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The Business Conception of Full-Time (and) Integral Education

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ABSTRACT – The Business Conception of Full-Time (and) Integral Education. This article aims to theoretically analyze the World Bank formulations, the Center for Studies and Research in Education, Culture and Community Action (Cenpec – Centro de Estudos e Pesquisas em Educação, Cultura e Ação Comunitária) prescriptions, and the More Education program norms on the topic of Full-Time (and) Integral Education. Such analysis is pertinent due to the current Brazilian educational legislation on the topic, especially the sixth goal from the National Plan for Education in force. The study was conducted using bibliographical research and analyzing documents that problematize the topic. We concluded that there is a harmony between the World Bank formulations and the Cenpec prescriptions, being the More Education program an entrepreneurial synthesis of this relation.

Keywords: World Bank. CENPEC. More Education Program.

RESUMO – A Concepção Empresarial da Educação Integral e(m) Tempo Integral. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar teoricamente as formulações do Banco Mundial, as prescrições do Centro de Estudos e Pesquisa em Educação, Cultura e Ação Comunitária e as normatizações fixadas no programa Mais Educação sobre o tema da Educação integral e(m) Tempo Integral. Tal análise se faz pertinente em função da legislação educacional brasileira vigente sobre o tema, em especial, a meta 6 do atual Plano Nacional de Educação. Para realizar o estudo utilizou-se pesquisa bibliográfica e análise de documentos que problematizam o tema. Concluímos que existe uma sintonia entre as formulações do Banco Mundial e as prescrições do Cenpec, sendo o programa Mais Educação uma síntese empresarial dessa relação. **Palavras-chave:** Banco Mundial. CENPEC. Programa Mais Educação.

Introduction

The discussion on full-time (and) integral education (EITI – Escola Integral e(m) Tempo Integral)¹ in the Brazilian educational policy as a way to intervene in social inequalities, through public schools, demands greater debates because it has specificities in the relation between the State and the organized civil society. Gramsci (2007), by analyzing the State, shows how the economic and political interests of classes and fractions of classes, organized in the civil society, are present in their decisions through *private threads*. He calls this *Integral State* and its originality is in noticing a “[...] social society vertebration” (Fontes, 2010, p. 133), devices deprived of hegemony, producing “active” and “passive” (Gramsci, 2007, p. 333) consensus, that is, “[...] associative instances that, formally distinct from the organization of companies and state institutions, are presented as voluntary associativity under numerous formats” (Fontes, 2010, p. 133).

This political scenario has atypical characteristics in Brazil, as we are experiencing a process of resizing the State regarding its responsibilities. What can be seen is the increasingly intense presence of the civil society organizations, usually linked to the different business sectors (financial, industrial and services), that act in the dispute of the agenda, in order to direct both the macroeconomic and the social policies, which is the case of Education (Pereira, 2000).

Adam Smith (1984), a classic liberalist, already considered the influence of what we call today entrepreneurs, *merchants and employers*, with the governments of the National States in formation from the second half of the 18th century on, due to the weight of their investments in the economy. However, he stated that, in their *plans and projects*, the increase of the profit rate was the only objective, something that did not contribute to the *prosperity* of a society, since the profit rate was “[...] usually low in wealthy countries and high in poor ones [...]” (Smith, 1984, p. 198).

Thus, if we consider that the development of capitalism in Brazil produced a voluminous industrial reserve army, even with the expansion of the access to K-12 education, it is possible to claim that this (apparent) contradiction brought new determinations, once they reach the reproduction of the Brazilian capitalism. At the same time that it needs to increase the profit rate of entrepreneurs, it also needs to develop a social policy, such as in education, among others, to prevent the structural unemployment (Araujo; Oliveira, 2005).

Such mechanisms focused on the relief of this strain are formulated by international organizations, such as the World Bank (WB), which has a great relevance in this text. They spread a type of public school tuned with fractions of the Brazilian ruling class, especially the business sectors, developing a political task of collective educator.

That is the context in which, in Brazil, a conception or perspective of EITI can be highlighted. It was theoretically grounded by the Center for Studies and Research in Education, Culture and Community Action

(Cenpec), which works as a private organization, although officially non-profit, that formulated programs to be developed in education, especially in public schools, through its advisory services. Their initiatives aim to bring it closer to the demands and interests of the financial institution company, Itaú Unibanco Holding S.A., which finances and runs it. From the 1990s, the Cenpec worked as an *incubator* of educational experiences that worked with the EITI, developed, predominantly, by civil society organizations, aiming to select them, through their annual awards, in order to emphasize them as good practices and to reproduce them in large scale throughout the country (Silva, 2017).

