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Economic Crisis and the Liberalizing Potencial within PIBID

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ABSTRACT – Economic Crisis and the Liberalizing Potencial within PIBID. This article aims to analyze the Institutional Program for Teaching Initiation Scholarships (PIBID) between 2007 and 2018. For conducting the research, we used three different sources: 1) the data related to the number of scholarships related to PIBID national, at UFMS and UEMS; 2) the internal documents that regulate those programs; and 3) interviews with the institutional coordinators. For analyses, we used a counterpoint between the liberal theory discussed by Hayek and the Marxist theory of Mészáros. The instability and the reduction verified in the granting of scholarships in the program from 2015 corroborate the association of liberalizing influences with the worsening of the economic and political crisis in the Brazilian scenario.

Keywords: Teacher Training Policy. PIBID. Liberalism.

RESUMO – Crise Econômica e a Potencialização Liberalizante no Interior do PIBID. O presente artigo objetivou analisar o Programa Institucional de Bolsas de Iniciação à Docência (PIBID) entre 2007 e 2018. Para tanto, utilizaram-se, para investigação, três fontes distintas: 1) quantitativo de bolsas relacionadas ao PIBID/nacional, ao PIBID/UFMS e ao PIBID/UEMS; 2) documentos que regulam o PIBID/MS e o PIBID/nacional; e 3) entrevistas com os coordenadores institucionais do PIBID/UFMS e do PIBID/UEMS. Para efeitos de análise, utilizou-se um contraponto entre as teorias de Hayek e de Mészáros. A instabilidade e a redução verificadas na concessão de bolsas do programa a partir de 2015 corroboram que se associem as influências liberalizantes com a acentuação da crise econômica e política no cenário brasileiro.

Palavras-chave: Política de Formação Docente. PIBID. Liberalismo.

Introduction

Teacher education policies have been a globally relevant topic at least since the 1960s, given the need for a new direction in training subjects in face of changes in the new type of work in the process of productive restructuring of capital (Rodríguez; Vargas, 2008). Alongside, there is the rise of the liberal political-economic project as a subsidy of the modern State to provide such teacher education policies around the world, as well as in Brazil.

In the recent scenario, with greater State intervention in teacher training policies, the Institutional Program for Teaching Initiation Scholarships (PIBID) was created in 2007 and continues to this day. PIBID was set up by the Ministry of Education (MEC), the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) and the National Fund for Education Development (FNDE), by means of Normative Ordinance No. 38, in December 12, 2007. The program was regulated by Decree No. 7219, in June 24, 2010, and presented the objective of promoting teaching initiation and contributing to the improvement of teacher training at a higher level, in addition to the expectation of improving the quality of Basic Education.

As a review process, a search with the term PIBID was performed in CAPES periodicals database, in peer-reviewed journals only, in order to verify the expression of the program in academic debates since 2010. The search resulted in a considerable number of articles: 810. The publications found were predominantly linked to debates on the program associated with teaching work. In this regard, we highlight publications by Souza and Filho (2016), Moryama, Passos and Arruda (2013), Noffs and Rodrigues (2016) and Morais and Ferreira (2014). In general, these authors presented discussions around PIBID and a greater articulation between theory and practice; recognition of the school context; collective and collaborative work; growing interest in teaching; reflection on their own actions in classrooms; improvement in their learning and literacy practice; in addition to other considerations in different disciplinary areas.

Although the productions present a prevalence on the themes mentioned above, other authors have produced articles covering, for example, issues associated with teacher education policies and PIBID, with critical notes about the program, including the establishing of political, productive and/or social relationships (Mateus, 2014; Souza, 2014; Carvalho, 2013; Gatti, 2012; Rodríguez et al., 2017). In relation to the issues addressed by the cited articles, still within a review process, it was also possible to observe theses and dissertations with similar critical notes (Giroto, 2013; Deimling, 2014).

In totum, these highlighted productions presented evidence and discussions that provided a broader knowledge about the program. However, there are important gaps about the conflicts of PIBID in its implementation and development process. Based on this, this article aims to analyze the internal situation of the program, from its imple-

mentation in 2007 until 2018, a period that marked the expansion of PIBID, as well as its decline in the process of political-economic crisis with repercussions in Brazil.

Methodological Procedures

In order to achieve the proposed objective, three situations guided the process of investigating the program during the established period: 1) the distribution of PIBID/national and PIBID/UFMS-UEMS scholarships in that period; 2) the interests present in the program's internal documents; 3) the information obtained from those responsible for PIBID-UFMS/UEMS regarding the social issues that involved the program at a time of political and economic conflict in Brazil.

In order to systematize the discussion of data about the issues that guided the investigation, the article was organized into two topics: 1) analysis of the initial development of PIBID and its relationship with liberal theory; 2) analysis of the development of PIBID from 2015 on, a period of accentuation of the political and economic crisis present in the Brazilian scenario.

