



The formulation of public policies for inclusive education in peripheral countries under the aegis of international organizations

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ABSTRACT. The research aims to demonstrate how international organizations, more specifically the World Bank, they influence the formulation of inclusive public policies in Brazil. We provide a brief historical contextualization about the importance of inclusive education in Brazil and how it has been crossed by neoliberal politics in the country in the context of structural crisis of capital. This study used bibliographic and documentary research as methodology. We analyze the statements resulting from the Jomtien (Economic and Social Council of the United Nations [UNESCO], 1990), Human Rights (1993), Salamanca (Economic and Social Council of the United Nations [UNESCO], 1994), Guatemala (The United Nations [UN], 1999), de Brasília (Brazil, 2008) and Incheon (Economic and Social Council of the United Nations [UNESCO], 2015) Conferences. In the context of public policies in Brazil, we bring the Federal Constitution (Brazil, 1988), the Law of Directives and Basis for National Education [LDB] 9394/96 (Brazil, 1996) and the National Education Plan (2014). The materiality has shown us, in the results and discussions, those public policies for inclusive education follow the determinations of the Movement Education for All (EFA). From 1984 onwards, the World Bank began to lead the educational policy portfolio, which was previously the responsibility of UNESCO, treating education no longer as just a social right, but above all, as an interesting commodity with a high potential for generating profits. Therefore, loans made in the educational area were tied to conditionalities that depended on a series of negotiations that resulted in financial and managerial clauses and the establishment of educational guidelines, as indicated by research by Fonseca (2000). We conclude that, despite the existence of several laws regulating the inclusion of people with disabilities in the most diverse spaces of society, these laws are still not, in fact, fully implemented and that socioeconomic issues play an important role in terms of the best development possibilities for people with disabilities.

Keywords: Educational policy; inclusion in education; neoliberalism; World Bank; Movement Education for All (EFA).

A formulação das políticas públicas para a educação inclusiva nos países periféricos sob a égide dos organismos internacionais

RESUMO. A pesquisa objetiva demonstrar de que forma os organismos internacionais, mais especificamente o Banco Mundial, influenciam na formulação das políticas públicas inclusivas no Brasil. Trazemos uma breve contextualização histórica acerca da importância da Educação Inclusiva no Brasil e de que forma ela vem sendo atravessada pela política neoliberal no país no contexto de crise estrutural do capital. Este estudo utilizou como metodologia as pesquisas bibliográfica e documental. Analisamos as declarações resultado das Conferências de Jomtien (Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura [Unesco], 1990), de Direitos Humanos (1993), de Salamanca (Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura [Unesco], 1994), da Guatemala (Organização das Nações Unidas [ONU], 1999), de Brasília (Brasil, 2008) e de Incheon (Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura [Unesco], 2015). No âmbito das políticas públicas no Brasil, trazemos a Constituição Federal (Brasil, 1988), a LDB 9394/96 (Brasil, 1996) e o Plano Nacional de Educação (PNE/2014). A materialidade tem-nos mostrado, nos resultados e discussões, que as políticas públicas para a Educação Inclusiva seguem as determinações do Movimento de Educação Para Todos (EPT). A partir de 1984, o Banco Mundial passou a liderar a pasta das políticas educacionais, que antes ficava a cargo da UNESCO, tratando a educação não mais como apenas um direito social, mas sobretudo, como interessante mercadoria de alta possibilidade de geração de lucros, portanto, os empréstimos realizados na área educacional estavam atrelados a condicionalidades que dependiam de uma série de negociações que desdobravam em cláusulas

financeiras, gerenciais e fixação de diretrizes educacionais, como apontam as pesquisas de Fonseca (2000). Concluímos que, apesar de existirem diversas leis que regulamentam a inclusão das pessoas com deficiência nos mais diversos espaços da sociedade, essas leis ainda não são, de fato, efetivadas em sua totalidade e que as questões socioeconômicas têm um importante papel no que diz respeito às melhores possibilidades de desenvolvimento das pessoas com deficiência.

Palavras-chave: política educacional; inclusão em educação; neoliberalismo; banco mundial; movimento de educação para todos (EPT).

Formulación de políticas públicas para la educación inclusiva en los países periféricos bajo la égida de los organismos internacionales

RESUMEN. La investigación objetiva demostrar de qué modo los organismos internacionales, en específico el Banco Mundial, influyen en la formulación de políticas públicas inclusivas en Brasil. Traemos una breve contextualización histórica acerca de la importancia de la educación inclusiva en Brasil y de qué modo ella viene siendo atravesada por la política neoliberal en el país en contexto de crisis estructural del capital. Este estudio utilizó como metodologías la investigación bibliográfica y documental. Analizamos las declaraciones resultantes de las Conferencias de Jomtien (Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura [Unesco], 1990), Derechos Humanos (1993), Salamanca (Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura [Unesco], 1994), Guatemala (Naciones Unidas [ONU], 1999), Brasilia (Brasil, 2008) y Incheon (Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura [Unesco], 2015). En el ámbito de las políticas públicas en Brasil, traemos la Constitución Federal (Brasil, 1988), la LDB 9394/96 (Brasil, 1996) y el Plan Nacional de Educación (PNE/2014). La materialidad de los resultados y discusiones nos han mostrado que las políticas públicas para la educación inclusiva siguen las determinaciones del Movimiento de Educación Para Todos (EPT). Desde 1984, el Banco Mundial pasó a conducir la cartera de las políticas educacionales, que antes se quedaba a cargo de la UNESCO, tratando la educación no más como, apenas, un derecho social, sino y sobre todo, como interesante mercancía de alta posibilidad de generación de beneficios, por lo tanto, los préstamos realizados en el área educacional estaban uncidos a condicionales que dependían de una serie de negociaciones que se desdoblaban en cláusulas financieras, gerenciales y en el establecimiento de directrices educacionales, como apuntan las investigaciones de Fonseca (2000). Hemos concluido que, a pesar de haber diversas leyes que reglamentan la inclusión de personas con discapacidades, en los más distintos espacios de la sociedad, esas leyes todavía no son, de hecho, materializadas en su totalidad y, además, las cuestiones socioeconómicas tienen un papel importante en lo que dice respecto a mejores posibilidades de desarrollo de las personas con discapacidad.

