

DOSSIER

Quality, learning and systemic assessment: discourses from international organizations for Latin American countries

The global agenda composed by international organizations: education in the composition of the public and the private***A agenda global composta pelas organizações internacionais: a educação na composição do público e do privado***

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this work is to understand the concepts of quality, assessment and learning contained in guidelines from the World Bank (WB), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI), which led Latin American countries to adhere to the Education for All (EFA) project proposal from 1996 to 2019, favoring the direct influence of these organizations in the formulation, planning, execution and assessment of educational policies. The methodology consisted of analytical research, focusing on the policy cycle of Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992), in the context of the production of texts, as a reference for the implementation of educational policies. This work is part of research that is being carried out in a network, to understand the Latin American scenario, taking as a guiding principle the proposition of organizing collective knowledge in this area. The results point to the direct influence of multilateral organizations on the guidelines and decisions of educational policies in Brazil and Latin America, based on the adherence to the EFA proposal, receiving approval, treaties and financial investments, with a strong assessment of results and rankings of a quality defined as a basis for anchoring the capitalist development of production, whose concepts of quality, assessment and learning respond to the objectives of market-oriented education.

Keywords: Learning. Assessment. Multilateral Organizations. Educational Quality. Public and Private Relationship.

RESUMO

O objetivo deste trabalho é compreender os conceitos de qualidade, avaliação e aprendizagem contidos em orientações do Banco Mundial (BM), da Organização para a Cooperação e Desenvolvimento Econômico (OCDE), da Organização das Nações Unidas para Educação, Ciência e Cultura (UNESCO), da Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU) e da Organização dos Estados Ibero-americanos (OEI), que levaram os países

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latino-americanos a aderirem a proposta do projeto Educação Para Todos (EPT) no período de 1996 a 2019, favorecendo a influência direta dessas organizações nas formulações, no planejamento, na execução e na avaliação de políticas educacionais. A metodologia consistiu em pesquisa analítica, com foco no ciclo de política de Bowe, Ball e Gold (1992), no contexto da produção dos textos, como referência da implantação de políticas educacionais. Este trabalho é parte de pesquisa que está sendo realizada em rede, para a compreensão do cenário latino-americano, tomando por princípio norteador a proposição de organizar um conhecimento coletivo nessa área. Os resultados apontam a influência direta de organizações multilaterais nas orientações e decisões das políticas educacionais no Brasil e na América Latina a partir da adesão à proposta da EPT, recebendo anuência, tratados e investimentos financeiros, com forte avaliação de resultados, e ranqueamentos de uma qualidade definida como base de ancoragem ao desenvolvimento capitalista de produção, cujos conceitos de qualidade, avaliação e aprendizagem respondem aos objetivos da educação voltada para o mercado.

Palavras-chave: Aprendizagem. Avaliação. Organismos Multilaterais. Qualidade Educacional. Relação Público e Privado.

Introduction

The term “globalization” has a historical character. Whether as transnationalization in the 1980’s or as development integrated into the world economy in the 1990’s, it reaffirms the values of liberal ideals of consolidating economic development. Globalization is directly linked to the reinforcement of capitalism within the scope of liberal ideology and can be understood as neoliberal due to its contemporary action in third world countries, receiving support from the private sector. These are international organizations, based on the neoliberal perspective, with influence on the world scenario, mainly in developing countries, leading their ideals to shape national political constructs with the justification of contributing to economic growth.

Starting with documents that appear to be manuals or prescriptions, accompanied by persuasive texts to convince the recipient that changes are necessary, Multilateral Organizations (MO’s) have invaded the educational scenario and proposed reforms that insert business logic into this context that needs to be highly humanized. This ends up making the relationship between the public authorities and the private sector increasingly closer.

The objective of this work¹ is to understand the concepts of “quality”, “assessment” and “learning” in guidelines from the World Bank (WB), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI) for Education, with a view to identifying the reasons that led Latin American countries to embrace the Education for All (EFA) project proposal.

