



Dilemmas of Brazilian schooling policies in the early 21st century: democratization, citizenship and social justice

Roberto Rafael Dias da Silva* and Rodrigo Manoel Dias da Silva

Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul, Av. Dom João Hoffmann, 313, 99700-000, Erechim, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. *Author for correspondence. E-mail: robertoddsilva@yahoo.com.br

ABSTRACT. This analysis is foregrounded on schooling policies in Brazil, especially with regard to the investigation of some dilemmas conceived as a challenge to these policies. A theoretical study produced a diagnosis on the relationship between education, citizenship and social justice as factors that reorganize the agenda of educational policies at the beginning of the 21st century. A documentary study identifies and interprets three political dilemmas that make up Brazil's policies for expanding the school schedule, by establishing equity as a principle, protection as a goal and intersectionality as a policy.

Keywords: educational policies, schooling, social justice, citizenship.

Dilemas das políticas brasileiras de escolarização no início do século XXI: democratização, cidadania e justiça social

RESUMO. O artigo inscreve-se no âmbito das políticas de escolarização produzidas no Brasil, com o interesse de analisar alguns dilemas que se impõem como desafios na contemporaneidade. A partir de estudo teórico, buscou-se produzir um diagnóstico sobre as relações entre escolarização, cidadania e justiça social, enquanto elementos que reorganizam a agenda das políticas educacionais no início deste século. Na sequência, mediante estudo documental, buscou-se identificar e interpretar três dilemas que perfazem as políticas brasileiras de ampliação da jornada escolar, a saber: a equidade como princípio, a proteção como meta e a intersetorialidade.

Palavras-chave: políticas educacionais, escolarização, justiça social, cidadania.

Dilemas de las políticas brasileñas de escolarización en el inicio del siglo XXI: democratización, ciudadanía y justicia social

RESUMEN. El artículo se inserta en el ámbito de las políticas de escolarización producidas en Brasil, con el interés de analizar algunos dilemas que se imponen como retos en la contemporaneidad. A partir de estudio teórico, se buscó producir un diagnóstico sobre las relaciones entre escolarización, ciudadanía y justicia social, en cuanto elementos que reorganizan la agenda de las políticas educacionales en el inicio de este siglo. En la secuencia, por medio de estudio documental, se buscó identificar e interpretar tres dilemas que llevan a cabo las políticas brasileñas de ampliación de la jornada escolar, a saber: la equidad como principio, la protección como meta y la intersectorialidad.

Palabras clave: políticas educacionales, escolarización, justicia social, ciudadanía.

Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interactions (NANCY FRASER, 2009, p. 17).

Introduction

Thinking of schooling processes requires situating them in the historical and sociocultural contexts of the production of their policies, because, to a greater or lesser extent, schooling is subject to the social conditions of the time in which it is carried out. Such subjection indicates that phenomena occurred in society irradiate and interfere with the school dynamics, just as

schooling changes interactional structures and dynamics in society. In face of this understanding, it is unconceivable that we perceive schooling in itself; we should rather see it as being crossed by multiple mediations derived from social, economic, political, cultural or pedagogical records (SILVA; SILVA, 2012).

This leads to two analytical consequences, which will be better outlined later on in this elaboration,

but which need to be announced in this opening. First, analyzing schooling implies comprehending a dense web of senses, values and rationalities that are made explicit in the routine form of a 'work on the other' (DUBET, 2006). Its political nature is evidenced when it is built up on hierarchized and hierarchizing social practices, which, in addition, are filled with selection apparatuses and relations of power. A second consequence refers to the porous ground on which schooling stands in relation to society. Thinking of it is reflecting about the social relations established at a certain time, in a certain space, and that mobilize certain social actors. In disciplinary terms, schooling is *per se* a psychological object of study.

Our view, in this elaboration, is turned to the scope of schooling policies produced in Brazil, intending to identify some dilemmas, problematization and challenges to these policies in contemporaneity. For us to examine this question, we will perform three analytical displacements. In the first one, we sought to produce a diagnosis about the relationships between schooling, citizenship and social justice, as elements that have been reorganizing the agenda of educational policies at the beginning of the current century. In the second one, in a digressive exercise, we chose for scrutinizing its historicity in our country before the main educational challenge of past decades, namely: the democratization of the access to public school.