Palabras clave: política educativa; inclusión en la educación; neoliberalismo; Banco Mundial; Movimiento Educación para Todos (EPT).

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Introduction

This article aims to promote an investigation into the influence of international organizations on the formulation of public policies with an emphasis on Inclusive Education, taking as a time frame the period between 1990 and 2022.

Currently, the World Bank Group (2022a) is one of the largest sources of financing and knowledge for developing countries. The group is composed of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (ICF), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Its institutions share a commitment to reducing poverty, increasing shared prosperity, and promoting sustainable development (World Bank, 2022b)¹.

These institutions were created in a post-war context and the imminent threat of a third world war, the strong rise of neoliberal thinking, and the deepening of social inequalities between the so-called developed countries and the undeveloped ones, that is, the peripheral countries, historically exploited. International organizations, such as the World Bank, were created on the premise of helping to recover the economies of countries destroyed by World War II. However, since the 1970s, especially in the 1990s, they have adopted

¹ Information taken from the World Bank's own website (2022b).

other parameters to provide their 'help', requiring some changes that mainly affect the area of public policies, such as education, as well as the issue of unemployment, sustainability and environmental conservation.

[...] The World Bank's argument to explain the structural adjustment in the so-called peripheral countries, especially in the educational systems, is that they have several problems, among which the main ones we can list: poor management and inefficiency in public spending, unprepared teachers; lack of an internal efficiency system, since repetitions and dropouts increase the costs of education; poor choice of educational priorities when directing resources to public secondary, middle and higher education. (Mendes Segundo & Jimenez, 2015, p. 55).

When we think about the need for Inclusive Education, we have noticed that, although the topic has been widely debated in recent years, with several achievements in the legal field, it is still a subject that needs to be increasingly discussed and researched so that it does not end in debate or legislation, but rather becomes fully implemented in the daily lives of those who need it most.

The study of the relationship between international organizations and educational policies for inclusion in Brazil is an important topic in the training of educators, psychopedagogues and other professionals who aim to contribute to the promotion of inclusion aimed at providing care for children with disabilities. Far from having a romantic view of the profession, what inspires us is to try to understand what lies behind the structures of the sociometabolic system of capital. Thus, through this investigation, we seek to understand how international organizations have acted to promote education in developing countries, such as Brazil, that is capable of including or not including people who need this care, demonstrating their limitations.

Recently, we had a huge attack on public policies for Special Education in Brazil. This was Decree No. 10,502, of September 30, 2020 (Brazil, 2020), which promoted the return of 'separate' classes for people with disabilities, contradicting the constructs of the inclusive perspective of education, arising from various demands made over decades. The decree was presented as an 'update of the 2008 Policy', however, it contradicts its basic principles, by suggesting the classification of students based on their characteristics, disabilities, and differences, without considering the person, their potential, or their acquired rights. It is worth mentioning that this decree was suspended following public protests.

To carry out this theoretical-bibliographical research, based on documents, our objective was to analyze the influence of international organizations in the formulation of inclusive educational public policies. In this sense, we used bibliographic and documentary research as our methodology. "Document analysis is another type of descriptive study that provides the researcher with the possibility of gathering a large amount of information about state education laws, school processes and conditions, syllabi, entrance requirements, textbooks, etc." (Triviños, 1987, p. 111).

To support our analyses, we rely mainly on studies carried out by Leher (1999), Shiroma, Moraes and Evangelista (2011), Leher, Vitória and Motta (2017), Mendes Segundo (2006) Mendes Segundo & Jimenez (2015) to address the historical, political and economic emergence of international organizations and their forms of action in the social policies of peripheral countries. To address Inclusive Education policies, we rely on research developed by Mantoan (2003), Lustosa (2013), Ribeiro, Bezerra and Holanda (2015). In the documentary analysis, we present documents that address this issue, such as the Education for All (EFA) declarations, resulting from the Jomtien Conference (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1990), the Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations [UN], 1993), the Salamanca Conference (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1994), the Guatemala Conference (United Nations [UN], 1999), the Brazil Conference (2008) and the Incheon Conference (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2015). In the context of public policies in Brazil, we present the Federal Constitution (Brazil, 1988), the LDB 9394/96 (Brazil, 1996) and the National Education Plan (PNE/2014).

The methodology consisted of a bibliographical survey of official documents and publications, in addition to following a chronological order of events, analyzing declarations, conventions, conferences and meetings since the 1990s, bringing to our analysis the determinations aimed at people with disabilities, without going into the specificities of any disability. We proceeded in the same way in the analysis of Brazilian laws.

Historical context of Inclusive Education

The history of Inclusive Education is marked by advances achieved through collective struggles, whose questioning highlighted a hegemonic thought that historically designed a 'standard' of behavior to be accepted in society as ideal. Several factors influenced what was considered a person's parameter, such as

sexual orientation, ethnicity and social class. In this same perspective, people with disabilities were also left on the margins of society for a long time.

This type of thinking destined people who were not part of the so-called standard group, to subordinate places in the midst of a culture marked by setbacks, often condemning people with disabilities (PWD)² to a world of exclusion and oblivion, being judged as incapable of the demands that society imposed.

When addressing the global circulation of the ethical, legal and pedagogical assumptions of Special Education from an inclusive perspective, Lustosa (2013) presents a historical overview of the trajectory of Special Education in Brazil divided into three major periods. The first period, from 1854 to 1956, begins with the creation, during the Brazilian Second Empire, of the Institute for Blind Boys (currently the Benjamim Constant Institute), in Rio de Janeiro, by Dom Pedro II and, two years later, in 1856, of the Institute for the Deaf-Mute (currently I.N.E.S - National Institute for the Education of the Deaf) (Lustosa, 2013).