As for the methodological aspect, three sources were chosen for data collection in order to answer the defined questions: a) the number of grants assigned to PIBID/national, PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS; b) the internal documents that regulate PIBID/MS and PIBID/national; and c) the interviews conducted with the institutional coordinators of PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.

Chart 1 below provides a better visualization of the relationship between the central issues of discussion and the sources defined for investigation:

Chart 1 – Research questions and procedures

Central Situations	Sources
Distribution of PIBID/national and PIBID/UFMS-UEMS grants between 2007 and 2018.	Data referring to the quantity of grants related to PIBID/national, PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS between 2007 and 2018.
Interest around PIBID internal documents between 2007 and 2018.	Internal documents that standardized PIBID/MS and PIBID/national as well as those that make communication between CAPES, PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.
Information from those responsible for PIBID-UFMS/UEMS on social issues in the process of developing the program.	Interview reports with the institutional coordinators of PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2020).

For an *a priori* analysis, it was considered the idea that the movement constituted within the program may be associated with multiple socially established determinations. Thus, the saturation courses of the productive, political and social system seem to directly imply the materialization of several social sectors – for instance, the educational sector and, consequently, the area of teacher education.

As from the aforementioned perspective, it was decided to establish the political-economic ideas elaborated by Hayek (2010) as the guiding axis for the investigation of PIBID, especially on the following categories: 1- economic planning; 2- common welfare/collectivism; and 3- competition. In general terms, the political intentions expressed in Hayek's (2010) book are especially critical of the proposals of collectivist systems, either in the ideological field, or under the political-economic aspect. As a counterpoint to this perspective, it was also sought to highlight assumptions established by Mészáros (2011), based on dialectic foundations for apprehending reality, in order to elucidate the conflicts established in Hayek's liberal and collectivist conception.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Development of PIBID between 2007 and 2014 and stability in political-economic relations

The considerations in Gatti (2012), Mateus (2014) and Rodríguez et al (2017), highlight that PIBID (as well as other teacher training programs) was created as a compensatory mechanism through educational policies, given the productive restructuring established during the second half of the 20th century, as well as dissatisfaction with the development of undergraduate degrees, as they were insufficient to meet the needs of human capital training, which was fundamental at that time.

Not coincidentally, PIBID was subsidized by objectives that aimed at changes in methodological processes, bringing teachers closer to technology, promoting partnership between basic education and higher education, and improving the quality of basic education, using large-scale assessments as a reference (Brasil, 2013) – which indicated that it was a program of significant interest to the State. Such relevance was evidenced as the program was formulated, even under the influence of proposals present in Pluriannual Plan (PPA) of 2004, mainly in relation to mega-objective I (social inclusion¹ and reduction of social inequalities), establishing federal funding in a grant award procedure².

According to Hayek (2010), the liberal conception can provide greater conditions of freedom and prosperity, in contrast to collectivist systems, which the author associates with slavery, misery or even servitude. In counterpoint, Mészáros (2011) expresses criticism to such perspective, as he states that the objective determinations of the global metabolic order of capital associated with the idea of “solicitous capitalist”, in charge of economic processes, refers to a fantasy of social democratic leaders.

Despite the association of the idea of prosperity with the liberal political-economic movement, the 1990s, although aggressive to the working class, provided the Workers' Party (PT) with robustness, enabling Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (Lula) to win the elections in 2002, after significant changes in his discourses. According to Antunes (2006), the

victory of a union leader, avowedly of the left, reverberated the hope of resistance to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the containment of capital flows to the international financial system, and the recovery of the minimum wage dignity, among other issues. However, it is worth noting the author's perception: "The left-wing forces that accredit themselves to demolish neoliberalism, when they come to power, they often become prisoners of the neoliberal gear" (p. 13). Such a scenario also presented itself in Brazil.

In 2002, Lula changed his political strategy and altered his claimant discourse from a proposal of coalition between parties and classes. He published what he called "Letter to the Brazilian People", in which he reassured international speculators, Brazilian foreign debt creditors and businessmen, in order to calm the market, as well as national and international financial capital (Nucci, 2013).

The transformation of the Workers' Party (PT) was elucidated in an article published in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, in 2002, which outlined the metamorphosis of the party between 1981 and 2002:

In 23 years, instead of making the revolution it dreamed of for Brazil, PT revolutionized itself [...] The metamorphosis cost years of discussions [...]. In February 1980, PT called for agrarian reform [...], education and free public health. [...] In 1985 it attacked what in 2002 would become its own flag: the social pact [...]. It still maintained historic positions such as not paying the external debt, as well as breaking up with IMF and nationalizations. It was with this program that Lula ran for president in 1989. In 1994 he was defeated by Cardoso and his Plano Real [...]. In 1998 Lula tried a speech in favor of economic stability. [...] the program also proposed to review privatizations [...] and renegotiate the internal debt. A mistake that the PT did not repeat in 2002, when it definitely dressed up as a moderate, defended the payment of internal and external debts, and committed to complying [...] with the agreement with the IMF (Tosta, 2002, p. 6).