Furthermore, the Cenpec built a concept of EITI, which, we believe, was disseminated through the More Education program (PME), the result of the interest condensation of ruling class fractions (politicians and entrepreneurs), created by the federal government in 2007, as a way to comply with what was established in the Brazilian legislation regarding the EITI². The aim of this article, therefore, is to analyze theoretically the WB formulations, the Cenpec prescriptions and the norms set by the PME about the EITI. Such analysis is pertinent because the 6th goal of the current National Plan of Education – Law No. 13005/2014 (Brasil, 2014a) – establishes that at least 50% of the Brazilian public schools and 25% of their students will be, until 2024, developing diversified activities by extending the school day (Brasil, 2014b). Such projection, it seems, was formulated based on what the PME proposes regarding EITI³. We used as a methodological procedure a bibliographical research on the topics of the educational policies and EITI, and the analysis of two documents produced by the WB, one in 2006 and another in 2007, of a document produced by the Cenpec in 2006 and the normative instrument that first regulated the PME in 2007.

The WB and its Formulations on the Educational Policy: “[...] put and ensure that children stay in school”

Along its history, the WB institutionalized the *fight against poverty* as one of its intervention practices in society, as the data pointed by Pereira (2010) shows. They indicate the growth of the bank’s client portfolio (countries) (through loans to different sectors of the economy) that adjusts their economic and social policies favorable to the system of hegemonic States in the current capitalism in exchange. The WB obtains profit (through indebtedness) at the same time that it operates its political-intellectual role working as an agent in the consolidation of a concept of world and of a collective will (Coutinho, 2003).

In this case, the intervention in *poverty* can be understood through a double aspect: it is profitable and ideological. According to Pereira, (2014, p. 79) “[...] this strange kind of bank always explored the synergy between loans and economic thought to extend its influence and to institutionalize its political agenda internationally”. This means that, from the point of view of the capitalist way of production, the Bank operates in favor of the establishment of poverty “[...] through this singular combination of roles and functions” (Pereira, 2014, p. 79).

By adopting poverty as an *analysis unit*, the WB strategically disseminates the idea that, from the economic perspective, it hinders the capitalist development, especially in *developing* countries (which did not perform their capitalist revolutions by being dependent), instead of being a result of this development process. In this sense, poverty is seen as a residue that needs to be better explored, as a way to attenuate the problems that this residual population may cause (Pereira, 2014).

Regarding the dependent capitalism practiced in Brazil, as a specialized way of producing economic surplus and, consequently, of cultural subordination regarding the hegemonic countries from the capitalist way of production, we can say that this subsidiary activity is directly responsible for the poverty reproduction, because they impose on the Brazilian development a permanent *colonial condition* that varies as “[...] the nature of dependency nexus, the polarization of hegemony and the determination of the dominant nucleus” (Fernandes, 1968, p. 26).

To relieve this condition and, therefore, transform the dependency nexus, the WB prescribes that the indebted countries adopt a differentiation between two types of poverty, absolute and relative, something that enables the management of this residual population, as a quantitative hierarchization exists among them, the very poor and less poor. The consumption pattern that sometimes increase, sometimes decreases the access to opportunities through contingency measures aimed at relative poverty as an alternative of security to absolute poverty is the difference, in a final analysis, especially in Brazil (Pereira, 2010).

In this sense, when addressing the entire next-generation sociability, through school education, as an essential task for the reproducibility of capital in countries that acquire loans recurrently, such as Brazil⁴, this Bank states that:

As the work force is the main asset of low-income people, making it more productive is the best way to reduce poverty. This requires the increase in the opportunities to make money and to develop the human capital in order to take advantages of those opportunities. The economic growth through a broad base is important. K-12 education and health care are equally important, especially for children, to provide the foundations for the basic skills and well-being (Banco Mundial, 2006, p. 2).

Added to the training for the entry in the world of work in the condition of specialized worker (mostly), the WB also highlights the policies towards those who should get out of the absolute poverty in the direction of relative poverty. In this group, that immense portion of low education youth that, throughout their lives, will experience several episodes of unemployment and/or underemployment is included (Banco Mundial, 2007).

Considering the destabilizing, but not anti-systemic potential of the advance of poverty that affects mainly the most exploited sectors

of society, the whole ruling class, through its collective intellectuals, which is the case of WB, is being pushed to focus attention on this segment, through policies to alleviate poverty. The public school, in this case, is a reference to the development of this process (Libâneo, 2016).

The WB formulations point to a larger demand from markets for complex work with the introduction of science and technology in the productive process and in social life. This brings a need for expanding and diversifying the education of new generations. Such formulations also claim that the previous educational policies in dependent capitalist countries, Brazil among them, were more related to the quantitative expansion of enrollments in the initial years of schooling than to the concern with the quality of this education and with effective learning (Banco Mundial, 2006).