The second period, from 1957 to 1990, was characterized “[...] by the milestone of the officialization of school services, at a national level by the public authorities. The institutional model included medical, clinical-specialized and schooling services, articulated in the purposes of the educational process” (Lustosa, 2013, p. 3).

The third period, from 1990 onwards, was marked by criticism of the integrationist movement, by defenders of the inclusion paradigm:

Inclusion becomes, from the point of view of ideas, a global movement. Therefore, new social guidelines emerge and are defended by a significant number of people and organized movements, concerned with rethinking the precepts of a new ethic consolidated in the constitution of another social culture. This culture is imbued with new values, attitudes and conceptions of man, of the world and of the social relations established therein, committed to another logic of sustainability of human existence and sociability (Lustosa, 2013, p. 5).

The movement for inclusion in education goes beyond the walls of the school and requires social engagement and participation. It encourages us to reject prejudiced conceptions, constructed sociohistorically, and to rebuild a social model that perceives difference as a human condition and not as a specificity of only a few. However, even though adopting such a fair and urgent perspective can contribute positively to social development; this movement is constantly affected by neoliberal logic in the context of capital in structural crisis, implicated in several sectors, including education.

Oliveira and Araújo (2021) discuss school inclusion from a neoliberal perspective and reveal that the culture of competition and ranking causes schools to seek adjustment and normalization among their students, preparing them for the market. These practices deny the individual characteristics of these subjects, especially their difficulties, since these can harm market performance. They therefore deny the basic principles of Inclusive Education, which values difference, individuality, collectivity, and collaboration. It is therefore essential to oppose neoliberal logic, which, ultimately, brings at its core the exploitation of the social being so that the common school is understood as a space for everyone and for everyone, which eliminates the educational dualism that selects and excludes.

The construction of this school for and by all requires a rethinking of the homogenizing, traditional education model, focused on competition and ranking. ‘Teaching the whole class’, as proposed by Mantoan (2002), represents in a practical way the idea of an inclusive education, which aims at and is committed to the learning of all, regardless of their disabilities or difficulties, seeking to optimize potential, stimulate participation, build spaces for dialogue, debate, and the construction of proposals for a social well-being with equity, justice, and ethics. As ‘incubators of the new’, schools need to assume this important role in the formation of citizens. To do so, they need:

To plan and to develop teaching that is detached from the idea of homogenizing learning, to evaluate each student's performance based on individual goals and not based on comparisons, to promote collaborative actions between the school, family and health professionals and rethink teacher training (almost always far from reality) (Lanuti & Mantoan, 2021, p. 60).

This requires the implementation of public policies that strengthen this transformation. Lustosa (2013) believes that the third historical period of the trajectory of Special Education in Brazil is marked by the

² Throughout the text, we will use the acronym PWD to refer to people with disabilities. This terminology is in line with the recent and updated concept that being a “person” comes before and is more important than any other denomination and/or characteristic, including disability. Although it may seem obvious, throughout history the terms ‘disabled’, ‘person with a disability’, ‘person with special needs’, ‘special’, among many others, including pejorative terms, have been used to name these people. The Statute of Persons with Disabilities (Brazil, 2015) defines the expression ‘person with disabilities’ to designate those “[...] who have a long-term impairment of a physical, mental, intellectual or sensory nature, which, in interaction with one or more barriers, may obstruct their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with other people”.

influence of the guidelines imposed by international organizations in its educational policy, since with the rise of neoliberal thinking worldwide, these organizations began to have a greater presence in this scenario.

We understand that the perspective of Inclusive Education and the social policies that surround it cannot be understood only in themselves, since they are a synthesis of multiple determinations. We understand that investigating the relationship between public policies for Inclusive Education and the guidelines imposed by international organizations in the formulation of these policies is of paramount importance for the training of all professionals who work in this area.

International organizations and their relationship with education in peripheral countries

We begin our exposition by providing a brief historical overview of the creation of international organizations, their emergence, their functions and how their actions came to be in favor of maintaining the socio-metabolic system of capital and maintaining the hegemony of the United States in the scenario worldwide.

Hobsbawm (1995), in his work *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century (1914-1991)*, presents the historical and political context of the emergence of these international organizations, that is, the period after World War II (1939-1945):

The Second World War had barely ended when humanity was plunged into what might reasonably be regarded as a Third World War, albeit a very peculiar one. For as the great philosopher Thomas Hobbes observed, 'War consists not only in battle, or fighting: but in a period, wherein the will to fight that battle is sufficiently known' (Hobbes, chapter 13). The Cold War between the USA and the USSR, which dominated the international scene in the second half of the Short Twentieth Century, was undoubtedly such a period. Whole generations were brought up in the shadow of global nuclear wars that, it was firmly believed, could break out at any moment and devastate humanity. Indeed, even those who did not believe that either side intended to attack the other found it hard not to be pessimistic, for Murphy's Law is one of the most powerful generalizations about human affairs (If anything can go wrong, sooner or later it will). As time went on, more and more things could go wrong, politically and technologically, in a permanent nuclear confrontation based on the assumption that only the fear of 'inevitable mutual destruction' (aptly expressed in the acronym MAD – mutually assured destruction) this would prevent one side or the other from giving the ever-ready signal for the planned suicide of civilization. It did not happen, but for about forty years, it seemed an everyday possibility (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 224, author's emphasis).

Leher et al. (2017), Mendes Segundo (2005), and Freres (2008) are unanimous in stating that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were created to help rebuild countries destroyed during World War II. Contributing to this thought, Shiroma et al. (2011) present their considerations about the foundation of this international organization:

Created after the war, the World Bank is a multilateral financing organization with 176 borrowing countries, including Brazil. However, five countries define its policies: the United States, Japan, Germany, France and the United Kingdom. These countries participate with 38.2% of the Bank's resources. Among them, the United States holds around 20% of the general resources and Brazil approximately 1.7%. The American leadership is also confirmed by its presidency and the veto power it has. In fact, the World Bank has been an auxiliary of American foreign policy. To give you an idea, each dollar that reaches the World Bank mobilizes around 1,000 dollars in the American economy, and each dollar loaned means three dollars in return. There is special interest both in selling projects to countries and in financing projects presented by them, respecting, of course, their 'conformities'. Gradually, the Bank became the world's largest non-sovereign fundraiser, moving around 20 billion dollars a year, having put 20 trillion dollars into circulation between 1985 and 1990 (Shiroma et al., 2011. p. 61, author's emphasis).