The study seeks to answer the following question: what led Latin American countries to adhere to the proposal of international organizations in the period from 1996 to 2019, favoring

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direct influence on the formulation, planning, implementation and assessment of educational policies, through the EFA proposal of the World Organizations? To this end, the methodology used was bibliographical analytical research focusing on the policy cycle of Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992), and documentary research, using documents written by the WB, OECD and UNESCO within the scope of the countries signatory to the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA): “Meeting Basic Learning Needs”, signed in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 (UNESCO, 1990, s.p).

The quality of education is understood in the light of Dourado and Oliveira (2009), who perceive it based on a polysemic perspective, understanding the conception of the world, society and education through elements that are evident to qualify, evaluate and specify the nature, properties and attributes for a real process of education with social quality. For the authors, the purpose of education is linked to differentiated spaces, actors and formative processes (Dourado; Oliveira, 2009). In this sense, the quality of education, beyond levels and modalities, is imbued with a historical-cultural trajectory, added to a certain legal-normative content of a nation project that, when effective, is configured as a social right.

Based on this understanding, the assessment process is analyzed considering the authors’ concept that the implementation of assessment systems with a view to human and social development requires the planning of an educational management process for this objective: improving learning. From this perspective, the management and organization of learning aim to plan, monitor and evaluate its programs and projects.

We agree with Dourado and Oliveira (2009) in the sense that it is essential to establish the definition of dimensions, factors and quality conditions to be considered as an analytical and political reference regarding the improvement of the educational process. To this end, socially referenced quality is considered, as it foresees the consolidation of mechanisms for social control of production and the implementation and monitoring of educational policies and their results, aiming at integral development through significant learning. In defending this legacy, learning includes all aspects, not only economic, but also political, social and cultural aspects of human development.

The text is structured in three sections, in addition to this Introduction and Final Considerations. The first section deals with neoliberalism and the EFA process, focusing on the proposals that underpin the systemic and business rationale of education. The second section analyzes the public and private sectors under the emphasis of the process of globalization of Brazilian education. The third section analyzes the global education project and its insertion in public policies, the teacher formation process, the restructuring of teaching, and the assessment project, with a view to fulfilling the objective proposed for the research.

Neoliberalism and the Education for All (EFA) process: proposals that support business reasoning in education

In order to understand the historical process of administrative organization of the State in Brazil, in the context of a timeline, the patrimonial organization was exercised in the early imperial period and then gave way to the bureaucratic state. In the 1980’s, there was a brief attempt os

a participatory State based on the Federal Constitution, later receiving an Administrative Reform through which state managerialism was implemented in 1995. These configurations were developed under the aegis of modern liberalism and contemporary neoliberalism.

In fact, the 1990s expressively represent a milestone for the implementation of economic reorganization processes, in the context of neoliberalism, especially if one considers the effective role of multilateral organizations and the commitments, beyond financing, that underwrite the field of interventions and reorganization of ideological and societal values.

Ianni (1998) presents the concept of neoliberalism as follows:

[...] neoliberalism concerns the transnationalization of productive forces and relations of production, crossing territories and borders, as well as political regimes and cultures. They are “productive forces”, such as capital, technology, labor force, the division of social labor, the market, planning and violence, concretizing the transformation of forms of life and work, comprising practices and imaginaries. They are “relations of production”, such as freedom and equality of owners organized in the contract, which includes the company, the corporation, the conglomerate, the State, the law, legal-political codes, accounting, calculability, productivity, competitiveness and profitability. They involve institutions and organizations, practices and ideals, ways of thinking and acting, generally rational, pragmatic or instrumental, in order to speed up and generalize the operating conditions of the “factors of production” (Ianni, 1998, p. 29).

As the author explains, political regimes and cultures intertwine in the play of productive forces, altering forms of life and work. In these terms, neoliberalism reinforces the liberal bases of individualism and competitiveness, free trade and competition. The State and the market, in this way, use resources and instruments that guarantee the reproduction and accumulation of capitalism in the globalized order (Ianni, 1998).

In the new order of capitalist reforms, the State minimizes its social investments, refrains from intervening in the economy and invests in the privatization of state-owned companies and services. From an economic point of view, transnationalization advocates the elimination of subsidies, fees and taxes with broad circulation of capital and services. In this context, the State, by guaranteeing the relations of production and its actions, hegemonizes the domination of a class, endorsing the reproduction of the social relations of capitalist society.