According to Oliveira (2007, p. 661) this problem dislodged the “[...] social differentiation and exclusion processes” in the educational ranks, evidencing the need to review the quality as a component of the right to education offer. On the other hand, the increase in schooling rates was also prescribed by the WB in the 1990s and incorporated by the Brazilian government (Itamar Franco) in the educational policy as a way to meet the demand for loans from the WB (Altmann, 2002). The universalization of the middle school education provided by the Decennial Plan of Education for All (1993) was not successful because it disregarded that the increase in schooling rates “[...] generates demands for more education” (Oliveira, 2007, p. 686).

The latest prescriptions from the WB, even faced with this contradiction exposed in the previous paragraph, which contributes to the maintenance of poverty, indicate that the educational development programs for children, adolescents and young people “[...] combine sports, monitor instruction, theater, life skills, youth leadership training, peace building and common skills and livelihoods to a defined geographical area” (Banco Mundial, 2007, p. 14). Moreover, they strengthen the idea that “[...] the schools are a vital protection factor, and that simply to keep young people in schools will decrease the incidence of negative behaviors and unfavorable results” (Banco Mundial, 2006, p. 24).

Just keeping children and young people at school does not ensure that this institution is able to avoid the supposed *negative behaviors*. Authors who dedicate their studies in the field of education to the EITI state that, both in partial and in full time, this institution must be prepared to effectively fulfil its tasks, otherwise, it tends to reproduce the typical problems of the Brazilian public school, notably those that are limited to the conditions of poverty (Paro, 2009; Cavaliere, 2009; Coelho; Fernandes, 2013).

That is the context in which we question the prerogative of the WB that, under the responsibility of the school, children, adolescents and young people will be isolated from problems related to poverty. Actually, the WB principle is that poverty is a problem that can be regulated and assigns to the public school, mainly, the responsibility for this. On

the other hand, it is possible to develop two difference reasonings to analyze this principle. First, we must consider that the public school does have a reproductive role of poverty, and the critical-reproductive theory confirms this (Bourdieu; Passeron, 1975). Second, the public school can indeed have an important, emancipating role in tackling poverty (Giroux, 1987); however, it needs to have the conditions to do so, since, without them, such prerogative would only be an exercise of faith.

Aware of this problem, we assume, prescribing community actions as an alternative to the structural difficulties of the public school in countries that depend on capitalism, the WB states that the educational programs aimed at keeping children, adolescents and young people at school should be extended, with the *supervised* character, and can be developed in:

[...] shared community spaces – central squares, public parks, churches, community centers and many other existing public spaces – and the resources can be spent on materials to the program and to pay the adult supervision, instead of being used in the construction of expensive spaces (Banco Mundial, 2007, p. 24).

From the point of view of implementing and coordinating those actions, we also found WB recommendations that support the thesis of better use of public resources, and greater efficiency of the action, depending on the multidimensionality of poverty. The appeal is for dividing responsibilities among the different sectors that compose the social policies, in a final analysis, the executive power, federated entities (union, states and municipalities) and the different organizations of the civil society, so that these actions arrive in the educational institutions, as they, by themselves, according to the WB, should not be the focus of investments, but rather the negative behavior of individuals.

This complexity suggests the policies for young people need to be moved away from the strategies based on specific institutions for the young and moved in the direction of a holistic, multidimensional strategy, which has young people, and not institutions, in the center. In practice, this requires focusing on the behavior that the policymakers and society want to change, and then be organized so that each institution or individual contribute in the best way possible for the joint effort (Banco Mundial, 2006, p. 28).

Lima (2015, p. 244) states that, to the WB, the actions of the market, of the organized civil society and of the govern should be complementary to the point that the programs developed to ensure “[...] the benefits of the growth promoted by the market, particularly through investments in K-12 education and health services, with the participation of the community.” To this author, who studies the transformation of the WB formulations for health policies, currently, “[...] the definition of priorities is up to the public sphere, the provision of services can be performed by the public and/or private institutions.”

Faced with these formulations and knowing that they have not been incorporated to the Brazilian educational policy without a level of harmony between the WB and the institutions that interfere in the formulations of its programs, as Cunha (2002) signaled by suggesting the existence of organic relations among intellectuals, Brazilian institutions and international organizations, we raise the following question: what are the Cenpec prescriptions regarding the EITI?