This proposal to 'help' was defined at the Bretton Woods Conference in June 1944, in which the main countries to be reconstructed were Germany and Japan. Also in the 1940s, other international organizations emerged, such as the United Nations (UN), created in 1945, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), created in 1945, and the Organization of American States (OAS), founded in 1948.

Each of these organizations has a specific function in this consolidation process. The World Bank³ was created to restructure the countries defeated in World War II; the UN aims to seek peace and world

³ The World Bank's official website says that it was founded in 1944, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—later called the World Bank—has expanded into a closely-knit group of five development institutions. Originally, its loans helped rebuild countries devastated by World War II. Over time, the focus shifted from reconstruction to development, with a strong emphasis on infrastructure such as dams, power grids, irrigation systems, and roads. With the founding of the International Finance Corporation in 1956, the institution began granting loans to private companies and financial institutions in developing countries. In addition, the founding of the International Development Association in 1960 put a greater emphasis on the poorest countries, part of a steady shift toward poverty eradication that has become the primary goal of the World Bank Group.

development through cooperation between countries; UNESCO aims to contribute to peace and security in the world through education, natural sciences, social/human sciences and communications/information; and the OAS aims to guarantee peace, security and promote democracy in the Americas.

Given this scenario, one might imagine that these organizations emerged to help society as a whole. However, their role has changed. These organizations work to maintain a system in which profit is always above everything and everyone. It is precisely for this reason that educational policies began to be seen as a way to raise more money and still be able to determine guidelines to be followed by peripheral countries through financing and loans. Although, at first, these organizations did not see any potential for profits in the educational field, this perspective changed with the administration of a new president, accompanied by changes in the global economic context with the rise of neoliberal policies. "The centrality acquired by education in the World Bank's discourse in the 1990s is recent. In the 1960s, a vice president of the Bank, Robert Gardner, stated: "[...] we cannot lend for education and health. We are a bank!" (Leher, 1999, p. 25, author's emphasis).

However, this changed when Robert McNamara took over as president of the World Bank in 1968, and he began to see education as the 'apple of his eye', which required strategies to be developed to place education at the center of demands and to ensure that education met his interests. This situation changed more markedly under McNamara's presidency, when the emphasis on the problem of poverty made education stand out among the Bank's priorities (Leher, 1999).

Since the end of the 1980s, a strong priority has been given to 'minimalist' primary education and 'lighter' vocational training. In practical terms, these guidelines are being implemented through 'administrative-financial decentralization' policies that are reshaping the responsibilities of the Union, States and municipalities. While the first channels its resources to the rich and foreign investors, the last two are forced to take on the necessary burdens to keep people alive and working, even in a situation close to destitution (Leher, 1999, p. 27, author's emphasis).

According to Mendes Segundo (2005), in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Human Capital Theory, developed by Theodore Schultz, began to emerge, which assumes that education needs to be considered a factor in the development of nations.

This interest in education is the result of the structural crisis of capital, which needs to create mechanisms that guarantee the maintenance of the current order, capitalist sociability. This crisis began to be mentioned around 1970, and consists precisely of the overproduction and low consumption of goods. As Mészáros (2009) states, the crisis of the sociometabolic system of capital has inhumane consequences for the working class, we are experiencing the emergence of chronic unemployment and the intensification of the rate of exploitation.

The structural crisis of capital represents a serious manifestation of the system's encounter with its limits, inherent to its functioning:

In any case, what makes the problems especially serious is the fact that the far-reaching issues facing humanity at the present stage of historical development cannot be avoided by the dominant capital system, nor by any alternative to it. Despite this, due to the uncertainties of the historical moment, these problems arose with the activation of the absolute limits of capital and cannot be properly overcome nor can their severity be expected to cease to exist as if by magic (Mészáros, 2011, p. 220).

Thus, based on Mészáros (2011), we understand that this crisis affects not only the economic sector, but spreads across all areas of social and cultural life. This implies that education is also affected and even used as yet another mechanism that acts in an attempt to manage the structural crisis of capital.

Returning to the field of education, the World Bank did not yet have control over educational policies. UNESCO held this control, but in 1984, the World Bank began to lead the educational policy portfolio and, at that time, investments in education began to be intensified. With the emergence of the Education for All (EFA) Conferences, education began to be seen as a niche market that would serve to generate profits, in addition to qualifying the working class for the job market, as highlighted in the following quotes that show how education began to be viewed by the World Bank:

In short, the World Bank recommends more attention to results, a learning assessment system, investment in human capital paying attention to the cost-benefit relationship; it proposes, in addition to the decentralization of the administration of social policies, greater efficiency in social spending, and greater coordination with the private sector in the provision of education (Shiroma et al., 2011, p. 42).

Leher (1999) also analyzed this function that began to be attributed to education based on the Human Capital Theory:

In Brazil alone, between 1985 and 1998, the number of jobs in industry fell by 43%, while industrial production grew by only 2.7%. For dominant ideologies, the best antidote to the evils arising from unemployment is elementary education and professional training. This explains, to a large extent, the World Bank's guidelines for higher education (Leher, 1999, p. 26).

Mendes Segundo and Jimenez (2015) state, based on Fonseca (2000, p. 55), that:

[...] there is a decisive influence from the World Bank in the definition of Brazilian social policy, since the granting of loans is linked to certain conditionalities, which impose a series of negotiations that last from five to ten years, including the establishment of financial and management clauses, until the establishment of educational guidelines, among them, the definition of the level of education to be financed, as well as the regions to benefit from the agreement.