The article highlighted the liberal political-economic agreement presented by PT government, which had been manifested since the 1990s. However, the implementation of its policies showed singularities and contradictions regarding the liberalizing character, including the creation of social and educational programs through the interference of State financing, even on income. In the field of education, especially regarding higher education, the Program to Support Restructuring and Expansion Plans at Federal Universities – REUNI (2007) and the National Student Assistance Plan – PNAES (2008) stand out, as well as the Tutorial Education Program - PET (2005) and PIBID (2007).

The new way of managing neoliberal policies was linked to the problems caused between 1995 and 2002, under Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) government, which raised questions. Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), together with PT, then imprinted a new neoliberal

order, referred to as “neo-developmentalism” in academic discussions (Lamoso, 2012). The term “neo-developmentalism”, referring to Lula government’s political initiatives and actions, arose from the search for economic growth in Brazilian capitalism, without breaking with the neoliberal project still in force in the country (Boito Junior; Berringer, 2013).

In a discussion about neoliberal managerialism in Public Administration in Brazil, Faganello (2017) explains that, in the Brazilian case, three distinct moments are identified in this process: 1st) From the 1990s and early 2000s, when tougher reforms occurred, with the predominance of privatization and fiscal adjustment; 2nd) The period under PT administration, with more progressive governments in power, characterized by cooperation and transfer of public services to non-governmental organizations, together with the implementation of public policies for social inclusion; 3rd). Since 2016, after PT left power, there was a movement to finalize tasks that were not completed in the 1990s.

Given the political-economic panorama, it can be considered that the rise of Lula government allowed the liberal project initiated in the 1990s to continue, however, with the incorporation of some social agendas, given the singularity of managerialism regarding public administration, even if from minimum income transfer. Castelo (2011) showed in his thesis that this phenomenon is anchored in the emergence of social-liberalism in Brazil, which, even without consensus about its beginnings among intellectuals in the area, served as a political guideline in FHC government, but became effectively legitimate, not without questioning, during Lula administration.

Castelo (2011) also notes that the global offensive scenario against conservative thinking allowed national ideologues of social-liberalism to build a theoretical and political agenda on “social issues” in Brazil. In light of Hayek (2010), one can analyze that the social-liberal ideological proposal developed in the PT governments, especially in Lula governments, did not propitiate the development of liberal ideology, since State intervention in the economic sphere was present for the corporate party project. Nevertheless, according to Castelo (2011), attention should be paid to the contradictions of social-liberal ideals, such as the primacy of market logic as a mechanism for allocating resources along with state regulation, as well as the de-ideologization of political discourses and practices, among others.

Mészáros (2011) states that the capitalist system inevitably articulates and consolidates as a singular command structure with socio-metabolic control. Therefore, due to the unique modality of its socioeconomic metabolism, one understands that, “associated with its totalizing character – unparalleled in all of history, until our days –, a previously unimaginable correlation is established between economics and politics” (p. 98). This issue may explain, in contemporary times, the inclusion of social agendas in Lula’s government, even under the conjunctural conditions referred to by the principles of neo-liberalization.

During the 2000s, this unstable and conflicting movement presented similarities and distances in relation to the conservation of the liberal project observed in Hayek's theory (2010), sometimes with the elaboration of liberal proposals, sometimes through political proposals of minimum income transfer, or income financed by the State. As a teacher training policy, PIBID was also part of this movement, and it is from this contradictory process that we intend to analyze PIBID/national, PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.

The granting of scholarships at national and state levels and the document that presents the selection of undergraduate teaching students were sources that guided the analysis that follows. Table 1 below shows the expansion of the program in Brazil with reference to State funding via grants:

Table 1 – Number of PIBID/national scholarships approved by Public Notice (2007-2013)³

Notices	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Grants	3.088	13.694	16.714	30.006	49.321	90.254
Resources executed	-----	20.041.950	80.398.941	138.597.928	219.084.614	287.900.596

Source: Brasil (2013a); INEP (2020).

Table 1 shows a significant increase in the number of scholarships and fundings from the Federal Government between 2007 and 2014. This increase is considered relevant insofar as the number of enrollments in Undergraduate Degree courses in the on-site modality presented a scenario of stability, so that the number of students was practically the same in 10 years, from 2007 to 2017. In addition, PIBID became a program with important repercussions in the process of formation of degrees in the face-to-face modality. Thus, while the number of entries was around an average of 846,000 enrolled and the number of entries reached around 500,000 between 2007 and 2014, there was an increase from 3088 to 90,254 scholarships approved by PIBID. The situation is indicative of an expansion in income supplementation, especially for undergraduate students, which refers to the greater number of grants awarded by PIBID⁴ (INEP, 2018; Brasil, 2020).