Regarding neoliberalism, some assertions are presented in Dardot and Laval (2016), among them, the one that defines neoliberalism not only as an ideology, but as a plan that goes beyond ideas and is linked to a way of life subjectivized in cultural, economic, political and ethical principles. Human resource management takes individualism, commerce and competition as principles, and performance management is used as a way to make public service dysfunctional and exalt the private sector.

Some aspects that stand out regarding performance management are flexibilization, elimination of public law rules, replacement of public tenders with private law contracts and mobility between public and private services and sectors. These aspects are being introduced in a cultural way by the State in the service of oligopolistic interests.

In this context, education, for Cabral Neto and Castro (2005), is essential for the reproduction of the capitalist model of production. It is at the center of strategic planning at all levels, beyond the economic, political, social and cultural. For Latin America, the authors highlight the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), UNESCO and the World Bank as organizations that seek to work on rigging consensus for educational policies, treating education as an essential element for promoting development strategies and providing changes in the public management model with the focus on improving the quality of education.

It is also worth mentioning, in the context of Latin America, the Major Project of Education (MPE), a movement under the aegis of the managerialist state conception that had the participation of 37 countries sponsored by UNESCO, the Organization of American States (OAS) and ECLAC. For Cabral Neto and Castro (2005, p. 12), the “Project aimed to outline an educational policy that would have continuity over time and impact on development policies with the purpose of modernizing education and teaching” from a neoliberal perspective.

With meetings in Mexico (1984), Bogotá (1987), Guatemala (1980), Quito (1991), Santiago (1993) and Bolivia (2001), the MPE has become a reference for decision-making in the educational field in the Latin American continent, and since Jomtien, it has incorporated points such as poverty reduction and the new model of education development, including curricular changes and training of human resources.

In this chain, countries regulate dialogues around this new economic development proposal and take quality in education as a global requirement and as a guiding compass for the search for educational results, guided by the EFA. For Cavalcanti (2018), the concept of quality in education penetrates the curricular foundation and the definition of competence, whose purpose is to structure an education geared towards the market. Thus, it invades the bases of reproduction of the *modus operandi vivendi* of capital: education and work.

Brazil, by adhering to neoliberal precepts and its commitment to the EFA, has been implementing a policy of managing education for the market. Cavalcanti (2019, p. 08), when studying UNESCO documents for the Youth and Adults policy in the country, states: “The Education for All pact, assumed by Brazil, expresses in its text the political commitment to the educational policy model undertaken in the administrative reform of the state”. For the author, such commitment, added to the objectives of multilateral organizations, fine-tune the discourse of adapting public policy actions, mainly in education and health, to adapt to the economy, trade, work and health.

The legal framework adopted by Brazilian education based on the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (BNE), enacted in 1996, guides the process of standardizing educational policy supported by the administrative reform of the State. Consequently, the resulting legislation began to support this proposition (Saviani, 1997).

In line with the prerogatives of democratization and social participation promoted by the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988), the BNE of 1996 (Brasil, 1996) imposes a contradiction in the political scenario, since, in the opposite direction of education as a right for all, there are neoliberal ideas of a global nature, which, in Brazil, were initiated in the government of Fernando Collor de Melo, whose private premise permeated the State’s ideology, which was solidified with the

total administrative restructuring of its apparatus in the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Cavalcanti, 2021).

Peroni (2013) makes pertinent reflections on the processes of privatization and the precariousness of teaching work. For the author, the State not only justifies the lack of investment in education, but also legalizes it. She also explains that the reforms remove funding from education justified by the bias of rationing public resources, and warns that all actions of the modern State, whether evaluative or managerial, have been legitimized in education documents, highlighting the National Curricular Guidelines, the National Curricular Parameters and the regulations contained in the internal and external education evaluation standards.

From these considerations, it is noted that, from the EFA, the education process is marked by skills and competencies, or pedagogy of results; that the effort of plans and goals becomes the definition of basic learning needs so that actions are strategically thought out for the development of learning from this perspective.

For Cabral Neto and Castro (2005), the guidelines formulated in this perspective present the backbone of an educational project, whose characteristics include decentralization of education, curricular flexibility, compensatory policies, specific programs for the development of education and education financing. In Brazil, the repercussions of this policy involve privatization mechanisms and strategies characterized by the State's omission in educational services, causing the increase of private companies in the sector and the deterioration of public educational services.