The Cenpec: “an integral education is essential”

Before we start the analysis of the Cenpec concept of EITI, present in the document named *Integral Education*, we must do a methodologic digression. Despite not having – in this collection of articles, experience reports and testimonies that we analyzed – any consideration on the relation between the authors’ opinions and the defense the Cenpec promotes of a conception of EITI, we considered that the opinions expressed in the document, to some extent, integrate this Cenpec conception, mainly because, in its editorial, such conception is evoked by the *President-Director*⁵ of this institution when considering that the thematic notebook produces a “[...] state of the art of integral education in Brazil, presenting the reflections and practices that are based *on this conception or that use this reference*.” (Setúbal, 2006, p. 3, emphasis added) But what is this reference?

Silva (2017) analyzed the Cenpec productions that formed the EITI conception since 1999, including the document responsible for spreading and discussing it in the second half of 2006 that we now analyze. According to this author, the thematic notebook:

[...] brought the Cenpec perspective of integral education to the discussion, that is, a project completely aimed to the debates on the expansion of spaces, agents and functions pertaining to the public school. Firstly, they tried to ‘rethink’ the school institution, as it was detected that the educational policy (or any other social policy), by itself, did not meet the demands of that perspective of integral education. To Cenpec, only an intersectoral action (among several social policy areas, different educational spaces and different educational agents) could meet the contemporary needs of the public school regarding the attendance of working classes (Silva, 2017, p. 12).

Maurício (2016, p. 95) also analyzed the performance of Cenpec in the formulation of its conception and concluded that this institution “[...] understands the integral education as a strategy to improve the education quality and to promote equity.” This author also states in her analysis that the Cenpec proposes two actions to the *universalization of the integral education*, namely: 1) performance of non-governmental organizations in schools for the composition of EITI, through after-school activities performed in different educational spaces; 2) assistance for the implementation, formulation and monitoring of policies and plans focused on the EITI. Furthermore, she states that:

In summary, the NGOs sell advisory services to perform State functions, in the formulating and monitoring of educational public policies, dissolved in socio-educational actions, focused on children and young people with social vulnerability. In exchange of education for all, there is a market reserve for NGOs to sell integral education to a few (Maurício, 2016 p. 97).

We can verify that this *perspective* or *conception* of EITI, when *rethinking* the school education, through its spaces, agents and their own purposes, puts in question its existence, which, according to Cury (2006), is characterized by being a specific place, therefore different from the others, of systematic knowledge and values transmission that performs important functions to life in society. Ultimately, the social function of public schools is what Cenpec puts in question, since it is up to them to ease tensions caused by poverty with civil society organizations, and EITI would be a way to do this.

Thus, let's make a more detailed analysis of some theoretical aspects shown in this document responsible for presenting the Cenpec conception of EITI. Setúbal (2006, p. 3) exposes the bases of this conception: "[...] extension of the school day, through the public school system", "[...] many learning spaces", "[...] participation of different social policies and of the organized society" aiming at improving the educational indicators.

Such bases are shown more deeply throughout the thematic notebook, with a theoretical scheme outlined from the *place* that the integral education should have in social policy. Regarding this, the Cenpec defends that *there is a new architecture of public action* that must be demarcated by the *multisectorality*, with a prominent role shared between the State, the organized civil society, the school community and the public for whom the public action is destined, for *fighting* poverty and social inequality (Carvalho, 2006).

Libâneo (2016) criticizes this architecture, since it postulates an idea of a democracy conformed by what he calls *social consensus* aimed at the *peaceful solution of social problems and conflicts*, having as reference "[...] solidary, cooperative, participatory relations, based on community relations and public-private partnerships" (Libâneo, 2016, p. 16). Also, according to this author, such process is a collaborative strategy, notably between the public and the private sectors, addressed to "[...] attention to differences in order to conceal social inequalities, reduce conflicts and seek local and individual solutions and social problems" (Libâneo, 2016, p. 16); the author also states that the educational institution, in this model, works "[...] only as a space for social integration, a moderator of conflicts, with crumbs of knowledge and skills for social survival of the poor" (Libâneo, 2016, p. 16).

On the other hand, in spite of the criticisms pointed out in the previous paragraph, the Cenpec defends, from Carvalho formulation (2006, p. 10), that the result of this new shape of public action is the "[...] offer of multiple and distinct opportunities to ensure equity, producing what every citizen is entitled: equality of results." To this end, Cen-

pec prescribes “[...] how to introduce the integral education within the scope of a social policy [...]” (Carvalho, 2006, p. 10), marked by the idea of multiple sectors, of course; and based in socio-educational projects of community origin that are configured as a local alternative to poverty and to lack of opportunities (Carvalho, 2006).

Dubet (2008) coined the term *necessary fiction* to draw attention to its importance, because it is a postulate, and to the limits, for it is not viable without a true equality of conditions, related to equality of opportunities. Dubet also suggests a *distributive equality of opportunities*, that is, more control in the resource distribution, destining the best opportunities to those who most need. In this sense, community-based socio-educational actions, usually impregnated by economic problems, will hardly interfere in this fictional field of equal opportunities, since those, normally, are not the best opportunities.

