNE), culminated the construction of the Transnational Curricular Base for the Mercosur Countries. This Base seeks to guide the incorporation in the BNCC of the “challenges and processes related to the insertion of Brazil in the Latin American reality” (Cne/Unesco, 2017, p. 1).

In this sense, we understand that the idea of building SNE through BNCC would not be to seek, in fact, the constitution of national sovereignty in the interests of the National States of the center. However, the 3rd version of the BNCC, brought to the fore by the then Minister of Education Mendonça Filho, leaves clear its orientation linked to the notes of international organizations, as well as National Confederation of Industry (CNI). The BNCC is a normative document in which it seeks to radiate learning skills throughout basic education. The focus on the development of competences has guided the constitution of curricula in their respective education systems in Brazil throughout the XX and XXI century. As regards the overall guidelines, the BNCC's own document clarifies that this process is also adopted

in the international assessments of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which coordinates the International Student Assessment Program (Pisa) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Culture (Unesco), which instituted the Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education for Latin America (LLECE). [...] the BNCC indicates that pedagogical decisions should be oriented towards the development of competences. By clearly indicating what students should "know" [...] and, above all, they must "know how to do it" (considering the mobilization of such knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to solve complex demands of everyday life, citizenship and the world of work), the clarification of competences provides references for the strengthening of actions that ensure the essential learning defined in the BNCC. (Brazil, 2018, pp. 7-8)

The utilitarian character is proclaimed through the emphasis given to “know-how” which refers to the pragmatic conception of teaching. In addition, the BNCC incorporates the intentions of the international organizations regarding professionalization through the constitution of the training itineraries, as well as the approximation of the curricular organization of the base with which the

document published by CNI in 2010, entitled "Industry and Brazil : an agenda to grow more and better "in which it was pointed out the leading role in basic education and the need for the formation of the Brazilian workforce. "Basic education is the basis of the human resources training process. In order to learn a profession and to follow technological changes, one must have acquired a good capacity for reading, mathematics, interpretation and logical reasoning" (Cni, 2008, p. 153).

With this, we notice that there is a link between BNCC's political-ideological conception and the notion of high school reform and evaluation policies, based on the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB), the industrial sector (CNI), and high school brings the curriculum conception that best fits into this perspective. In the structure brought by BNCC for High School the subjects that are configured as compulsory curricular components are: Portuguese located in the area of languages and their technologies, and mathematics located in the area of mathematics and its technologies. In this sense, the other areas become compulsory practices, in which their contents can be treated as learning apparatuses for the obligatory components, thus using the veil of the supposed inter or multidisciplinary work.

According to Arroyo, in his analysis of the, still, 2nd version of the BNCC already diagnosed as a process of political denial, as well as a controlling action of the advances of the struggles for rights:

these documents represent a political denial of ethics in the conduct of the progress made in the right to education as a right to full human development ... Its unifying, taxing character represents a control of the advances that have been made in the struggles for rights, the right to education, culture, and knowledge brought by the diversity of social movements, in so many struggles for the most basic human rights: land, work, food, transportation. (2017, p. 16)

Indeed, with the implementation of the reform of secondary education, it is understood that the business sector starts to guide the paths to be traced by the young Brazilians in their high school education in addition to their technological formations. The education gains a characteristic of professionalization, emphasizing the demands of the market, besides the young people have to develop internships in private companies to be able to complement the technical-professional course offered by the school institution. In the limit, the partnership between school and company in the middle of the new high school is consolidated.

By Way of Conclusion

In this text we seek to discuss the logic of educational policy and global conditionalities and their manifestations in the Brazilian scenario. In addition, the double movement of endo and exoprivatization carried out in Brazil's education scene, especially through the insertion of large business groups, as well as the reforms undertaken to put into operation the privatization agenda of public basic education, is clear.

In the public system of education, it is possible to diagnose the external logic from the influences coming from the American charter choices and its logic of private management of the public school. In addition, when education becomes recognized as a highly profitable niche market for capital, this social complex ceases to be a right to be incorporated as a commodity to be consumed in the services sector, as well as proclaims international organizations, in particular the World Bank.

Brazil, because it is located in all peripheral countries, that is, dependent capitalism, consumes exogenous policies that condition the modus operandi of national educational policy

reverberating in the way of being of the popular sectors. According to De Paula, Costa e Lima (2018, 2019a, 2019b), as international bodies emphasize the need to prepare the human resources needed for the market, secondary education is highlighted and becomes a target for business reformers on condition that it becomes the formative stage of basic education in which as employability. This logic is based on the conception of the “human capital theory” proclaimed by Schuts (1979). This theory is still active and has direct repercussions on Brazilian educational policy, since investments in basic education have a faster and more favorable return than those investments were directed towards higher education, since higher education must be developed, to the fullest extent in central nations, while peripheral ones should focus on the constitution of what the World Bank calls tertiary education.

In fact, the insertion of the private and mercantile sectors into the spaces of human formation reverberate metamorphoses, even in the social function of the school institution, since it incorporates a link with the business and financial logic and, consequently, will be engendered the emptying of the public sense of education as a social right.

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About the Authors

Alisson Slider do Nascimento de Paula

GPTPOED/UNINTA - Brazil

Email: alisson.slider@yahoo.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6356-3773>

Professor at Centro Universitário Inta (UNINTA). Coordinator of the Research Group on Labor and Educational Policy (GPTPOED). PhD in Education from the State University of Ceará (UECE). Develops research in the field of educational policies and administration.

Frederico Jorge Ferreira Costa

GPTPOED/UECE – Brazil

Email: frederico.costa@uece.br

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8357-4557>

Professor at the State University of Ceará (UECE). Researcher at the Research Group on Labor and Educational Policy (GPTPOED). PhD in Education from the Federal University of Ceará (UFC).

Kátia Regina Rodrigues Lima

GPTPOED/URCA – Brazil

Email: kareli20042004@yahoo.com.br

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9132-9551>

Professor at the Regional University of Cariri (URCA). Researcher at the Research Group on Labor and Educational Policy (GPTPOED). PhD in Education from the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar).

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Sebastián Donoso Diaz

IIDE / UTalca - Chile

Email: sdonoso@utalca.cl

Full Professor at Research Center for Educational Development, University of Talca (Chile). Specialist in Education Policies and Administration. Field of investigation: Education policy; Changes at education and the new modalities of government action in education; Public Education Financing.

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Joaquín Gairin Sallán

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona - España

Email: joaquin.gairin@uab.cat

Full Professor of Didactics and School Organization at Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain. Manages projects on social and educational development, organizational development, educational change processes, leadership, evaluation of programs and institutions.

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