This position occupied by the World Bank allows it to influence the formulation of public policies and collaborate with the expanded accumulation of capital. "Public-state education was defeated by the World Bank, which, having risen to power, imposes a global education focused on the interests of the market, economic stabilization and the principle of governability, indispensable to the process of expanded accumulation of capital." (Mendes Segundo & Jimenez, 2015, p. 66).

Thinking of education as a valuable commodity, international organizations began to interfere in the social policies of peripheral countries, whether in the fields of health, security or education. Next, we will look at the particularity of this influence in the formulation of educational policies regarding Inclusive Education.

The influence of international organizations on public policies for Inclusive Education

In this topic, we will analyze the statements of the Education for All Movement, intending to identify what they bring in terms of determinations aimed at the inclusion of people with disabilities. To this end, throughout this research, we have been highlighting the determinations, goals or strategies that aim to guarantee the rights, as well as the inclusion for people with disabilities, with the main point being education, which is capable of including them in the school environment and in society as a whole.

As we have seen throughout our analyses, the 'Education for All Movement', financed by the World Bank, it has as its premise ensuring that extreme poverty rates are improved, as well as the issue of illiteracy, promoting investment and access to primary education which, in Brazil, corresponds to elementary and secondary education.

To formulate our analyses in this research, we assessed the declarations of Jomtien (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1990), Human Rights (United Nations [UN], 1993), Salamanca (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1994), Guatemala (United Nations [UN], 1999), Brasilia (Brazil, 2008) and Incheon (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2015). Among these declarations, the Human Rights, Salamanca and Guatemala declarations stand out as milestones for Inclusive Education.

The declarations of the 'Education for All Movement' deal with determinations to be followed by developing (peripheral) countries and attempt to resolve various issues that must be improved, overcome or constructed, such as, for example, the right to education for everyone, high levels of illiteracy, the issue of violence against women, issues of racial segregation, as well as including determinations for the inclusion of people with disabilities in their goals.

These goals/determinations have a deadline for member countries to achieve them, but we have observed that historically these goals are almost impossible to achieve because they are countries that are in need and that require a series of measures, but even so, they have not been achieved. It is clear that there has been progress, especially in the issue of the right to education for all. Since they are unable to achieve all the goals, a new meeting is needed with members, with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and with funders to reaffirm commitments and elect new deadlines and new determinations.

Let us now analyze the first of these, held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. According to Shiroma et al. (2011), this event was financed by 'UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and the World Bank'. We can say that this conference is considered a historic milestone in the alignment with capitalism, since it brought together 155 countries and 120 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) from various countries.

This event was the milestone from which the nine countries with the highest illiteracy rates in the world (Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan), known as the 'E 9', were led to take action to consolidate the principles agreed upon in the Jomtien Declaration. Their governments committed to promoting educational policies articulated through the Consultative Forum for 'Education for All' (EFA), coordinated by UNESCO, which, throughout the 1990s, held regional and global meetings of an evaluative nature (Shiroma et al., 2011, p. 48, author's emphasis).

Some goals were selected to be met, which are listed in Table 1 – commitments from the Jomtien Declaration), among which we were able to identify those that deal with the inclusion of people with disabilities, which is the focus of our research, as demonstrated in Table 1, formulated to summarize these points, based on the Jomtien Declaration (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1990).

Table 1. Jomtien Declaration Commitments.

Articles	Goals/ Objectives/ Commitments
3. To universalize access to education and to promote equity	1. Basic education must be provided to all children, young people and adults.' To achieve this, it is necessary to universalize it and improve its quality, as well as take effective measures to reduce 'inequalities' (p. 6, our emphasis added) 2. For basic education to become 'equitable', it is essential to offer all children, young people and adults the opportunity to achieve and maintain a minimum standard of quality in learning (p. 6, our emphasis). 5. The basic learning needs of people 'with disabilities' require special attention. It is necessary to take measures to guarantee equal access to education for people with any type of disability, as an integral part of the educational system (p. 7, our emphasis).

Source: Table prepared by the authors based on the Jomtien Declaration (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1990).

As we can see, the Jomtien Declaration contains some provisions that can be interpreted as an attempt to guarantee access to education, quality of life and socialization so that people with disabilities have the same opportunities. Specifically, it contains three articles and six goals/commitments, which aim to promote a minimum level of inclusion and access to education in all peripheral countries.

The Vienna Declaration and Program of Action or World Conference on Human Rights, held in 1993, is considered a milestone in the history of people with disabilities. This declaration contains several provisions that aim to guarantee inclusion and awareness in various aspects such as the fight against racism and apartheid, encouraging the inclusion of women and schooling, inclusion of refugees, protection of children's rights, guaranteeing asylum to all who need it in any country, migrant workers, as well as the inclusion of people with disabilities. This declaration, in our view, is the most complete, as it attempts to direct its guidelines towards the inclusion of all.

Among all the actions and audiences for whom this declaration seeks to promote inclusion, there are some determinations that are aimed exclusively at people with disabilities, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Vienna Declaration Commitments.

Goals/ Objectives/ Commitments
22. Special attention should be paid to ensuring non-discrimination and the equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by 'persons with disabilities', including their active participation in all aspects of life in society (p. 6, our emphasis added).
6. Rights of Person with Disabilities
63. The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms that all Human Rights and fundamental freedoms are universal, therefore including, and without any reservations, 'people with disabilities'. All people are 'born equal, having the same rights to life and well-being, to education and work', to live independently and to actively participate in all aspects of life in society. Therefore, any direct discrimination or other 'negative discriminatory' treatment of a 'person with disability' constitutes a violation of his or her rights. The World Conference on Human Rights calls on governments to, when necessary, adopt or 'adapt existing legislation to guarantee access for people with disabilities to these and other rights' (p. 18, our emphasis added).
64. 'People with disabilities should have a place everywhere'. 'Equality' of 'opportunities' should be guaranteed to persons with disabilities through the elimination of all socially imposed barriers, whether physical, financial, social or psychological, 'that exclude or limit their full participation in the life of society' (p. 18, our emphasis added).

Source: Table prepared by the authors based on the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action or World Conference on Human Rights (1993).