Schooling, citizenship and social justice: a sociological diagnosis

When we proposed to carry out a critical examination of public policies in contemporaneity, the analyses developed led us to a set of important movements. We could highlight the changes in productive systems with the emergence of post-Fordist models (BAUMAN, 2000), the reorganization of capitalist systems shaped by the possibilities of a society of knowledge (SENNETT, 2008), the decline of institutional forms (DUBET, 2006; 2007), or even the centrality of new social arrangements in science, in culture or in citizenship (LATOUR, 2000). However, to compose this diagnosis, we will emphasize the movements produced in our time about the senses of social justice, generally linked to the scenarios of globalization and to the consequent "[...] notoriety of culture over politics" (FRASER, 2002, p. 8). Besides verifying the expansion of the debates about the questions of identity and difference, in their diverse nuances, we are challenged by present times to think about social justice.

When studying the new dynamics of society produced since the second half of the 20th century, the philosopher Nancy Fraser defends that the politicization of culture led to the making of a new grammar around questions of identity and difference, giving rise to that which she calls 'struggle for recognition' (FRASER, 2002). Under this argumentative perspective,

Claims for the recognition of difference now drive many of the world's social conflicts, from campaigns for national sovereignty and subnational autonomy, to battles around multiculturalism, to the newly energized movements for international human rights (FRASER, 2002, p. 8).

In their heterogeneity, such battles are mobilized from a collective grammar shaped by the logics of a statute policy.

Following Fraser's reflections, we can point that, paradoxically to the emergence of statute policies; there is a decline of class policies. In other words, if over the last century contestation strategies were organized through the search for economic equality, today, they prioritize other forms of claims. According to the philosopher, the forms of social justice were being replaced from redistribution to recognition, and both logics tend to fight for spaces in the interpretation of democratic societies.

In a later study (FRASER, 2009), the philosopher outlines a meta-political perspective to the question and suggests that justice requires that all subjects can participate equally in the social life. This means that, as we evidenced in the epigraph of this study,

Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interactions (FRASER, 2009, p. 17).

To Fraser, contemporaneity, by moving away from the Keynesian framing, demands permanent forms of representation that incorporate the political dimension.

In general, then, an adequate theory of justice for our time must be three-dimensional. Encompassing not only redistribution and recognition, but also representation, it must allow us to grasp the question of the frame as a question of justice. Incorporating the economic, cultural, and political dimensions, it must enable us to identify injustices of misframing and to evaluate possible remedies. Above all, it must permit us to pose, and to answer, the key political question of our age: how can we integrate struggles against maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation within a post-Westphalian frame? (FRASER, 2009, p. 26).

Briefly, we can indicate that innumerable analytical prisms have proposed to problematize the

social justice matter in its interfaces with schooling policies. From the debates between recognition and redistribution (FRASER, 2002; 2009), above evidenced, at least three big argumentative sets can be referred at this moment, namely: a) the debates about *cognitive justice*, proposed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007); b) the question of *curricular justice*, in the terms of Connel (1997); and c) the possibilities of construction of a *fair school*, outlined in the studies of the sociologist François Dubet (2008). We will go through each of the approaches next.

One of the emerging concepts of this analytical configuration is that of cognitive justice, produced from studies by Boaventura Santos (2007). According to the Portuguese sociologist, when examining colonialism and interculturality matters, contemporary social analyses need to consider the partial dimension of scientific knowledge, aiming at establishing dialogues with non-scientific knowledge. According to the author, the mobilization of this dialogue leads to the composition of an “[...] ecology of knowledge [...]” (SANTOS, 2007, p. 132), in which, for the complexity of the world where we live, different kinds of knowledge are necessary to comprehend it. At the same time, the sociologist defends that it is fundamental that the colonizer and instrumental conceptions of knowledge are overcome, favoring the emergence of a ‘cognitive justice’.

In this direction, fights for cognitive justice are as relevant (and as hard) as those that happen within the scope of social justice (SANTOS, 2007). Such relevance led the thinker to compare post-colonialism questions in his studies. In his words,

[...] the advance of an epistemology of knowledge-emancipation depends on the advance of social battles against oppression, discrimination and social exclusion (SANTOS, 2007, p. 133).

Cognitive justice would imply, then, the recognition of knowledge produced by contexts and by non-dominant epistemologies.

The epistemological proposals I have been making in the last twenty years do not point only to new types of knowledge; they point, also, to new modes of production of knowledge. I define them, in general, as epistemologies of the South, understanding as South the metaphor of human suffering, systematically caused by capitalism (SANTOS, 2007, p. 133).