Given this assertion, the following reflections are in order: if the hegemony of the State over the market has been in its supremacy since 1990, despite the progressive governments in Brazil, why has the consensus of a counterposition focused on human development not regained prominence in our political history? Has social subjectivation to the dictates of the market consecrated the *modus vivendi* to the point that there is no dissent capable of counter-arguing a new logic to that of the market?

Libâneo (2016) reflects on these issues related to education and states:

There is therefore sufficient evidence that the educational policies formulated by international organizations since 1990 have governed school policies in our country, and there are reasons to suspect that they have negatively affected the internal functioning of schools and the pedagogical-didactic work of teachers. By restricting school education to the objectives of solving social and economic problems and to market criteria, its role in relation to its priority purposes of teaching content and promoting the development of students' intellectual capacities is compromised. In this way, such policies lead to the impoverishment of schools and low student performance rates and, to this extent, they act in the social exclusion of students in schools, even before the social exclusion promoted in society (Libâneo, 2016, p. 48).

For the aforementioned author, there is an urgent need to seek consensus among educators, public body leaders, politicians, researchers and unions on the subject, considering these segments as central agents of education and its quality (Libâneo, 2016).

The public and the private: the tone of the globalization process in Brazilian education

In Brazil, since the democratizing order established with the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brazil, 1988), education has been established at the heart of a conflict of ideological and political orders already experienced in other historical moments, between the prerogative of education as a right for all, free and of quality, and the globalizing movement that designates it as an important product of high profitability commercialization, centralizing it in the so-called “knowledge society”. The construct of educational processes, from a global perspective, coexists with the legal objectives of supply and the applicable objectives of profitability.

Overall, according to Ianni (1998),

[...] the concentration of capital develops, in the sense of the increasing reinvestment of surplus, profit or surplus value, and the centralization of capital, through the absorption of less active, secondary or marginal enterprises by more active, dynamic or aggressive ones. Thus, the productive forces and relations of production cross territories and borders, becoming globalized. [...]. Under these conditions, the globalization of capitalism always and necessarily implies unequal, contradictory and combined development. “Unequal” due to the unevenness and irregularities in the realization of productive forces and relations of production. “Contradictory” because it brings with it tensions and frictions between national and regional economic subsystems, as provinces of the global economic system. And “combined” because, despite inequalities of all kinds and also multiple contradictions, some form of accommodation, association, subordination or integration generally develops, in which the dominant or more dynamic poles subordinate, guide or manage the “emerging” ones (Ianni, 1998, p. 28-29, *sic*).

This scenario demonstrates that, currently, Brazilian policies need to be understood as the product of a nexus of influences and interdependencies that result in a combination of global, distant and local logics (Ball, 2001).

From this point of view, it must be considered that the Constitutional Charter itself, in its art. 209, makes explicit the consequences of the neoliberal order by opening and authorizing the private sector to commercialize school education. It also authorizes the allocation of public resources to the private sector, with the approval of art. 213, to community, religious or philanthropic schools, when they prove that they are non-profit and/or that they apply their financial surpluses to education, in accordance with the law (Brasil, 1988, art. 213).

Based on this prerogative, the 1996 BNE (Brasil, 1996) and Constitutional Amendment No. 53, of December 19, 2006, which created the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Appreciation of Professionals in Education (FUNDBE) (Brasil, 2006), only expanded the participation of the private sector in the payroll of public education. Vieira (2008) states that both regulations are too flexible and ambiguous in their texts, allowing private institutions to adapt to their rules in order to qualify to receive public resources.

Financial support and tax exemptions should also be offered, as well as the transfer of funds to business sectors in order to establish partnerships and contracts with public education.

It is important to note that the State alternates the way it participates in global political processes, presenting different ways of implementing systemic changes (Rosenau, 2000). Therefore, there is a minimization of the State in terms of the provision of public services while extolling investments in private initiative.

The conception of quality that guides private sector practices concerns Total Quality, which aims to achieve quality in education, starting from and with a view to increasing competitiveness. This is a concept from the managerial world, characterized by Flach (2012) by the growing contradictions that insert the school into a management transplanted from the business model, where efficiency and productivity become the watchwords.