Such a scenario established – even if through a minimum income transfer process – State interference in the income of a social group from the development of PIBID. This situation indicates a departure from the prerogatives of Hayek (2010), whose proposal, based on economic liberalism, vehemently criticized the State's action on income. Based on anti-collectivism, the counterpoint of economic planning, individual freedom and the importance of competition, the author highlighted:

But it is not only when the State assumes direct control in fields where no such agreement exists that it ends up suppressing individual freedom. Unfortunately, it is not possible to continuously extend the sphere of common action without, at the same time, reducing the individu-

al's freedom in his own sphere. When the public sector, in which the state controls all means, exceeds a certain part of the whole, the effects of its actions dominate the entire system. [...]. Few will thus be the individual goals whose attainment does not depend on state action; almost all of them will fall under the "social scale of value" - which guides state action (Hayek, 2010, p. 78-79).

In counterpoint, Mészáros (2011) clarifies that the fictional idea of equality is the way in which the State legally protects the established relationship of forces. Thus, the different branches of capital manage to dominate the labor force in society. Such a situation shows that the modern State does not depart from this process; on the contrary, its existence is a requirement for the control of labor, as it protects the alienated material and the means of production.

Mészáros contributes to the understanding that the liberal idea of structuring a State without direct control over economic development – taking into account the interference in the individual freedom of subjects – is an illusion, as the function and the essence of the modern State consist in establishing control over the processes of labor, production, even consumption, referring to elements of the economy.

PIBID program was part of a state policy based on neoliberal managerialism, however in a period in which greater importance was given to the development of social public policies. The growth of program grants between 2007 and 2014 represented this situation that was systematized by PT governments, corresponding, as explained by Oliveira (2011), to a period characterized by the promotion of assistance and compensatory policies, represented by social programs focused on the poorest public, without providing conditions for the expansion of policies and actions of universal interests, in a perspective of equality, as provided for by the 1988 Federal Constitution, for example.

As a specific program for initial teacher training, PIBID also showed welfare characteristics insofar as, in 2014, when the largest number of initiations to teaching scholarships was granted – 72,845, there was a representativeness of 13, 8% of admissions for degrees – 528,000 – in the same year. In this case, despite the fact that the cash transfer was designated for a specific group and not for the majority of the undergraduate students, it is not possible to consider that it was made possible for the group of academics with low income, given the meritocratic nature of the selection process to act in the initiation of teaching, which will be discussed in more detail later on.

The particular scenario of public universities in Mato Grosso do Sul, in the period we intend to investigate (2007/2009-2014), indicated a process of reproduction of the national situation in the field of education (see Table 2).

Table 2 – Granting of scholarships for PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS (2007-2013)

University/Year	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013
UFMS	58	131	126	451	1007
UEMS	-----	148	137	449	875
Total	58	279	263	900	1883

Source: Details of Institutional Project – Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) (2007, 2009); data provided by the institutional coordinators PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.

Table 2 reinforces the expansion of State funding in the period between 2007 and 2014⁵. It is evident, therefore, that Lula and Dilma governments, based on the “neo-developmental” organization (Boito Junior; Berringer, 2013) or a neoliberal managerialism (Faganello, 2017), presented elements/policies, as in the case of PIBID, which were able to establish the strengthening of the private and financial sector, including under World Bank guidelines, for a formative compensation of the new productive model, but with a distance, to a certain extent, from prospects significantly addressed by the corporate project elaborated by Hayek (2010).

The association of PIBID with the private sector is elucidated by Rodríguez et al. (2017), as they evidenced a complex movement in the development of PIBID, even though, apparently, it has presented intentions to strengthen the public sector in the first public notices. The respective authors identified that, as of 2010, the program was brought closer to the private sector in the process of opening the edicts, so that, in that year, there was an increase in the participation of municipal, community, confessional and philanthropic non-profit institutions and, in the 2013 edict, it was expanded to for-profit institutions. In other words, the strengthening of the private sector was not only developed in terms of training, but also in the participation of private institutions in the program, configuring a partnership between the public and the private sector, with a characteristic outlined by liberal ideas.

However, if CAPES Ordinance No. 59/2013 is observed, there are two specific issues for these private for-profit institutions to participate in the program: 1) CAPES would not transfer funding resources to private for-profit Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and their projects should have a financial contribution from the institution itself, in the amount of BRL 750.00 per participating licensor, up to a limit of BRL 30,000 per subproject, per year; and 2) “[...] the granting of teaching initiation scholarships to undergraduate students from private for-profit HEIs would be limited to ProUni participants” (Brasil, 2013, p. 3). It is noteworthy that ProUni refers to a program that establishes some aspects linked to the social inclusion movement. For a better understanding of the process, follow its regulations:

To apply for a scholarship, the student must participate in the National High School Examination (Enem), in the edi-

tion immediately preceding the ProUni selection process, and obtain the minimum grade in this exam, established by MEC. He must also have a family income of up to three minimum wages per person, and meet one of the conditions below: have completed high school in a public or in a private school with a full scholarship from the institution; have attended high school partially in a public school and partially in a private school with full scholarship from the institution; be a person with a disability; be a public teacher of basic education, in active exercise, integrating the permanent staff of the institution; and be competing for a vacancy in a graduation course, higher education or pedagogy. In this case, the family income per person is not considered (Brasil, 2005).