The hints highlighted by Boaventura Santos’s sociology, especially by the notion of cognitive justice, show us other perspectives of justice fabricated in modern societies. In the specific field

of schooling policies, the debates take on a significant multiplicity of approaches. Following the problematization of Connell (1997), we can consider that, though fundamental, educational policies grounded on the conceptions of distributive justice demand a complementary concept – *curricular justice*. The policies produced since the 1970’s, especially in the context of the United States, mobilized compensatory educational strategies that intended, when aimed at unprivileged groups, to constitute a break with the poverty cycle and the elimination of their inheritances (CONNEL, 1997). According to the author, the hypotheses of the compensatory education were anchored on mistaken positions, namely: the understanding that school inequalities were a question referring to minorities, under the perspective that “[...] poor people are culturally different from the majority [...]” (CONNEL, 1997, p. 35); or, even, that education reforms would be a problem of technical nature.

Unlike the sociologists of the reproduction, Connell (1997) argued that “[...] education is not a mirror of economic or cultural inequalities [...]” (CONNEL, 1997, p. 40), since school institutions also produce their own inequalities. By legitimating certain inequalities,

[...] education systems persistently promote the belief that people who are advantaged in the distribution of social assets deserve their advantages (CONNELL, 1997, p. 41).

Thus, school institutions provide differentiated treatment to their students, fabricating social identities that discredit certain subjects to the detriment of others.

About the principles above outlined, Connell structures his concept of ‘curricular justice’, constituted from an operating model, evidenced in three precepts: ‘the interests of the least favored’, ‘participation and common schooling’ and ‘the historical production of equality’. Under this argumentation, the notion of curricular justice implies guaranteeing the unprivileged ones a common schooling that allows them to share knowledge they have been historically denied. Nevertheless, in the composition of this analysis, we will take a step further to examine this question through the theoretical approach of Dubet (2008), about *school justice*.

According to Dubet, the modern societies were built on two types of societal affirmation, which evidence essential tensions of modernity in societies that are democratic and capitalist all the same (DUBET, 2003). The first type of societal affirmation corresponds to democratic equality,

produced in the contexts of reorganization of national states and, through social disputes and mediations, incorporated by the classic views of citizenship and rights. The individuals become equal before the Law and the State, with the report of the reduction of 'empirical inequalities' of birth, of race and of tradition. In the search for the equality's triumph, based on the Tocquevillean expression, juridical inequalities between groups are replaced for inequalities referring to the activity and to the success of the authors, which do not mean that these inequalities are smaller, but that they are open, since they are produced by individuals that are fundamentally equal (DUBET, 2003).

From this interpretation of the modern world, inequalities derived from relations of merit seem to be fair. Contemporary claims for equality of opportunities advocate similar understanding. On the other hand, in the second societal type, it is important to consider the inequalities that are proper of a capitalist social formation, in which class differences have become structural elements to the interpretation of societies. In addition to the elaboration of a Marxist lexicon, such analyses composed more than the report of exploitation and of relations of domination, but circumscribed the inequalities within the sphere of the Social Sciences and, in particular, of Sociology. Society, for diverse theoretical elaborations, should be explained by the dynamics and processes that configured the disputes between actors and social classes in a context of unequal access to resources and production forms. This modern ambiguity between democratic equality and capitalist inequalities help us map changes inherent to the social institutions formed or reorganized in the social order following the Enlightenment. One of these institutions is the school.

In face of this scenario, Dubet starts to wonder about the possibilities of construction of a fair school. Or, even, 'what is a fair school?' (DUBET, 2008). Such interrogation problematizes one of the core tensions of schooling processes: the incompatibility between equality of school opportunities (democratization of access, for instance) and the inequality of their merits. This updates and centralizes the new configurations of school justice. Schooling policies and practices end up taking merit as a naturalized element of organization and regulation of its actions, just as in the measurement of school results. Attributing relevance to the equality of starting points and of consequent opportunities, the principles that operate in the school are set in the social production of justice in future opportunities, since said equality

equals to 'school competition'. This model of school justice confers moral legitimacy to school inequalities (DUBET, 2005; 2008).

Concerning the increasing universalization of the access to schooling, the inequality of school opportunities results, to some extent, from social and cultural differences outside the school, which does not exempt the school from producing their own mechanisms. This evidences a central paradox to school actions:

The more the school is driven by the principle of equality of opportunities, the more it affirms that the individuals are free and equal, and the more it sinks into a contradiction, because it is in charge of classifying all students keeping their fundamental equality and dignity (DUBET, 2008, p. 390).