Carvalho (2006), in the Cenpec document, still discusses whether the school is an institution specialized in promoting the EITI. The author organizes her answer in two parts: 1) a *pragmatic* one, which highlights the structural incapacity of the school network, something that makes the development of EITI unfeasible and, at the same time, allows “[...] an organic articulation between the public school and socio-educational programs performed by non-government organizations in the microterritories themselves” (Carvalho, 2006, p. 11); and 2) an answer defined by the *educational intentionality*, due to the *complexity* of the current society, the changes in employment relations that require “[...] a new worker profile”, in this sense, “[...] it is not possible to think the school as the only learning space anymore” (Carvalho, 2006, p. 11). Thus, it encourages the participation of civil society organizations as a way of revitalizing the public sphere, even faced with the recognition of the *contradictions* and *particularities* of those organizations.

On the presence of those organizations in the offer of the right to public education, Shiroma and Evangelista (2014) are categorical in saying that it is not a matter of the State’s withdrawal from providing this social right, but of a new configuration regarding the demands of the business sector for public education. Also, according to these authors, this new strategy has become hegemonic, because it takes forward the “[...] interests of the Capital, whose ideological wrapping intends to hide them under the mantle of ‘social justice’” (Shiroma; Evangelista, 2014, p. 24). In this sense, the social policies that aim to evaluate tensions from poverty ultimately work as a mechanism of *social cohesion* to “[...] re-functionalize the inclusive bourgeois promise and reaffirm capitalism as the best mode of production” (Shiroma; Evangelista, 2014, p. 25).

This educational intentionality can be deduced from the article by Guar (2006) in the thematic document produced by Cenpec about EITI. In it, the idea that an *integral education is essential* is based on the principle that associates a *multidimensional* formation with EITI, as a way to bring “[...] the subject to the center of the questions and concerns of education”, to develop their “[...] cognitive, emotional, bodily, spiri-

tual faculties, rescuing as a priority task of education the qualification of man, understood in his totality” (Guará, 2006, p. 16).

And the institutions responsible for developing this idea of integral qualification, should they not be in the focus of the process along with the subjects? Why are they not mentioned in what is defended by Cenpec? For this institution from the business sector:

The idea of integral qualification of man is present, mainly, in projects of education for peace, of human rights and of the education for values, all of them based on ethical and humanist principles. In this sense, the integral qualification of individuals is not limited to the formal and intentional educational process, since it has its bases in the spheres of everyday life, as Heller (1994) remembers. It begins at birth and continues with the learning about the cultural universe, throughout the development process of people, because human actions are objectified in the daily life, and the results of human knowledge, their achievements and challenges are inscribed in it (Guará, 2006, p. 16).

Coelho (2009, p. 84), unlike this understanding, states that the EITI has “[...] historical and theoretical-conceptual amplitude”, as it goes through different moments of history and, therefore, expresses different world views and ideologies. Passing through the Greek *paideia*, the French Jacobin revolutionaries, the anarchist movement, religious, political-totalitarian initiatives, and through movements, tendencies and policies in the contemporary education, this author evidences that the concept of EITI, withdrawing the old Greek age, was associated with the school institution. This means that, historically and conceptually, the EITI is not only discussed focusing on the individual with or without sharing the school functions with civil society organizations, as proposed by Cenpec.

Furthermore, Cury (2006) understands that the objectification of human actions in daily life is conditioned by the different institutions that compose the society, among them the school, seen by him as a secondary socialization core responsible for giving continuity to the individual's integration to society. For Cenpec, and this is evident in its formulations, the schools, the public school in particular, must have its configuration changed and, instead of being the epicenter of the educational process, share this responsibility of secondary socialization of individuals with the organized civil society.

Analyzing other articles of the document produced by Cenpec on EITI, two of them caught our attention, since they problematize exactly the idea that the school institution should be the epicenter of the educational process, an idea questioned by Cenpec in all the other articles and in the experience reports exposed in the document that, invariably, emphasized the success of educational programs conducted out of the school institution. This was the case of the articles by Maurício (2006) and Cavaliere (2006).

In the first paper, the author analyzes the representations of full-time public schools, especially the project of the Integrated Public School Centers (CIEP), developed between the late 1980s and early 1990s in Rio de Janeiro; despite the negative and positive representations, what the author highlights is the debate on the public schools' functions in the educational process (Maurício, 2006). In the second text, Cavaliere (2006, p. 101) analyzes the time at school and its expansion in the organization of this institution and states that "[...] it is not a matter of imagining a school without timetables or rules", but "[...] recreating these timetables and rules for a more ambitious project, from the perspective of the educational opportunities the individuals can find there." Both articles discuss the working capacity of the school institution regarding the extension of the school day and the diversification of educational opportunities and not the potentials and virtues of educational programs from civil society organizations. In this sense, why such opinions appear in an essentially prescriptive document, in terms of its political nature, such as the one produced by Cenpec?