It is noted, therefore, that there are significant elements of State control over public funding to help the income of individuals with worse social conditions and, consequently, the economy in general, a fact that once again contradicts Hayek's (2010) liberalizing project. Documents and data indicate the ambiguous nature of the government, since, in the same way that it accepted the strengthening of the private sector through public financing, for example, it established limits associated with social inclusion processes, as provided for in the 2004 PPA prepared by the government.

The data in Table 3 reinforce the announced configuration, which is reproduced in PIBID development process.

Table 3 – Relationship between the expansion of higher education and the expansion of PIBID grants per region

Regions	% Higher Education private institutions	% Higher Education public institutions	% PIBID scholarships in private institutions	% PIBID scholarships in public institutions
Center-West	91,7%	8,3%	10,1%	89,9%
South-East	87,0%	13,0%	28,4%	71,6%
South	90,0%	10,0%	38,4%	61,5%
North-East	85,2%	14,8%	2,3%	97,7%
North	83,3%	16,7%	2,3%	97,7%

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2015).

Table 3 shows the power of higher education for the process of accumulation and expansion of capital, as there is a significantly higher percentage of private universities compared to the number of public universities. Despite this, even because of the limits established in CAPES Ordinance No. 59/2013 (Brasil, 2013b), the number of scholarships awarded to public universities is significantly higher. However, the ambiguous nature of the government's proposals reproduced in PIBID made possible a significant amount of public financing to the private institutions.

One might presume that Hayek's (2010) proposition was more apparent within the PIBID when the issue of competition addressed by the theory was understood and as the selection process produced for the entrance of academics to the program was accessed. Moreover, this appointment seems to be reproduced in a general way in the educational selection processes, as established by ENEM and by ProUni, for example.

According to the announcement of PIBID/UFMS in 2017 (UFMS, 2017), the selection of academics predicted: "They will be classified according to the descending order of the weighted average (Mp) of two items: 1. Academic Performance Index (Ida); 2. Curriculum Analysis (CA)". Obtaining the Academic Performance Index was linked to the following aspects and formula: "Ida= Iaa. Chc/Cht. I – Iaa is the Accumulated Achievement Index since entering the course; II – Chc is the total workload attended with approval; III – Cht is the total workload provided for in the course curriculum for curricular completion" (Brasil, 2017, Annex IV). The selection criteria, therefore, did not match the perspective established by the PPA (2004), which was based on the idea of inclusion and social equality, but on the ideological premise established by liberalism, which addresses the importance of competition to determine more effective situations and with greater individual freedom.

About this competition announced by economic liberalism and reinforced by Hayek (2010, p. 58), the following stands out:

The liberal doctrine favors the most effective use of competitive forces as a means of coordinating human efforts [...]. It is based on the conviction that, where effective competition exists, it will always prove to be the best way to guide individual efforts [...]. Nevertheless, economic liberalism is opposed to replacing competition with less effective methods of coordinating individual efforts.

However, Mészáros (2011) states that fundamental individual and economic freedom, assumed by Hayek (2010), is unfeasible according to the organization and regulation of the modern state, as it indicates the favoring of the ruling class over the worker who does not have the usufruct of private property, nor of its means of production.

The idea of emphasis on competition was apparent in the process of selecting academics and, therefore, similar to Hayek's proposal (Hayek, 2010). Associated with this issue, it is worth noting that Lula government managed to pass important reforms to strengthen the private and financial sector, with due attention to commercial competition through the free market, as well as implementing significant social policies that contributed to the income of the subjects. This situation contributes to the understanding of the ambiguous characteristics present within PIBID between 2007 and 2014, according to the eclectic political development established by PT government.

Therefore, based on the sources presented and the counterpoints between Hayek and Mészáros, it can be considered that the development of PIBID between 2007 and 2014 indicated a significant expansion, albeit under a complex and contradictory process, in order to reproduce the established totality in the historical moment investigated. As there were significant changes in the political-economic field in the Brazilian scenario, especially after 2015, the item below intends to address the development of PIBID from that period on.