The elaborations of Santos, Connell and Dubet, although different from each other, help us identify that the relationships between social justice and school justice favor the elaboration of a critical diagnosis about schooling policies in contemporaneity. Such empirical signalizations organize a problematization field in modern education, particularly in contexts of intensification of political interests in educational democratization and of reconstruction of the foundations of the relationships between citizenship and school education, which seems to be the case in Brazil, as we will see in the next section.

The democratization of the Brazilian school education

Throughout the 20th century, after a set of social changes, schooling in Brazil underwent a democratization process that marked "[...] the progressive expansion of opportunities of access to school, at all education levels, for increasingly larger sectors of collectiveness" (BEISIEGEL, 2007, p. 468). Under these conditions, two complementary movements acquired consistency in the country. The first one, according to Beisiegel (2007), is linked to the growth in the numbers of school enrollments, especially in primary and adult alphabetization courses. The second one, still according to the author, consists of the

[...] gradual elimination of old different types of middle-level education, intended to different types of clientele, and their replacement for an unique model of school (BEISIEGEL, 2007, p. 469).

The magnitude of these changes is expressed in the growth of the Brazilian population that had access to primary education, which, according to Romanelli (1978), went from 3.4% in 1920, to 14.7% in 1970.

Middle-level schooling also presented increase in the number of students enrolled in the period. Still according to Romanelli (1978), in the year of 1920, only 0.36% of the population had access to this education level, whereas, in 1970, this population accounted for 5.28%. Although the pointed data indicate some democratization in the schooling processes of the Brazilian population, such progress did not have a homogeneous development.

First, it is necessary to notice that the schooling progress has not had a homogeneous development in the whole country. Overall information registered so far hide acute inequalities in the service. Whereas in some regions the educational system seems to be finally approaching the realization of the old pedagogical ideal of a universalized common school, in other regions, in poorer states and, in general, in rural areas or in some sectors of the suburbs of urban centers, and, in general, in settlements with massive groups from rural areas, the school network is still far from absorbing all 'schoolable' inhabitants, even in the first grade of the common school (BEISIEGEL, 2007, p. 489).

In the same direction of the diagnosis produced by Beisiegel, we found some texts from the first half of the 20th century that indicated these limits of the schooling processes put into practice in Brazil. A text by Anísio Teixeira, published in 1953, signaled some conditions for 'the Brazilian educational reconstruction'. According to said professor, during the time of the director of the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research (INEP), in face of cultural, political and technological changes in the 20th century, the expansion of the school institution emerged as the big challenge to Brazilian society in that period. The school stood as "[...] a mandatory and necessary institution, without which the conditions for an ordered and tranquil social life would not subsist" (TEIXEIRA, 1953, p. 6). In this approach, the Brazilian school needed to go through a process of intense democratization, in order to guarantee the educational reconstruction of the country, and,

[...] with the application of the scientific development of our days, it can come to prove as rich and proper to civilization as the best temperate portions of the globe (TEIXEIRA, 1953, p. 8).

Teixeira's diagnosis signals the challenges to schooling aiming at the progress of the nation and the production of its population's civility.

On the other hand, the sociologist Florestan Fernandes pointed the need for expanding the conditions of access to schooling in Brazil. In a book published in 1960, he argued that "[...] education issues in Brazil will only be solved through an

organized social change" (FERNANDES, 1960, p. 195), which implied the understanding that the Brazilian school did not meet social demands.

The educational issues in Brazil, seen from a macro-sociological perspective, are, to a great extent, products of our failure to adjust educational institutions to the different psycho-cultural and socioeconomic roles they have to play and to create an educational system that is sufficiently differentiated and plastic, in order to correspond, orderly, to the variety, to the volume and to the fast increment of school needs of the country as a whole (FERNANDES, 1960, p. 193).

The elaborated reading by Fernandes leads us to a diagnosis according to which the Brazilian school was distant from the population's living conditions and social interest. To him,

[...] school institutions do not adjust, neither structurally nor functionally, to the specific demands of the total portion of society to which they are intended (FERNANDES, 1960, p. 198).

In this approach, one of the questions regarding the democratization process was the overcome of the 'static functions of the systematic education', because, more than expanding the population's access to school, there was an indispensable need for a reflection about the social character of the school institution. Even though Teixeira and Fernandes' elaborations are not theoretically articulated, we are interested in recognizing the different ways through which schooling was demanded by the Brazilian society, since the first half of the 20th century.