Poulantzas (1980) argues that the classes and their fractions condensed in the State (comprehended by this author, as proposed by Antonio Gramsci: Political society associated with the organized civil society) operate their ideologies in different levels of this relation, sometimes using coercion, through their repressive apparatus, sometimes using consensus, through ideological mechanisms that "[...] have the function of elaborating, proclaiming and reproducing this ideology, which is important when creating and reproducing the social division of work, of social classes and of class domain" (Poulantzas, 1980, p. 33). Also, this movement enables the co-optation: "[...] positive material measures for the working classes, even when these measures reflect concessions imposed by the fights of dominated classes." (Poulantzas, 1980, p. 33) This grounds the answer to the question made in the previous paragraph, since opinions different from those prescribed by Cenpec in its document can, to some extent, give a democratic legitimacy for the institution and, consequently, for the class fractions that direct it.

In summary, stating that the Cenpec works with a perspective of EITI projected in the supposed potentials of what the civil society organizations may develop, associated or not with public schools, is possible. In this case, schools would work only as a reference point to the development of an educational intentionality aimed at the maintenance, in tolerable levels, of poverty, without any major concerns about overcoming it, after all, for the Cenpec, that is not what is at stake.

This type of action with strong philanthropic bias, since we are debating the prescription for education as a way to alleviate poverty from an organization financed by a financial sector, finally, can be based on what Martins (2009) identified as a movement of adhesion of Brazilian businessmen, through their organizations in civil society, to social problems. According to this author, the objective was to further expand the economic reproducibility of those companies, through a

new pattern of sociability, and such objective was intensified in the period before the enactment of the interministerial ordinance No. 17/2007 (Brasil, 2007b), referring to the PME, a program aimed at EITIs.

The More Education program: a summary of the project from WB and Brazilian entrepreneurs for the public school

First, we analyzed the WB formulations aiming at the permanence of children and young people in schools, due to the problems arising from poverty in countries of dependent capitalism, which is the case of Brazil. After that, we also analyzed the Cenpec prescriptions for EITI as a way to increase the time students stay at school, through educational opportunities developed by the civil society organizations, to attenuate the difficult access conditions to the right to education, especially, in the more impoverished sectors of the Brazilian society; we opted to consider those two institutions as congeners.

By analyzing the formulations of the World Bank and the Cenpec organization, we understood that they have similar objectives, since they have a financial nature, even if those institutions have different roles. The WB formulates the children, adolescents and young people's need to stay at school acting by assigning loans, while the Cenpec prescribes the means to do so, through its conception of EITI, acting from the constructions of consensus considering the great financial volumes that involve the company's operations in the financial sector that directs its activities. In this sense, how does this composition become an educational program of the Brazilian state?

On April 24, 2007, the government of the then president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, from the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), through the interministerial ordinance No. 17 enacts the PME aiming at "[...] promoting the integral education for children, adolescents and young people through the support of socio-educational activities after school" (Brasil, 2007b, p. 1). This program was limited to the demands of the organized civil society that acted inside the Ministry of Education (MEC), through the movement *Todos pela Educação* (TPE – All for Education), created in 2005 in São Paulo city by a group of businesspeople allegedly concerned with the quality of the Brazilian public education.

Martins (2009, p. 5) understands this business movement as a "[...] kind of think tank for the country's education", something that Teixeira (2007) defines as organizations that carry out different functions, among them, the most widespread, the political debate through the publication of studies, usually with a prescriptive content, and through the intense participation of their members in the media. Institutions and non-profit associations formed this group, linked to the different business groups, such as Banco Itaú, Gerdaul, Camargo Correa, Banco Bradesco, Rede Globo de Televisão, among others.

This association between the formulations of the TPE and PME is possible because the program was part of the Plan for the Develop-

ment of Education (PDE), a set of educational programs to the different levels and models of education, developed in 2007 by MEC, based on the subsections VII, XXVI and XXVII, Art. 2, Decree No. 6094/2007 (Brasil, 2007a), which dealt with the implementation of the Target Commitment Plan *All for Education* (Saviani, 2007).

Shiroma, Garcia and Campos (2011) also identify this incorporation and analyze that PDE places the business agenda on the agenda of educational policies, offering discursive references that redefine the movement of the civil society organizations in the offer of the right to education. According to these authors, through its agenda incorporated by PDE, TPE intend to create a *new consciousness, a new social sensibility*, aimed at the idea of business social responsibility to the education, especially the public education. Such measure, as we saw, has a financial but also a pedagogical interest.