The World Bank and the OECD are major influencers of this concept of managerial and technical education in Brazil. For these organizations, the concept of quality should be based, according to Silva (2009, p. 222, our translation), "on the adoption of 'inputs' that should lead to results to be assessed through performance and academic achievement indexes of students and schools". There is a perception that the mere adoption of equipment, together with the use of standardized tests, generates satisfactory results. Thus, the concept of quality arising from the basis of economic theories has become, for some governments and managers, the north that guides policies for basic and higher education.

Research has confirmed this scenario of increasingly close relations between the public and private sectors in Brazil. Araújo (2015), based on the analysis of data from the 2014 School Census, conducted a survey of the number of enrollments in private schools that have FUNDBE funding. At the time, the author analyzed that 18.3% of enrollments in basic education are in the private education system and that 13.4% of these are in non-profit institutions with an agreement with some public sector, with daycare and professional education being the most common stages in these enrollments (Araújo, 2015).

Adrião *et al.* (2016) identified the role of business groups in the management of Brazilian municipal networks, which causes public funds to be shifted to the private sector. The authors surveyed the private systems Pearson, Abril Educação, Santillana, Grupo Objetivo and Grupo Positivo as the most used during 2013. The services offered were technical consultancy and teaching-pedagogical materials, which led to a homogenization and weakening of students, teachers and schools in terms of their capabilities, as active subjects and creators in the realization of the right to education.

In the same direction, Peroni (2018) noted the expansion of access to public education but identifies that the pedagogical and management material of public schools has been increasingly determined by private institutions, which insert the mercantile logic in these schools. This fact becomes worrying, because, for Gimenes, Cavalcanti and Campos (2021), management, based on managerialism, adheres to business parameters in the search for achieving certain performance indexes, stimulating competition and defending meritocracy, through the search for efficiency and effectiveness.

In 2007, when the Education Development Plan (EDP) was created, the main government planning policy at the time, the influence of business on national education public policies became noticeable. With such a large-scale structural and financial planning for Brazilian education, the EDP

was created under the support and guidance of the “Todos pela Educação” (“All for Education”) Movement, which is a group of business groups with representatives and sponsorship from large entities, which has influenced the government’s agenda for education in Brazil since 2006 (Amorim, 2011). This Movement established a commitment to education while at the same time

[...] revealed the dominant tendency among businesspeople to consider education as a matter of goodwill and philanthropy, which would be resolved by volunteering, with underlying interests that fuel the desire to adjust training processes to the demands for labor and consumer profiles set by the companies themselves (Saviani, 2007, p. 22).

Later, with the construction of the National Common Curricular Base (NCCB) in 2017, it was no different, because, according to Peroni and Caetano (2015), this moment became a true field of disputes in Brazilian education, in which different individual and/or collective subjects, public and private institutions organized themselves through seminars, debates and reports of international experiences aiming to influence the composition of the NCCB.

The occasion was marked by the emergence of a new private sector of education services: the specialists. According to Peroni and Caetano (2015), these are consultants who operate globally as education management organizations, as well as educational foundations and philanthropists engaged in the design of educational practice and policy.

It can be said that we are inserted in an educational context marked by mercantile dictates, where managerial influence is constant and the public school, in turn, sees its autonomy being relativized by a context that is beyond its control and has as its main justification to qualify education according to the new global order (Amorim, 2023).

Peroni and Caetano (2015) add that the relationship between the public and private sectors in educational policy is a constitutive part of social and economic changes – it is not a question of determination, but of relationship and process. Education, once seen as a primary factor in social, economic and technological development, becomes the target of private initiative with the claim that the State, by itself, cannot raise it to the developmental level.

In this context, the subject, referred to by Dardot and Laval (2016) as a neoliberal subject or “neosubject,” is being educated under a competitive order, learning to naturalize failures and high unemployment rates, and to naturalize financial investment in health, education, leisure, and security, among others. Learns that overcoming is part of competing with others. Develops coexistence with the precariousness of production relations and social relations of production. Management, curriculum, and methods in education, which project the world as a market, focus on education with neoliberal premises, trivializing inhumanity.