Paradoxically, it is possible to observe the multiplication of criticisms of pedagogical composition modes of modern school, intensely reporting the different perspectives of school injustices. The intellectual agenda of the democratization of school processes in the 20th century Brazil materialized the interest in a break with political models that reproduced education as a privilege (TEIXEIRA, 1977), shaded by the reconstruction of educational policies, by the creation of legal instruments that guaranteed the idea of right to education, and by important manifestoes of educators and intellectuals for a new education in the country (HILSDORF, 2011). Though consistent, this democratization agenda had as prerogative the insertion of actors into school processes, without changing their forms and content; it was about an inclusion based on (quantitative) conditions of admission to the educational system. It was opportune, undoubtedly, that everybody had the right to access to and attended Brazilian public schools, which, in a way,

was the big social demand/fight of the social actors about education.

Today, the outlines of this debate are defined. Because, in face of an imminent full coverage for the population (at least in elementary education), in the historical context of transition to the 21st century, new dilemmas seem to heckle Brazilian schooling policies. The demands for school inclusion, for democratization of access, or even for political opening in the forms of school management are examples of a context that privileges the construction of a new public schooling. In this debate, one of the priority axes, strengthened in government policies of the last decade, are the policies for the expansion of the school schedule.

Schooling dilemmas in Brazil: an analysis about the expansion of the school schedule

About the dilemmas that make up the Brazilian schooling democratization, in the last decade we see bigger investments in policies for the expansion of the school schedule. Government proposals, academic reflections or public actions coming from distinct theoretical fields have pointed that the learning of Brazilian students during a 4-hour shift is not enough, and that there is a need for political and pedagogical investment in full-time school models (GADOTTI, 2009; CAVALIERE; MAURÍCIO, 2010). This perspective has been materializing in different political texts of our time, with highlight to the new National Education Plan (BRASIL, 2014) that sets forth the goal of 50% of Brazilian schools offering full-time education; or, also, the National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education that evidence the social relevance of said form of organizing the school work.

The policies for the expansion of the school schedule, in Brazil, have been developed with a focus on the fight against educational inequalities (CAVALIERE; MAURÍCIO, 2010). With this intention, governmental initiatives mobilized throughout the 20th century had as assumption that the expansion of the time of permanence in education institutions corresponds to improved school performance of students. This purpose can be observed in the experiences of Anísio Teixeira – *Escolas Parque* in the 1950's – and of Darcy Ribeiro – CIEPs (Integrated Centers for Public Education) of the 1980's –, until educational programs of our time. Anísio Teixeira's experience, for instance, when positioning education as a right, recognized the school as a field of democratic experiences. Then, Ribeiro, when addressing to students from the least favored classes in Rio de Janeiro, proposed

[...] a full-time school, to reinforce learning situations and prevent Brazilian low-income children from suffering with the lack of family assistance or from having their childhood suppressed by taking on, at home, roles of adults (CAVALIERE; MAURÍCIO, 2010, p. 7).

With this agenda, the expansion of the school schedule is valued for counteracting the precariousness of our educational systems. The investment in public education in our country is a strategy developed in the late 20th century, with the emergence of a set of social reconfigurations. The search for reduction of educational inequalities today leads to an intensification of new governmental programs with this focus. There are innumerable political rationalities used to justify the relevance of such practices in Brazil. Among full-time education programs, *Mais Educação* [More Education] is that which has acquired greater visibility, at the same time in which it concentrates the highest investments¹. Created in 2007, through Inter-ministerial Ordinance, aiming for the comprehensive formation of children and youths from Brazilian public schools, it is organized from workshops carried out on a different schedule from that of the classes, with a curriculum-based distribution in certain macro-fields. It differs from other policies for comprehending inter-sector actions, involving the community in the selection of the workshops and in the expansion of learning spaces – including social institutions, public spaces and diverse cultural manifestations. According to Gadotti (2009), *More Education* incorporates the principles of educator cities, considering the communities as educative spaces.

However, when we follow empirically some of the actions in the implementation process of this program, we diagnose in its pedagogical documentation three political dilemmas that make up their democratizing agenda, namely: 'equity as a principle, protection as a goal and intersectionality as a policy'. The mobilization of these elements, just as we will present next, although arranged in a progressivist agenda, favors the emergence of diverging logics for the structuration of the policies in the early 21st century, especially regarding the democratization of citizenship, and social justice.