We have identified that this declaration brings great progress for people with disabilities and some proposals that include them, giving them the guarantee and attempt of a world without discrimination, guaranteeing all PWDs the same rights as other people, which forces countries to adapt their legislation to guarantee equality, respect and opportunities.

They emphasize difference as a human condition and not as a condition of just one group – people with disabilities – and, with this, they strengthen the proposal for inclusion and the end of prejudices that exclude people, based on the idea of incapacity (ableism), by showing that PWDs can and should occupy any place and position.

The Salamanca Declaration, in Spain, held in 1994, is another milestone in the history of achievements for the rights of people with disabilities, as it had the participation of 88 governments and 25 international organizations, which recognized the need and urgency of providing education for children, youth and adults within the regular education system.

It is essential for the implementation of the idea of inclusion, which moves from the political-ideological field to also be implemented in the form of law, which is known to have repercussions in practices. Here in Brazil, for example, the construction of a vast legislative framework, supported the struggles for inclusion and for ensuring the enrollment and permanence of students with disabilities in schools, and supports the struggle for the effective learning of this group.

The Salamanca Declaration brings great contributions in its goals/commitments/objectives for people with disabilities, as we will see in Table 3.

Table 3. Salamanca Declaration Commitments.

Article	Goals/ Objectives/ Commitments
3	1. Give the highest political and financial priority to improving their education systems so that they are able to 'include all children, regardless of their individual differences or difficulties' (p. 1, our emphasis added).
	2. 'Adopt the principle of Inclusive Education in law or policy', enrolling all children in mainstream schools unless there are compelling reasons to do otherwise (p. 2, our emphasis added).
	3. Establish participatory and decentralized mechanisms for planning, reviewing and 'evaluating educational provision for children and adults with special educational needs' (p. 2, emphasis added).
	4. Invest greater effort in 'strategies for early identification and intervention', as well as in the vocational aspects of 'Inclusive Education' (p. 2, emphasis added).
4	Endorsing the perspective of inclusive schooling and supporting the development of 'special education' as an integral part of all educational programmes. (p. 2, emphasis added).
	Ensuring that 'special education' is part of every discussion dealing with education for all in various forums (p. 2, emphasis added).

Source: Table prepared by the authors based on Education for Special Needs, Salamanca (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1994).

The Salamanca Declaration, from what we can understand, focuses its concerns on the right for all children to have access to schooling, especially people with disabilities, determining that governments pay more attention, including early diagnosis so that, in this way, can develop strategies to offer access to education.

The Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities (Guatemala Convention), of May 28, 1999, also brought some determinations that, from the beginning, already reaffirmed the rights of people with disabilities.

People with disabilities have the same human rights and fundamental freedoms as other people and that these rights, including the right not to be subjected to discrimination based on disability, emanate from the dignity and equality that are inherent in every human being (Unesco, 1999, p. 1).

Eliminating all forms of discrimination is essential to building an inclusive society. Historically segregated due to their disabilities, today we understand that PWDs are also individuals with potential and are not limited to limitations. In fact, considering a social understanding of disability, we understand that having a disability symbolizes a difficulty due to the numerous barriers (architectural, communicational, and attitudinal, among others) that are imposed on this group. Disability moves away from the individual and begins to be understood as a social construction, making accessibility a necessity, an urgency.

In addition, throughout the text, he presented other determinations, which aimed at integrating people with disabilities into the world of work and in an attempt to guarantee equitable rights so that these people

with disabilities can have a dignified and respected life, guaranteed through access to education, as highlighted in the following goals in Table 4.

Table 4. Commitments Declaration of Guatemala.

Article III	1. Take measures of a legislative, social, educational, labor, or any other nature that are necessary to eliminate discrimination against people with disabilities and provide for their full integration into society, including the measures listed below, which should not be considered exclusive: (p. 2) a) Measures by government authorities and/or private entities to progressively eliminate discrimination and promote integration in the provision or provision of goods, services, facilities, programs and activities, such as employment, transport, communications, housing, leisure, education, sport, access to justice and police services and political and administrative activities'; (p. 2, our emphasis added)
Article III	2. To work primarily in the following areas: a) 'Prevention' of all forms of 'preventable disabilities'; (p. 3, our emphasis) b) 'Early detection and intervention, treatment, rehabilitation, education, occupational training and provision of comprehensive services' to ensure the best level of independence and quality of life for people with disabilities; (p. 3, our emphasis) c) 'Population awareness', through education campaigns, aimed at 'eliminating prejudices, stereotypes and other attitudes' that undermine people's right to be equal, thus allowing respect and 'coexistence with people with disabilities' of disability'. (p. 3, our emphasis)

Source: Table prepared by the authors based on the Guatemala Declaration (United Nations [UN], 1999).

We note that this declaration focuses its goals on promoting the quality of life of people with disabilities, whether through adaptations of buildings or transportation, as well as prevention and, mainly, raising awareness among the population so that, over time, some paradigms are left aside and people with disabilities can live without major difficulties and any type of discrimination, being able to enjoy their rights without any type of prejudice.

Issues related to accessibility, therefore, become crucial to the advancement of these goals. With the entry and permanence of people with disabilities in schools, for example, we have been able to see, since the implementation of the National Policy for Special Education from the perspective of Inclusive Education (2008), that data from the School Census indicate an increase in the number of enrollments of PWD in schools that result in the entry of this public into universities, the job market and other social interactions, leading us to reflect more on the conditions of accessibility in the physical, pedagogical, social, communicational spheres, among others.

The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, held in 2008 in Brazil, is another milestone that deals with guidelines for education for people with disabilities and contains very important determinations, as we will see in Table 5 – commitments in the Brasilia Declaration.

Table 5. Commitments of the Brasilia Declaration.