This contemporary situation is increasingly promising for the public/private relationship in Brazil. The premise that, with the increase in access to basic education (brought about by the determinations of the right to education), the services offered by the private sector would decrease was demystified when enrollments were converted into the provision of services for the public sector itself, thus demonstrating that commercial education systems are increasingly thriving in the country.

The global education project and its insertion in public policies: teacher formation, restructuring of education and assessment project

Understanding the concept of quality and assessment of learning, from the perspective of the guidelines of international economic institutions and organizations that support the neoliberal project, in countries that implement such policies in Latin America, will make it possible to elucidate the paths that led to the design of educational policies based on the principles of introducing private investment in the public sector.

The documents that guide the proposals for education in the business model highlight criticisms of public education services, justifying the provision of services by private entrepreneurs whose focus would be on achieving quality in education services. This fallacy has proliferated in the field of education, gaining support and strengthening the World Bank's practice of guiding proposals with the injection of financial resources into education. With the same apology, the OECD states:

However, the amount of private financing is growing, and with an ever-increasing variety of educational opportunities, programs, and service providers, governments are forging new partnerships to mobilize resources for education and design new policies that enable different interest groups to participate more fully and share the costs and benefits more equitably (OECD, 2002, p. 194, our translation).

For the Banco Mundial (1996), the strategy for education is to develop a policy that stimulates the private sector in the administration of education, in the provision of public funds for this purpose, and, in parallel, to implement projects to improve the functioning of public schools, with an emphasis on the sectors of professional and technical knowledge. In higher education, the recommendation is to encourage private provision, by the public sector, through financing, stimulating competition, innovation and sensitivity to the labor market.

The entire project focuses on proposals that consider knowledge as a skill for professional assignments. The Banco Mundial (2003) conception of private investment and the importance of companies in this field is expressed as follows:

In the knowledge economy, which is constantly evolving in an environment of rapid change, workers must constantly acquire new skills. In this environment, companies can no longer rely solely on new university graduates or new entrants to the job market as their main source of new skills and knowledge. Instead, they require workers who are willing to keep their skills up to date and who are capable of learning throughout their working lives. To meet these new demands, the private sector is playing an increasingly important role in training and development worldwide (Banco Mundial, 2003, p. 17, our translation).

It is important to highlight the influential role of companies in the development of curricular standards, as a factor in the composition of the global education project. It can be seen that the Banco Mundial (2003) guidelines are directed towards a more pluralistic role for the State, both in financing management and in training in education, and they add that the State "[...] will have to cooperate with the private sector (with both for-profit and non-profit institutions) and civil society, using comparative advantages and synergies that lead to achieving common educational goals in a more effective and efficient manner (Banco Mundial, 2003, p. 67, our translation)".

The World Bank's agreement regarding private sector investment in human capital is based on the following concept:

A human capital contract is one in which students agree to pay a percentage of their earnings for a specified period of time after graduation in exchange for receiving funds to finance their education. The idea of this type of contract, originally proposed by Milton Friedman (Friedman and Kuznetz, 1945; Friedman, 1955), has resurfaced in recent years. The development of financial markets since the 1980s has created favorable conditions for the private sector to invest in human capital (Banco Mundial, 2003, p. 87, our translation).

This strategy involves public and private sector financing for student education through government and/or private programs, in which, upon signing up for financing, students are forced to pay after their education. According to this concept, the public and private sectors, in alliance, drive economic growth. According to the Banco Mundial (2017):

Sometimes private interests can reduce the effectiveness of policies, but the presence of close links between companies and the State does not necessarily lead to the latter's capture. Whenever influence and incentives are adequately balanced through a solid design of public bodies and through accountability mechanisms, companies and business groups can exert a positive influence on policies that aim to boost economic growth (Banco Mundial, 2017, p. 17, our translation).

This predictability indicates that both sectors think and plan the field of education, considering assessment and learning through government policies and making public spending considered inefficient more efficient and effective. To this end, the basis is found in the regulation of proposals and projects, in the establishment and legalization of contracts between the State and society, including participation in public spaces for policy negotiation (Banco Mundial, 2017).