Equity as a principle

The equity grammar emerges, in a very significant way, in the composition process of schooling policies. With the advent of the social

¹According to data provided by the Ministry of Education, *More Education* assisted, in 2013, more than six million students from Brazilian public schools.

conditions produced from the neoliberalism, since the 1990's, in the Brazilian context, the debates about an egalitarian society are trivialized, favoring the consolidation of understandings of a more individualizing order. In this sense, one of the most recurrent notions is that of equity, positioned as the possibility of respecting everyone's right. The search for equivalence of conditions between different individuals, in order to make them fairer in relation to peculiar demands, derives etymologically from the Latin term *equitas*. It emerges, specifically, as a promise of policies that are adequate to the real needs of individuals and groups. Thus, the assumption of equity is located at the affirmative of the overcome of the educational debt of our country, and at the approach that points the centrality of the differences and fights against the inequalities. The excerpts below compose the first visibility field to this question.

The full-time school aims, above all, at rescuing republican principles of equity, in the offer of public and subjective right of the citizen and in the provision of services of educators – public agents –, to which the Brazilian State has a huge debt to be honored for the common good of the nation. This historical debt concentrates, in special, on the appreciation and on the recognition of the profession, with the intention of making the career attractive to youths, to improve health and labor conditions, in short, to evidence the social importance of educators (BRASIL, 2009, p. 39).

These subjects of/in learning are in a permanent process of constitution of a creative identity that participates in the guarantee and affirmation of their rights and of their citizenship, aimed at a critical and autonomous reflection about the lived and perceived world, and that promotes cognitive processes linked to particular and universal experiences as a form of appreciating the difference and overcoming inequalities (BRASIL, 2009, p. 46).

The above passages show some guidelines on the meaning of equity as a principle. When situated within an individualizing matrix, schooling is marked as a historical debt to the Brazilian population even though its intervention occurs in each individual through the potentialization of his/her actions.

Concerning, specifically, the More Education program, we notice that this principle is materialized in the proposal of constitution of a learning community. In the possibility of effectuation of a (pedagogical and cultural) intervention policy that values the meetings between different types of knowledge, promotes the legitimization of alternative formative projects, but that, mainly,

stimulates the formation of apprentices in different social spaces.

So that the school works as a learning community, constituted by the reunion of different actors and social knowledge, that builds its own educative and cultural project, and as a place where knowledge from different contexts meet and are legitimated, sociocultural policies need to be established. In addition to recognizing differences, there is a need for promoting equality and stimulating exchange environments (BRASIL, 2009, p. 31).

Since the educational reforms of the 1980's, equity has been assumed as a principle of social justice, with an emphasis on a representation of social life founded on the opportunity logics.

In the current policies for the expansion of the school schedule in Brazil, where the conception of citizenship seems to be constantly manipulated and renegotiated, we can see that equity is taken as equivalence of starting points, or equality of opportunities (DUBET, 2008, 2011). Thus, on one hand, the principle of equality broadens the spectrum of schooling processes, through the incorporation of actors, once absent, in the official discourses of the policies and in their respective governmental programs (as it is the case of black people, women, natives, etc.); on the other hand, this political argumentation does not minimize neither the several records of inequalities concerning these groups, nor the unfavorable positions that such subjects occupy in the structure of society. That is, in a confrontation between models and representations of social and school justice, the principle of equity legitimizes the equality of opportunities as a political rationality of schooling processes in Brazil, even when official documents reiterate the promotion of social equality (BRASIL, 2009).

Protection as a goal

The second dilemma that we see in the policies examined refers to social protection as a goal. The composition of a pedagogical intervention field that chooses to assist individuals in situation of social vulnerability, although it is a relevant bet in a citizen's formation, denotes an expansion of the social roles of school institutions. Different agenda items referring to social risks, to urban dangers, to scenarios of criminality and violence, or even to pedagogical practices of protection tend to constitute new priorities to the schooling process of our time. The guiding documentation of the More Education Program suggests that the effectuation of a democratic school becomes viable through the indissoluble action between caring and educating. We present below some other excerpts that allow for

a more specific problematization about protection as a goal.

This multiplicity of functions attributed to the school represents today, in fact, a big challenge – this institution sees itself as an educator, but also ‘protector’, and this has been causing debates about not only its specificity, but also about the new social actors that seek to support it in the exercise of these new functions and of the movements and organizations that equally search for the company of this school institution to constitute it and, perhaps, to re-signify it (BRASIL, 2009, p. 17, grifos do autor).

[...]