Conflicts within PIBID in light of the changes established after the Brazilian political-economic crisis

The global political-economic crisis at the end of the first decade of the 2000s had repercussions in Brazil from the second decade of the respective millennium, with an accentuation of this process in the year 2015. Thereby, some reforms were established and education suffered its consequences through the decrease in public funding. To understand the repercussions within PIBID, given that between 2007 and 2014 there was a significant growth in funding and granting of scholarships, the analysis based on an interview carried out with institutional coordinators of PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS on issues around the program and the grants of grants made possible for the respective PIBIDs from 2015 onwards.

It is worth noting that 2015 was a year of conflicts in the political field, making it difficult even to access updates on PIBID scholarship grants at national level. Updates that occurred electronically until 2014 were suspended, so the only possible way to access these data from then on was through institutional coordinators – in this research, PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.

It is important to understand, initially, that the intervention of state funding on teacher training policies, especially PIBID, even under the condition of minimum income transfer, had an impact on the social field. To elucidate this impact, especially in relation to undergraduate students, here follows the report of UEMS institutional coordinator when asked about the contribution of implementing PIBID on the campus to which it is linked:

[...] PIBID contributed to the permanence of the student in the degree, I do not have official data, but as a teacher I realize that it has not reduced dropout, because dropout has N factors, but that scholarship holders tend not to drop out of courses. Why? Because the teaching initiation grants do not have a fixed period [...]. The student at PIBID can enter in the first year, and, if yes, he is doing a good job, corresponding to the task, he can continue until the fourth year (UEMS, 2016).

However, even under impact in the social field, in addition to the objectives of improving teacher education, another report by the same institutional coordinator, from PIBID-UEMS, showed conflicts in the transfer of funds and granting of scholarships from 2015, including the

beginning in the management of the PT government, with the presidential candidate Dilma Rousseff. Regarding this process, the respondent highlights:

Well, the problem of implementation [...] first was the transfer of the cost budget that did not come as planned or provided for in the notice 061/2013, so it only came for the first year, then it didn't come anymore [...]. There were conflicts from 2015 until now [...] we have noticed an attempt to cut PIBID's grants [...]. In 2015 CAPES said [...] it no longer had the resources to pay the scholarships until the end of the year, so they wanted to make a cut that could reach up to ninety percent of the scholarships. And then we made a whole movement in defense of PIBID and the minister backed down, so they reallocated funds and such and guaranteed the opportunity until the end of the year. But then, after that, PIBID started having these attacks [...] without certainty of the program's continuity. It turned out that in May this year, it launched an ordinance [...] so, the projects would be closed in June 30, from now on, 2016, and in July a new one would start for eighteen months, right, but with new rules [...]: the area coordinator would have to coordinate thirty students, today there are twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, in at least three schools [...] the costing amount that was BRL 750 per student would be BRL 250 per student, so a series of attacks on PIBID that left everyone, all institutional projects throughout Brazil, disgusted with the proposal. So, all this happened since Minister Janine, due to budgetary issues, that the government, at the beginning of Dilma's second term [...] she wanted to make a cut in the GDPID of at least fifty percent [...] (UEMS, 2016).

The report shows a change in PT government actions and projections, which were based on the implementation of focused social policies and began to be guided by the "purest" liberalizing ideals as the economic crisis in Brazil accentuated. It seems, therefore, that Hayek's liberal proposal intensified after 2015, minimizing the importance of issues related to social inclusion and reducing inequality through state funding. Thus, Hayek's (2010) premises against collectivist and social welfare systems gained momentum even in a government that managed neoliberal policies with the incorporation of social policies.

Despite that movement, the advance of the liberalizing perspective with effects within the PIBID generated reactions against the attempts to change and terminate the program, including under the organization of institutional coordinators, area coordinators and other entities representing education. About this, the institutional coordinator of UFMS emphasized:

An important point about the construction of the PIBID identity is the National Undergraduate Meeting (ENALIC), which took place in Natal at the end of 2014. FORPIBID still appears as an element that will politically add to the discussion about PIBID coordinators. In other words, from the point of view of institutional coordinators, PIBID becomes a body with a head, which was extremely important for the mobilization of the permanence of PIBID 2015 and 2016, so that it would not change its essence. Ordinance 46 was revoked because of the pressure led by FORPIBID [...]. So he gets a hearing in the Federal Senate [...] in the Federal Chamber [...], mobilizes ANPED, [...] several civil society entities, [...] ANDIP, [...]

FORGRAP, [...] ANPED, [...] physics students, Brazilian History Society [...] (UFMS, 2016).