The principles of this Convention are:	a. Respect for inherent dignity, individual autonomy, including the freedom to make one's own choices, and the independence of persons. (p. 17) b. Non-discrimination; (p. 17) c. Full and effective participation and inclusion in society; (p. 17) d. Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human diversity and humanity; (p. 17). e. Equality of opportunity; (p. 18) f. Accessibility; (p. 18) h. Respect for the development of the capacities of children with disabilities and the right of children with disabilities to preserve their identity; (p. 18)
Article 4 General obligations	"To take all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures" to realize the rights recognized in this Convention; (our emphasis added) b. To take all necessary 'measures, including legislation', to amend or repeal existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against persons with disabilities; (emphasis added) c. To take into account in all programmes and policies the protection and promotion of the human rights of 'persons with disabilities'; (our emphasis) e. To take all appropriate measures to eliminate 'discrimination on the basis of disability' by any person, organization or private enterprise; (our emphasis added) f. Undertake or promote research and development of universally designed products, services, equipment

and facilities, as defined in Article 2 of this Convention, that require the least possible 'adaptation' and are of the lowest possible cost, and that are designed to meet the 'specific needs of persons with disabilities', to promote their availability and use, and to promote universal design in the 'development of standards and guidelines'; (our emphasis added)

g. Undertake or promote research and development, as well as the 'availability and use of new technologies, including information and communication technologies', mobility assistance, devices and assistive technologies, suitable for 'persons with disabilities', giving priority to affordable technologies; (our emphasis added)

h. Provide 'accessible information for people with disabilities' regarding technical aids for mobility, assistive devices and technologies, including new technologies as well as other forms of assistance, support services and facilities; (p. 19, our emphasis added)

Source: Table prepared by the authors based on the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations [UN], 2006).

We found that this declaration is similar to all the other declarations analyzed so far, highlighting its determinations to guarantee respect for differences, non-discrimination, inclusion, and encouragement for the creation and research of mechanisms and technologies that provide access for people with disabilities. In short, it brings a series of advances in rights for inclusion to happen.

It emphasizes the importance of making spaces and information accessible to people with disabilities as something inherent to the inclusion process and invites us to make use of historically constructed knowledge, combining it with technologies to include and not to segregate. It also states the importance of not differentiating this group of people by discriminating against them due to their disability, without, however, denying their specificities and serving them through the use of assistive technologies and other accessibility strategies.

The Incheon Declaration, held in South Korea in 2015, was attended by ministers, heads and members of delegations, heads of agencies and officials from multilateral and bilateral organizations, and representatives of civil society, teachers, youth, and the private sector. They were responsible for determining goals to be met by 2030. Among them, in Table 6 – commitments of the Incheon Declaration, we highlight the possible goals aimed at people with disabilities.

We note that the Incheon Declaration is succinct in its goals and that it tries to include people in general, demonstrating the concern of not leaving anyone behind. Given the achievements of years of inclusive education and the search for this social reality, current policies already foresee advances and systematizations that point to the increasingly effective realization of inclusion, guaranteeing quality access and ensuring equity in access to education for this public.

When analyzed, we realize that the declarations provide guidelines that directly influence and regulate public policies, especially educational policies for people with disabilities that define access and permanence, which, in short, attempt to guarantee the inclusion of all through education at the international level promoted by international or multilateral organizations. Below we will see how these determinations influence Brazilian legislation for people with disabilities.

Table 6. Commitments Incheon Declaration.

Towards 2030: a new vision for education	5. [...] We urgently commit to a unique and renewed education agenda that is holistic, bold and ambitious, and leaves no one behind. This new vision is fully captured by SDG 4 "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" and its corresponding targets. (p. 01, our emphasis added)
	6. Motivated by our significant achievements in expanding access to education over the past 15 years, we will ensure the provision of free, 'equitable, quality' and publicly funded primary and secondary education for 12 years, of which at least nine years are compulsory, achieving relevant learning outcomes. We also encourage the provision of at least one year of 'free and compulsory quality pre-primary education', and that all children have access to quality early childhood education, care and development. We further commit to providing meaningful education and training opportunities for the 'large number of out-of-school children and adolescents' who require immediate, targeted and lasting measures to ensure that all children are in school and learning. (p. 2, our emphasis added)
	7. 'Inclusion and equity' in and through education are the foundation of a transformative education agenda and we therefore commit to addressing all forms of 'exclusion and marginalization', as well as disparities and inequalities in access, participation and learning outcomes. No education goal should be considered achieved unless all have achieved it. We therefore commit to making 'necessary changes in education policies and focusing our efforts on the most disadvantaged, especially those with disabilities, to ensure that no one is left behind' (p. 2, emphasis added)

Source: Table prepared by the authors based on the Incheon Declaration (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2015).

Public policies for Inclusive Education in Brazil

As we considered in the topic above, which dealt with the analysis of the declarations of the Education for All Movement (EFA), we saw that these documents contain some determinations/goals/objectives for people with disabilities. In this topic, we will look at their influence on Brazilian public policies, since we assume that laws are subject to external influences. Our appreciation that Brazilian public policies are directly influenced by international organizations is supported, in addition to the analysis of this section of the statements, also on the studies by Shiroma et al. (2011):

[...]Vast international documentation, emanating from important multilateral organizations, propagated this idea through diagnosis, analysis and proposals for considerable solutions to all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, with regard to both education and the economy. This documentation has played an important role in defining public policies for education in the country. (Shiroma et al., 2011, p. 47).

We began our investigation by examining the Brazilian Federal Constitution (Brazil, 1988), which contains some articles that are fundamental to guaranteeing the rights of people with disabilities, such as education. In this way, Mantoan (2003, p. 22) states that: “The Constitution, however, guarantees education for all and this means that it is for everyone and, to achieve full human development and preparation for citizenship, it is understood that this education cannot be carried out in segregated environments.”

We will now discuss what the Constitution presents regarding guaranteeing the rights of people with disabilities. We identified the following articles and sections:

Art. 205. Education, which is the right of all and duty of the State and of the family, shall be promoted and fostered with the cooperation of society, with a view to the full development of the person, his preparation for the exercise of citizenship and his qualification for work.

Art. 206. Education shall be provided on the basis of the following principles:

I - equal conditions of access and permanence in school;

Art. 208. The duty of the State towards education shall be fulfilled by ensuring the following:

III – specialized schooling for the handicapped, preferably in the regular school system; (Brasil, 1988, p. 166-167).