Going beyond this relation, Silva (2017) identifies the group of civil society organizations, linked or financed by the companies that form the TPE and that interfered in the PME formulation, Cenpec among them. According to this author, such organizations theoretically delimited PME, especially from a concept of EITI that evidences the protagonism of after-school educational experiences or the socio-educational projects focused on the student as a quality alternative for the public school problem.

Let's look, then, at the formulations from the interministerial ordinance No. 17/2007 (Brasil, 2007b), which highlight these delimitations. Firstly, in Chapter II, Art. 3, our attention is drawn to the program beneficiaries: children, adolescents and young people. Such targeting is perfectly aligned with the WB prescription that addresses the educational programs only to individuals and not to the institutions they belong to, as we saw in the first section. This addressing is hugely different, which was verified by Cavaliere (2009) by coining the expression *full-time students* to typify the tendency inaugurated by PME, in a federal level, of investments, through educational programs focused on the EITI, only in students, without an actual concern with the school institution.

Still on Art. 3 of Chapter II, the expression *articulated actions of the federal government* was placed and then, in Art. 4 of the ordinance, the organs responsible for those actions were defined: the Ministries of Education, Social Development and Fight against Hunger, Culture and Sports, in addition to other Ministries and Departments, which, perchance, would integrate the *articulated actions*. Also, the text also stated that other federated entities (states, federal district and municipalities) and public and private institutions could also be a part of the *articulated actions* under two conditions: the activities must be free and the integration to the political-pedagogical project of the education institutions where the program would be developed should occur.

It is in Art. 5, however, that the means to the development of the program were disclosed:

[...] institutional articulation and technical cooperation between Ministries, Federal Secretariats and federated entities, focused on the creation of an environment of dialogue and the establishment of benchmarks for the compliance with the purposes provided in Art. 2 of this Ordinance. II – technical and conceptual assistance from the Ministries and Federal Departments that are part of the Program, with emphasis on the awareness and the training of public administrators and promotion of the local intersectoral articulation; III – encouragement and support to projects aimed at the articulation of social policies to implement socio-educational activities after school, with a view to the integral education of children, adolescents and young people (Brasil, 2007b, p. 3).

These procedures point to the idea of *multisectorality* in the execution of educational programs focused on EITI. This, as analyzed in the previous sections, is a WB formulation prescribed by the Cenpec that adopts the socio-educational activities, from the civil society organizations, as a way to develop such programs. About that, Cavaliere (2011) suggests consideration, to the extent that in Brazil, traditionally, public-administrative injunctions exist, in addition to the operational point of view of the public administration, which hinders a joint conjunction between the different sectors. She also indicates that this kind of composite intervention may favor customer practices, given the scarcity of resources and the difficulty in maintaining the actions and programs that integrate the social policies.

Art. 6, Chapter III of the interministerial ordinance, in which the guidelines were established for the support of projects and actions, established that PME should promote, “[...] through awareness, encouragement and support [...]” (Brasil, 2007b, Art. 6), projects and actions that would articulate the social policies and develop socio-educational actions. In the paragraphs that follow Art. 6, the guidelines were shown:

I – to include the extension of the time and educational space of its networks and schools, guided by the notion of integral and emancipatory formation; II – to promote the articulation, locally, between the several public policies that form the Program and others that meet the same purposes; III – to integrate the activities to the political-pedagogical project of the participating educational networks and schools; IV – to promote, in partnership with the participating Ministries and Federal Departments, the training of local public administrators; V – to contribute to the formation, the expression and the protagonism of children, adolescents and young people; VI – to promote the participation of families and communities in the activities developed, as well as of civil societies, non-governmental organizations and the private sphere; VII – to promote the creation of knowledge and social technologies, including through partnership with universities, study and research centers, among others; VIII – to develop methodologies of action planning that allow the

focus of the Public Power action on the more vulnerable regions; and IX – to stimulate the cooperation between Union, States, Federal District and Municipalities (Brasil, 2007b, p. 3).

In short, such guidelines specified that PME congregates and stimulates the development of non-school educational actions, coming from different sectors of social policy, free of charge, linked to the political pedagogical project, focused on the EITI, preferably in contexts of social vulnerability. The idea of focusing the action of the institutions responsible by the programs and of spaces alternative to the school for the development of activities in the moment of the PME elaboration, set the tone for its first purpose: to expand the school day, through the introduction of physical spaces different from it and of educational agents distinct from the teachers (having the support of the Law of Volunteering (Brasil, 1998), as can be inferred from Art. 2, paragraph VII of this ordinance), being up to the school institution to fulfil the functions of social protection, social assistance, health and nutrition of the students involved with the program (Silva, 2017).