UNESCO has its own contribution to make in this context. Created in 1945, its productions emphasize the quality of education, especially with regard to education in developing countries. Its discourse moves between the ideal of the right to quality education for all and the neoliberal precepts of education. Its objectives are nourished by timely meanings in the domain of international organizations. Understanding these meanings for the process of teacher formation, restructuring of education and assessment projects means relating them to their purposes.

The pinnacle of UNESCO's work is the creation and signature by signatory countries of the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA): "Meeting Basic Learning Needs" (UNESCO, 1990, s.p). As its title suggests, the Declaration has goals considered as minimum requirements for effective learning for all people. At the time, points can be raised that say a lot about the concept of learning. EFA considers initial school education – called basic education in Brazil – as the primary place for learning. To this end, the Declaration states that it is necessary:

[...] more than just a ratification of the commitment to basic education. A comprehensive approach is needed, going beyond current levels of resources, institutional structures, curricula and conventional education systems, to build on the best of current practice. New possibilities now exist, resulting from the convergence of the growth of information and an unprecedented capacity for communication. We must develop these possibilities with creativity and with the determination to increase their effectiveness (UNESCO, 1990, s.p).

From this perspective, UNESCO guides the formulation and reformulation of educational projects based on an economic “efficiency” perspective. Towards “new possibilities”, the Organization praises the inclusion of civil entities in the school context as a way of contributing to the quality of learning, demonstrating appreciation for the inclusion of the third sector.

Since 2000, a variety of knowledge, evidence and experiences have been shared and used. The debate has been enriched by the participation of non-state actors in official coordination structures. Foundations and civil society organizations have supported high-profile activities, such as learning in the early stages of education or controlling public spending on education. (UNESCO, 2015a, p. 51, our translation).

It can be seen that UNESCO guides the presence of foundations and civil organizations even in financial control, which, indirectly, exposes its idea of inefficiency in public spending on the part of education and school managers. For the Organization, these changes should result in higher quality education with relevant, equitable and effective learning outcomes at all levels and in all contexts.

With regard to teaching acting, UNESCO advocates the creation of measures aimed at professional performance, initial and continuing formation, and standardized performance assessments with the aim of meeting global demands for quality in teaching. One of these actions refers to monitoring teacher formation processes and the progress made by students and formation courses through the creation of teacher professionalism performance exams. To this end, reference standards and effective quality control mechanisms must be created through accreditation or certification systems that guarantee effective capacity for professional development of teachers.

The guidance on measuring learning is even more incisive. The Incheon Declaration (2015b) reinforces the Jomtien Declaration (UNESCO, 1990) by stating that restructuring education towards effective learning lies in creating stronger and more comprehensive assessment systems to assess learning outcomes at critical points, especially during and at the end of primary and secondary education, reflecting both cognitive and non-cognitive skills. These systems should include assessment of basic reading, writing and mathematics skills, as well as non-cognitive skills. The document also advises that formative assessments should be designed as an integral part of teaching and learning processes at all levels, in direct relation with pedagogical theories.

It is noted that such purposes are strongly accompanied by the achievement of “results”. Education based on the managerialist model seeks the results that are willing to achieve: a policy of reducing public spending accompanied by private opening to make up for the State’s inefficiency in achieving education in line with the market model.

The entity combines learning assessment with quality of education, the first being a *sine qua non* condition for the second, and its guiding proposals are based on the implementation of results assessment measures. In this sense, to ensure the quality of education and create conditions that allow for effective results, governments need to strengthen education systems by creating and improving appropriate, effective and inclusive mechanisms for governance and accountability; quality assurance; education management and information systems; and procedures and mechanisms (UNESCO, 2015b). Therefore, it can be seen that the quality of education is linked to a regulatory vision of government, where assessments are configured as control instruments.

Final considerations

The research indicates that multilateral organizations have a direct influence on the orientations and decisions of educational policies in Brazil and Latin America. Adherence to the EFA proposal between 1996 and 2019 is substantiated on an educational ideal based on the capitalist development of production. In this sense, the planning that involves processes related to the restructuring of education within the scope of teacher formation is accompanied by a strong project to evaluate education professionals with a view to measuring the results it proposes.