In this double challenge – education/protection – in the context of a ‘Full-time Comprehensive Education’, the possibilities of assistance increase, and the school has to assume an approach that, for some people, disfigures it, and, to others, consolidates it as a democratic space indeed. In this sense, the public school starts to incorporate a set of responsibilities that did not use to be seen as typical of the school, but that, if not guaranteed, may make the pedagogical work not viable (BRASIL, 2009, p. 17, grifos do autor)

Methodologically, the underway policies for the expansion of the school schedule in the country have been privileging an integrated and interdisciplinary approach that, according to the documental reference, enables an expanded formation to students. Spaces such as sports, culture, health and social service are taken as central subsidizes in new policies. In general, this choice for a school that can no longer keep doing the same things is justified.

The formulation of a proposal of Comprehensive Education implicates on the offer of public services required for comprehensive attention, combined with social protection, which presupposes integrated policies (inter-sectorial, mainstream) that take into consideration, besides education, other demands of the subjects, articulated between fields of education, of social development, of health, of sports, of digital inclusion and of culture (BRASIL, 2009, p. 28).

From the viewpoint of a formation towards citizenship, protection as a goal suggests an expansion in the fields of intervention of the Brazilian public school. A political understanding that establishes a correspondence between comprehensive attention and social protection is put into action. Following the thought of Libâneo (2012), it is necessary that we consider that the logics of social protection is inherent to contemporary social policies, especially for its sociopolitical relevance, but, at the same time, it deepens a perverse dualism concerning the school forms themselves. According to the same author,

there is an aggravation in the contradictions between two concurrent models: on one side, the school for the rich and its emphasis on competitiveness, on technologies and on learning; on the other side, the school for the poor and the emphasis on social support, on companionship and on social protection. Therefore,

[...] the school left to the poor, characterized by its assistance and supportive missions (included in the expression ‘exclusive education’), turns into a caricature of social inclusion (LIBÂNEO, 2012, p. 23, grifos do autor).

Intersectionality as a policy

Finally, in addition to indicating equity as a principle and protection as a goal, we also observe a third dilemma in the implementation of policies for the expansion of the school schedule within the context examined. The intersectionality as a policy, when structuring new government actions in the scope of the Brazilian school, changes the operation modes of public agents, since, according to the guiding document of More Education,

[...] two concepts can contribute to the understanding of the current proposal of Comprehensive Education: intersectionality and governance (BRASIL, 2009, p. 43).

Governance elaborated by the intersectorability notion, as the passage below reveals, broadens the activity of the State. Similarly, when placed within the policy of integral education, it underscores a intense approach between the teaching premises and the several sectors of public management.

The articulation between Education, Social Service, Culture and Sports, among other public policies, might constitute an important intervention for social protection, prevention to situations of violation to the rights of children and youths, and for the improvement in school performance and of the permanence in the school, especially in more vulnerable territories (BRASIL, 2009, p. 25).

Promoting this approximation between the diverse arenas of everyday living means, in turn, articulating several sectors of public policies, making use of several social apparatuses. In this sense, the Comprehensive Education Project, now proposed, makes concrete the principle of mainstreaming of public policies, which should be incorporated into the curricular conceptions of the Basic Education. There should be a greater articulation between the activities developed in the field of formal education, by education institutions and management organs – and other sectors, such as health, culture, sports, leisure, justice, social service, and others (BRASIL, 2009, p. 45).

The intersectionality founds the political need for an interconnected action in social policies. The action in an intersectional network aims to enhance public interventions in social contexts, especially in densely populated areas in situation of vulnerability. If in the equity discourse the school becomes a community, when ruled by intersectionality it becomes a territory. This 'educative territory' starts to have a political rationality to identify and monitor individuals and groups that demand state interventions in the social area, but also an accurate mapping for interdisciplinary actions in the country. In the domain of political and social objectives, interconnected interventions would aim for a greater efficiency and effectiveness in state interventions.

For the debate about Comprehensive Education, from the viewpoint of the actions preconized by the Ministry of Education, intersectionality stands as a need and a task, which are due to the recognition of the institutional disarticulation and of the pulverization in the offer of social policies, but also to the next step of this recognition, to articulate material and ideal components that qualify these policies. For this reason, intersectionality needs to be stressed as a characteristic of a new generation of public policies that guide the formulation of a proposal of Comprehensive Education (BRASIL, 2009, p. 43).

In the agenda of the educational policies in democratization process, intersectionality can also be interpreted as a response to the weakening of modern devices of institutionalization of the state education. It contemplates several state actors and governmental entities in the management of educative proposals; however, this does not guarantee the democratic participation of the participants of school communities and the civil society.