The Brazilian Constitution alone would be capable of guaranteeing access to inclusion for all in society, as well as equality and specialized care. Mantoan (2003) supports this idea when he states that:

The ‘preferably’ refers to ‘specialized educational assistance’, that is: what is necessarily different in teaching to better meet the specific needs of students with disabilities, mainly covering instruments necessary to eliminate the barriers that people with disabilities naturally have when interacting with the external environment, such as, for example: teaching Brazilian Sign Language (Libras), Braille code, use of computer resources, and other tools and languages that need to be available in so-called regular schools (Mantoan, 2003, p. 23, author’s emphasis).

Law No. 9394, of December 1996, establishes the guidelines and bases of Brazilian national education. LDB 9394/96 is an important document that, in our research, manages to identify advances in public inclusion policies. Initially, in its Article 3, it brings achievements for people with disabilities, but it is in its Articles 58 and 59 that the LDB will focus on the inclusion of PWD, as we will see below:

Art. 3 Teaching will be provided based on the following principles

I - equal conditions for access to and permanence in school;

III - free specialized educational support for students with disabilities, global developmental disorders and high abilities or giftedness, across all levels, stages and modalities, preferably in the regular education system;

Art. 58. For the purposes of this Law, special education is understood as the type of school education offered preferably in the regular education system, for students with disabilities, global developmental disorders and high abilities or giftedness. (As amended by Law No. 12.796 of 2013)

§ 1 There will be, when necessary, specialized support services, in the regular school, to meet the peculiarities of the special education clientele.

Art. 59. Education systems will ensure to students with disabilities, global developmental disorders and high abilities or giftedness: (As amended by Law No. 12.796 of 2013)

I - specific curricula, methods, techniques, educational resources and organization, to meet their needs;

III - teachers with appropriate specialization at secondary or higher level, for specialized care, as well as regular education teachers trained to integrate these students into regular classes;

IV - special education for work, aiming at their effective integration into life in society, including adequate conditions for those who do not demonstrate the capacity to enter competitive work, through coordination with related official bodies, as well as for those who present superior ability in the artistic, intellectual or psychomotor areas; (Brasil, 1996, p. 24).

We note that the guidelines that LDB 9394/96 (Brasil, 1996) brings to the field of inclusion represent an advance, which contributes to guaranteeing access and permanence of PWD in schools, providing them with the right to have a quality life. However, it is important to emphasize that, although we have made progress in legislation, the implementation of this in the practical field is still far from reality. We can see that public policies have been influenced by international organizations. Let us look at the example that deals with LDB 9393/96:

The Brazilian State ends up determining, by force of law (article 87, paragraph 1, of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, LDB 9394/96, that the National Education Plan be prepared based on the World Declaration of Education for all (Rabelo, Jimenez, & Mendes Segundo, 2017, p. 18).

Anchored in the deliberations of the National Education Conference – CONAE/2010), Law No. 13,005/2014 (Brasil, 2014, p. 3-5), National Education Plan, 2014 establishes goals and strategies:

1.11) prioritize access to early childhood education and promote the provision of complementary and supplementary specialized educational services to students with disabilities, global developmental disorders and high abilities or giftedness, ensuring bilingual education for deaf children and the transversality of special education at this stage of basic education;

‘Strategies’:

3.13) implement policies to prevent dropouts motivated by prejudice or any form of discrimination, creating a safety net against associated forms of exclusion;

Goal 4: universalize, for the population aged 4 (four) to 17 (seventeen) with disabilities, global developmental disorders and high abilities or giftedness, access to basic education and specialized educational services, preferably in the regular education system, with the guarantee of an inclusive educational system, multifunctional resource rooms, classes, schools or specialized services, public or contracted. 4.4) ensure specialized educational assistance in multifunctional resource rooms, classes, schools or specialized services, public or contracted, in complementary and supplementary forms, to all students with disabilities, global development disorders and high abilities or giftedness, enrolled in the public basic education network, according to the need identified through assessment, after hearing the family and the student;

Leher et al. (2017) draw attention to these articulations present in the PNE (2014):

Since 2007, the business movement has been defining the Federal government’s actions for basic education, such as the Education Development Plan and the National Education Plan (2014-2024), which provide for all Brazilian education; despite resistance. Businesspeople disseminate their agenda and pedagogy mainly through coalitions such as *Todos pela Educação*, bringing together bankers, major media entrepreneurs and the so-called business ‘Third Sector’ (Leher et al., 2017 p. 18, author’s emphasis).

We note that the PNE is one of the important documents that attempt to guarantee the schooling of people with disabilities in Brazil, based on specialized educational services, prevention of evasion motivated by prejudice, universalization of education for children aged 4 to 17, creation of programs aimed at People with Disabilities, that is, it is a document that brings advances in this constant struggle for the inclusion of all.

Final considerations

This research surveyed the influence of international organizations, more specifically the World Bank, on public policies for the inclusion of people with disabilities. A series of documents were analyzed, both at the global and national levels. We were able to detect some progress, but between the lines, they reveal a greater interest of financing agencies in ensuring US hegemony in peripheral countries, influencing the formulation of public policies. We noticed this when analyzing the determinations contained in the declarations, conferences and forums of the Education for All Movement (EPT), financed mainly by the World Bank, which since 1984, when it began to manage the education policy portfolio, has seen education as a new market niche, with great potential for generating profit.

In this context of influence of international organizations in the formulation of education policies in Brazil, we observed that many laws have been created that aim to guarantee the inclusion of people with disabilities, equity, and the right to education, but they have not been universally implemented in practice, often only guaranteeing an illusion.

An important factor to be considered in this matter is whether this supposed inclusion reaches all people. We note that the socioeconomic situation needs to be assessed in this analysis, since the context of the structural crisis of capital has widened the gap between a small portion of society, which is in a

favorable economic situation, and the majority of the Brazilian population, which is part of the working class, implying that the latter has limited access to Inclusive Education.

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