State regulation under these propositions includes a set of proposals that reinforce the call for the inclusion of the private sector in the processes of teaching planning, teacher formation and inclusion in assessment processes.

It is not a sectoral project. With a global scope, this proposal receives support, treaties, endorsements, financial investments and a strong assessment of results, involving teachers and students in rankings of a quality defined as a basis for anchoring the capitalist development of production. The proposal is based on management education and is legitimized by legislation duly orchestrated for the exercise of such proposals.

It is known that the proposal exists and has received support. The question that guides this research asks: what led Latin American countries to adhere to the proposal of international organizations between 1996 and 2019, favoring direct influence on the formulation, planning, implementation and assessment of educational policies, through the Education for All (EFA) proposal of Multilateral Organizations?

Responding to the complex reflection on why Latin American countries adhere to the neoliberal agenda means recognizing the rise of economic hegemony and the inhibition of participatory and democratic agendas, mainly due to its strong global impact imbued with ideological planning and technical rationality.

The fallacy of the thesis that the emphasis on the market would eliminate the backwardness of the Third World, stabilizing the negative accounts of the welfare state, is a strong assumption for this reflection, adding to the fact that the transparency of public and private transactions would inhibit spending, privileges and corruption. The price of republican rights and the demobilization of participation in public spaces were paid in the bargain of this ruse, in favor of competitiveness, rewards and effectiveness.

As Dardot and Laval (2016) point out, this global project involves not only countries and the natural diversity of nation-states, but also the free, competitive subject in a situation of economic polarization. This projection of subjectivation in the political-social field is reflected in the disarticulation of social movements, reducing the culture of solidarity, undermining the power of union's pressure and maintaining the regulation of debt and unemployment.

Was it progressive naivety or expertise on the part of those who support the global market thesis? Is it a lack of self-criticism on the part of progressive left-wing sectors, alienation or hegemony on the part of conservative sectors? Do those who support the "world without borders" or the "new world economic order" want the end of history, or does a geography without hunger want the end

of privileges? The popular front of the progressive camp was not sufficiently organized to unbridle the bourgeois project. In the confrontation between powers, circumstances prevailed.

The managerial orientation in Brazil, through the State Administrative Reform, highlights as a principle that the political sectors, in Brazil, hegemonically led to the implementation of the system, with all the nuances of implantation and implementation of a new administrative model of State, based on strategies of reorganization of the current education legislation to accommodate the purposes of managerialism.

Given the facts, the question is about adherence to the proposal, not only in Brazil, whose coexistence of different ideological parties, gathered in distinct liberal and progressive blocs, but also in the wave of acquiescence of countries throughout Latin America. The question could be bolder, probing the reason for the lack of resistance and rupture with the standards imposed by the hegemony of neoliberalism in Latin America.

The nature of the research imposes limits on the inquiry because there are limits to studies and research, which do not support a more in-depth analysis. It is possible to identify the nature of the phenomenon, its global extension, not only from a transnational point of view, but also from the perspective of national adherence and implementation of the legal, political and administrative regulations that govern the field of new management.

It is possible to list hypotheses, but these are characterized as gaps in the progressive field to be considered for future studies, such as: ideological adequacy of the parties; adequacy in practice and in party discourses; new reading of the needs of the working class by parties and unions; existence of a national project to support agribusiness; inhibition of the agrarian reform project of progressive governments; opening of alliances for competition in electoral negotiations and governance of progressive parties; new reading of the actions of unions in the face of the new challenges of flexibility in contemporary labor relations; lack of dialogue with the popular classes in order to understand the breadth of the movement, its consequences for an effective opposition position; identifying the foundations of the existence and actions of new social movements and questioning their specific actions in opposition to more universal agendas; analyzing the power of the media led by liberal movements to strengthen the current project, among others. Added to these issues, the hegemony of the managerial State inhibits participation as a process that may transgress the order, through public debate, therefore, collective and republican in a dialogical perspective.

In this scenario, there is an urgent need to reestablish concepts of human development based on democracy and participation beyond neoliberal legitimacy so that citizen participation can be seen as capable of generating a new social reality. The Republic, without the voice of popular sovereignty, has become an authoritarian State. It will find its way back to dialogical rationality, affecting subjectivities in transmodernity. It's a bet!

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