Final considerations

As we argued throughout the development of this theoretical study, the relationships between schooling, citizenship and social justice present themselves as fundamental aspects for the reorganization of the agenda of Brazilian educational policies in contemporaneity. From a brief review, we undertake a sociological diagnosis in which we dimensioned different conceptions of justice that make up the current educational debates. From the philosophical discussion developed by Fraser (2002; 2009), we recognized the theoretical and political relevance of revisiting the theme of social justice. In a second moment, attributing centrality to the

Brazilian context, we described the democratization conditions of the public school in the country in the second half of the 20th century.

Finally, when choosing the policies for the expansion of the school schedule as an analytical example, we indicated three dilemmas that make up the democratization of school forms in Brazil. Equity as a principle, protection as a goal and intersectionality as a policy characterize the processes of expansion of the school offer in the country, at the same time they regulate the educational public constitution. Such dilemmas, in an articulated action, allow for the development of diverging logics for the composition of schooling policies of our time.

References

- BAUMAN, Z. **Globalização**: as consequências humanas. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2000.
- BEISIEGEL, C. R. Educação e sociedade no Brasil após 1930. In: FAUSTO, B. (Org.). **História geral da civilização brasileira**, 4. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2007. t. III, v. 11, p. 468-513.
- BRASIL. **Educação integral**: texto referência para o debate nacional. Brasília: Ministério da Educação, Secretaria de Educação Continuada, Alfabetização e Diversidade, 2009.
- BRASIL. **Plano Nacional de Educação (2014-2024)**. Brasília: Ministério da Educação, 2014.
- CAVALIERE, A. M.; MAURÍCIO, L. A ampliação da jornada escolar nas regiões Nordeste e Sudeste: sobre modelos e realidades. In: REUNIÃO ANUAL DA ANPED, 33., 2010, Rio de Janeiro. **Anais...** Rio de Janeiro: Anped, 2010. p. 1-16.
- CONNELL, R. W. **Escuelas y justicia social**. Madrid: Ediciones Morata, 1997.
- DUBET, F. **As desigualdades multiplicadas**. Ijuí: Ed. Unijuí, 2003.
- DUBET, F. **La escuela de las oportunidades** – ¿Qué es una escuela justa? Barcelona: Gedisa, 2005.
- DUBET, F. **El declive de la institución**: profesiones, sujetos e individuos na en la modernidad. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2006.
- DUBET, F. El declive y las mutaciones de la institución. **Revista de Antropología Social**, v. 1, n. 16, p. 39-66, 2007.
- DUBET, F. Democratização escolar e justiça na escola. **Revista Educação**, v. 33, n. 3, p. 381-393, 2008.
- DUBET, F. **Repensar la justicia social**. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2011.
- FERNANDES, F. **Ensaio de sociologia geral e aplicada**. São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora, 1960.
- FRASER, N. A justiça social na globalização: redistribuição, reconhecimento e participação. **Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais**, n. 63, p. 7-20, 2002.

- FRASER, N. Reenquadrando a justiça em um mundo globalizado. **Lua Nova**, n. 77, p. 11-39, 2009.
- GADOTTI, M. **Educação integral no Brasil**: inovações em processo. São Paulo: Livraria e Editora do IPF, 2009.
- HILSDORF, M. L. S. **História da Educação Brasileira**: leituras. São Paulo: Cengage Learning, 2011.
- LATOUR, B. **Ciência em Ação**. São Paulo: Unesp, 2000.
- LIBÂNEO, J. C. O dualismo perverso da escola pública brasileira: escola do conhecimento para os ricos, escola do acolhimento social para os pobres. **Educação e Pesquisa**, v. 38, n. 1, p. 13-28, 2012.
- ROMANELLI, O. **História da Educação no Brasil (1930-1973)**. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978.
- SANTOS, B. S. Em torno de um novo paradigma sócio-epistemológico. **Revista Lusófona de Educação**, v. 10, n. 10, p. 131-137, 2007.
- SENNETT, R. **A cultura do novo capitalismo**. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2008.
- SILVA, R. R. D.; SILVA, R. M. D. Educação e cultura nas políticas de escolarização contemporâneas: um diagnóstico crítico. In: ROSA, G.; PAIM, M. (Org.). **Educação básica**: políticas e práticas pedagógicas. Campinas: Mercado das Letras, 2012. p. 15-42.
- TEIXEIRA, A. Condições para a reconstrução educacional brasileira. **Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos**, v. 18, n. 49, p. 3-12, 1953.
- TEIXEIRA, A. **Educação não é privilégio**. 4. ed. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1977.

Received on March 14, 2014.

Accepted on June, 4, 2014.

License information: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.