If, on the one hand, there was an intensification of liberalizing proposals, on the other, there was a reaction from groups involved with education that may have contributed to the maintenance of the program, even without changes in its essence. Despite this, PIBID in the post-2015 period was marked by episodes of instability in its maintenance, as can be seen from the document sent by the Dean of Graduation Portal (UFMS, 2018) on the updating of scholarships until 2018:

With the expiration of CAPES Edictal 61/2013 (from 03/01/2014 to 02/28/2018), all previous projects were closed in February 2018 and institutions had to present a new project proposal in 2018. (For more information, access <http://pibid.sites.ufms.br/>). However, given the uncertainty of the continuity of the Program, the Dean of Undergraduate Studies (Prograd) published Prograd Notice No. 133, of April 6, 2018, coordinated, managed and executed by the Dean of Undergraduate Studies (Prograd) in partnership with the Special Secretariat for Distance Education and Teacher Training (Sedfor), effective from 05/01/2018 to 07/31/2018 (Brasil, 2018).

Even under instability, as the document shown above reveals, the Edictal 07/2018 was opened with effect until 2020, and the UFMS approved a project that granted 500 scholarships per month in 2018 (subsequently reduced to 485), that is, less than half of the scholarships that were approved by the 2013 edict. Despite the resistance of the entities, the liberal movement opposed to economic planning succeeded, not only through the reduction of scholarships and financing from PIBID, but also to reduce public spending to the detriment of spending on interest and public debt amortization, which, according to news published by the Union of Workers of the Federal Judiciary and the Public Ministry of the Union in Rio Grande do Sul (Vilão..., 2019), remained at 40% of the Federal Budget executed in 2018.

Although this scenario was explained in 2018, it is relevant to understand this moment as part of a process that lasted since 2015, the year in which Dilma Rousseff – PT government sent an Official Letter to the institutional coordinators, already indicating the fragility of the program. The issues pointed out some processes for suspension of scholarships, including: a) temporary suspension of the inclusion of new scholarship holders in the Customer Service (SAC); b) teaching initiation scholarship holders who received more than 48 installments of the PIBID scholarship; and c) Comptroller General of the Union (CGU) report on the accumulation of PIBID scholarships with National Education Development Fund (FNDE) programs. This document refers to Official Letter No. 317/2015 – CGV/DEB/C (Brasil, 2015).

It should also be noted that the temporary suspension of the inclusion of new scholarship holders in the program's quotas and in the SAC, as well as the immediate suspension of the selection of new scholarship

holders, indicated the possibility of an alleged end of the program due to the departure of students who were graduating and the impossibility of inserting other students.

This configuration, initiated in 2015 through Official Letter No. 317/215, reinforces the intention of PT government, still in power, to resort to a proposal that would aim at reducing the State in the field of public funding, including the educational sector, as well as of teacher training. In other words, it was possible to noticed in this period a greater distance from a proposition based on social inclusion and equality, which was established in the PPA (2004).

It was possible to identify the role of the bourgeois State in the movement that articulated within it, in a way that it managed to reduce the distribution of funds to the various public sectors, in addition to maintaining its relations with banks and companies in an untouchable way. Table 4 below shows a distributive reduction of public funds in the field of teacher education, represented by the granting of PIBID scholarships in a period of political-economic crisis in the country:

Table 4 – PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS Scholarship Granting (2015-2018)

University/Year	2015	2016	2017	2018
UFMS	1007	866	-----	500
UEMS	858	807	-----	-----

Source: Coordination of PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS.

Both PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS presented a growing panorama of grants between 2007 and 2014, which was also verified in PIBID/national, given that the first call for the program in UFMS granted 58 scholarships per month in 2007 and 1007 in the 2013 call. Regarding PIBID/UEMS first open public notice, in 2009, 148 scholarships were granted per month and, in 2013, 875 were allocated.

Based on the document sent by CAPES to institutional coordinators and in line with the data in Table 4, it can be considered that in 2015 there was a trend towards a reduction in PIBID scholarships, in addition to a supposed possibility of their extinction. There was a reduction of more than half of the scholarships/month between 2015 and 2018, and in 2015 the PIBID/UFMS managed to maintain 1007 scholarships/month, while in 2016 they were reduced to 866. In 2018, only 500 were approved.

Hayek's (2010) proposal on the issue of economic planning and common welfare begins to gain authenticity at the end of Dilma government, in 2015. It then gains strength with the parliamentary coup in the course of 2015-2016, which, through the exchange of power in the presidency, forwards and approves reforms to contain public spending and create a more competitive and safer environment for employers in the legal field.

Considering the economic crisis associated with the accentuated liberalizing conjuncture, Maciel (2015) pointed out that it was a period of political-economic conflict, so that the bourgeois classes began to show dissatisfaction with the program adopted by the government in power – PT –, including the sectors that were benefited significantly, such as the industrial and the agribusiness segments.

Thus, Marcelino (2016) assures that a national media movement pro-impeachment was promoted through the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) platform, with the launch of a document named “A bridge to the future”. Indeed, on May 12, 2016, President Dilma Roussef was impeached and the plan orchestrated by the bourgeois class actually achieved significant victories, removing important achievements from the working class.