Coelho (2014, p. 188), when associating these characteristics present in PME with a contemporary conception of EITI, alerts: “[...] by proposing, supporting and reinforcing the expansion of the school’s functions beyond those that have historically constituted it, the contemporary conception can move away from a more complete and multidimensional view [...] aiming at the social emancipation of individuals. For this author, this *conception* is formulated by authors that work on the field of Education from civil society organizations, in particular those analyzed in her article, linked to the Cenpec.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, in the last chapter of the ordinance, the attributions of the members of the PME actions are not enumerated to those relating to civil society organizations, which gives freedom in their forms of integration with the school institutions. Such measure is peculiar to the WB formulations pointed in the first section, which states, in short, that the possibilities of permanence of children and young people in school should be extended, but without investing in this institution. Now, how to delegate a task and, at the same time, deprive school institutions of the conditions regarding their fulfillment? The civil society organizations, notably those linked to the business sector, such as the Cenpec, can prescribe.

Final Remarks

There is harmony between the WB formulations for the permanence of the students in school, the prescriptions of the Cenpec on the EITI and the PME guidelines for the development of educational programs in public schools that work as mechanisms of relief to the difficulties imposed by poverty. This was the guiding axis of this article, so we built three sections that dialogued at the same time they pointed the specificities of the relation between international organizations, busi-

ness institutions and the Brazilian educational policy in a given social context.

In the first section of the article, we pointed that the WB formulations, due to their economic nature, indicate ways for the development of educational programs aimed at relieving the poverty conditions resulting from the capitalist mode of production. Not that such financial institution recognizes this contradiction: generation of wealth simultaneously with the generation of poverty. What is at stake for the WB is the maintenance of its specialized role, that is, to generate dividends from the indebtedness of dependent countries that present high levels of poverty and, at the same time, pedagogically, establish educational strategies that spread a culture of division of responsibilities between governments and civil society organizations in the offer of the right to education.

In the second section, we demonstrated how such strategy is in harmony with the prescriptions of a similar institution, the Cenpec, financed by a company from the financial sector. Through its conception of EITI, the Cenpec withdraws from the public school the responsibility for what is specific to it in the continuity of the integration of the individuals to the society, at the same time it shares with civil society organizations such responsibility. The Cenpec focuses on socially vulnerable zones, working with the idea of *multisectorality*; and it instills in the educational policy a specific form of extending the school day and the expansion of educational opportunities.

Finally, in the third section, we demonstrated how PME synthesized the WB and the Cenpec prescriptions, spreading a new aspect for EITI in public schools with strong business ties. Such program, moreover, is specific of this current context because it integrates mechanisms for alleviating poverty and practices of educational philanthropy, since it stimulates the *multisectorality* as an efficient gear in the offer of the right to education and it chooses not to attend the school institution in its entirety, but only part of it, the student.

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Notes

- 1 We use this expression formulated by Cavaliere and Coelho (2002) because we believe that it brings together two variables present in educational programs that are part of the Brazilian educational policy, aimed to public schools and focused on the increase in the quality indicators: time and diversity of the educational opportunities.
- 2 The National Educational Bases and Guidelines Law (LDB), Law No. 9394/1996, addresses the school day extension, from Art. 34, paragraph 2, and Art. 87, paragraph 5, and this extension is at the discretion of the education establishments. It does not specify how the school day will be extended, however, Art. 3, Sec-

tions X and XI provide us clues about it: *Out-of-school experience valorization; Linking between the school education, work and social practices* (Brasil, 1996).

- 3 During the process of writing this article, another educational program was created to extend the length of stay of socially vulnerable students at the public school, through the diversification of educational opportunities. Such program was named *Novo Mais Educação* (New More Education) and is immersed in the midst of the ongoing changes in the Brazilian educational policy following the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff (PT), which made possible the entry of Michel Temer (PMDB) into the Presidency. No substantial changes in the variables of time and diversification of educational opportunities were verified. For a closer analysis of the two programs, please visit: <<https://educacaointegral.wordpress.com/2016/10/19/programa-novo-mais-educacao-pnme-primeiras-leituras/>>. Access on: 1 May 2017.
- 4 More information on the amount of loans acquired by Brazil in recent years: <<http://www.worldbank.org/pt/country/brazil/overview#2>>. Access on: 1 May 2017.
- 5 Maria Alice Setúbal, sociologist, an organic intellectual to Itaú Unibanco Holding S.A (a direct relative of the President of this institution that finances Cenpec, Roberto Egydio Setúbal) who works in multilateral organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Ministry of Education (MEC) and other important civil society organizations.

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