With the removal of Roussef, Vice President Michel Temer assumed power from 2016 to 2018. About this period, Souza and Soares (2019, p. 13) explain:

[...] to the chronic crisis of capital over-accumulation and the economic recession that worsens between 2015-2016, what we glimpse in the post-coup period is the speed of fiscal adjustment, accompanied by a gross deterioration of living and working conditions [...]. After the measures that increase the precariousness of work (the labor counter-reform) and the reduction of social expenses to pay the public debt (the New Fiscal Regime), it is now necessary to advance in the attack on workers' retirement and pensions.

Given this scenario and established mediations, it is considered that the decreasing investment in PIBID via granting of scholarships, together with the intentions of its extinction, was not configured in a restricted way. The approach to Hayek's (2010) ideas, especially about his opposition to economic planning and common welfare, in addition to his appreciation of competition/competitiveness, gained disposition and persistence from the strong repercussion of the political-economic crisis in the Brazilian scenario. It is evident, therefore, that the singularities constituted within the program referred to a universal movement arising from instabilities in the material base.

In general, the significant effort of the modern State to withdraw public financing from PIBID implied a reduction in the permanence of students in disadvantaged conditions. According to Mészáros (2011), freedom and individualism are effective only for those who have the material conditions to be free and achieve their individual desires. This equality provided for by public policies even becomes unattainable in a class society in which the State controls, in a legal, political and ideological manner, the measures that favor one class over another.

Final Considerations

The purpose of this article – to review the internal situation of PIBID between 2007 and 2018 – was based on analyses of the situation as well as on Mészáros interpretation of counterpoints between Hayek's liberalism and the historical-dialectical materialism. The study made it evident that PIBID underwent significant changes and conflicts in its development, especially after 2015, with the accentuation of the political-economic crisis in Brazil.

The study showed that the effects of the program – which came close to liberalizing proposals, especially on issues of economic planning, common welfare, collectivism, equality and competition – were trends referring to a rising movement of the bourgeois class expressed in totality, which had repercussions in PIBID as well. It was also found that such trends are grounded and regulated in the modern State and are ways in which a false ideal of equality, essential for the hegemony of capital, is created.

PIBID revealed contradictions arising from the tendencies of the government responsible for its implementation, since, in the same way that it produced an increase in the financing of the program between 2007 and 2014, its selection process also developed criteria far from this perspective and closer to the competition advocated by the liberal conception.

Considering such eclecticism in the practices of PT government, the study shows that the existing resistance to the tough measures on the cut of funds for the program were not enough to prevent the reduction of public funding regarding the granting of scholarships from 2015 – a period in which economic and political crisis deepened in the Brazilian scenario.

The institutional coordinators of PIBID/UFMS and PIBID/UEMS reinforced this rising liberal perspective, signaling internal conflicts so that PIBID would be changed and even extinguished after 2015, which did not happen, although the granting of scholarships was reduced to less than half between the 2013 and 2018 edicts.

As stated initially, the liberalizing implications within the PIBID/MS were associated with a universal process. Therefore, it is worth noting that the reforms approved after 2016, under Temer government, especially PEC no. 95 (Brasil, 2016), after an important parliamentary bourgeois movement, contributed to the success of a scenario of funding reduction for the program, as well as configuring instability and the reduction of more than half of the grants awarded in 2018, compared to 2014.

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Notes

- 1 As for the term “social inclusion” mentioned in this study, Guhur (2003) explains that the idea of inclusion is ambiguous, but not imprecise, due to the complexity and contradictory nature of the phenomenon itself. In the case of social inclusion, figuring out the dialectics between exclusion and inclusion becomes important to understand it as an intrinsic process of capitalism, which manifests itself in the condition of inequality and social legitimation (Sawaia, 2001). Therefore, the perspective of social inclusion of the bourgeois State as a welfare measure is based on economic/financial regulation for its maintenance as a State, with no pretensions of guaranteeing social rights or, even less, the emancipation of the working class. The quotations and comparisons using the term “social inclusion” seek to highlight – still within the liberal proposal of social inclusion, be it through income distribution programs or scholarships – the possibility of precariousness and retrogression of government programs.
- 2 Teaching Initiation - BRL 400; Supervision - BRL 765; Area Coordination - BRL 1,400; Area Coordination of Educational Process Management - BRL 1,400; Institutional coordination - BRL 1,500 (Brasil, 2013a).
- 3 The number of scholarships each year refers to the accumulation associated with previous calls. However, as the granting of scholarships linked to the 2007 edictal ended in 2011, the values for 2012 and 2013 did not incorporate the grants from the 2007 edict. The scholarships for 2013 are part of an accumulation until February 2014.
- 4 In February 2014, there were 72,845 scholarships for teaching initiation; 11,717 for supervision; 4,924 for area coordination; 455 for management area coordination; and 319 for institutional coordination (Brasil, 2020).
- 5 The year 2014 was considered in this study, since the scholarships for that year corresponded to the 2013 call for proposals.

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