

O PLANEJAMENTO DA EDUCAÇÃO BRASILEIRA (PNE 2001-2024)

LA PLANIFICACIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN BRASILEÑA (PNE 2001-2024)

THE BRAZILIAN EDUCATION PLANNING (PNE 2001-2024)

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RESUMO: O propósito desse estudo é discutir as relações entre o planejado (metas e estratégias) à luz dos Planos Nacionais de Educação do Brasil (PNE 2001-2010; 2014-2024), as solicitações e necessidades da sociedade, tendo como eixo transversal a democratização do acesso e a universalização de educação para todos, a partir da agenda das políticas públicas para a educação. O estudo foi conduzido por uma abordagem qualitativa de cunho exploratório, utilizando como fontes alguns referenciais da literatura especializada (FRIGOTTO, 2007; DIAS SOBRINHO, 2012; TEIXEIRA, 2002; TURRA, ENRICONE; SANT'ANNA, 1995; DOURADO, 2011; LIMA, 2009, 2010, 2013) bem como base documental pertinentes aos dois Planos Nacionais de Educação do Brasil (BRASIL, 2001, 2014), além de dados do INEP - Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos Anísio Teixeira (2018) em datas que cobrem os balanços dos PNE's. Ao fim do estudo observou-se um descompasso entre metas previstas, metas alcançadas (ainda que parcialmente, no caso do segundo PNE ainda em vigência) e a não cobertura ou observância das solicitações demandadas pelos cidadãos brasileiros. Nas palavras de Dias Sobrinho (2012): “Uma sociedade que não consegue, ou não quer, estender os benefícios da escolarização de boa qualidade para todos, além de estar condenada ao empobrecimento crescente no sistema mundial de alta competitividade, é também uma sociedade perversa”; é necessário, portanto, outra lógica centrada na democratização e validação do direito social da educação sem contingências e desvios.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Educação brasileira. Políticas públicas de educação. Planos nacionais de educação (PNE's).

RESUMEN: *El propósito de este estudio es discutir la relación entre lo planeado (metas y estrategias) a la luz de los Planes Nacionales de Educación de Brasil (PNE 2001-2010; 2014-2024), las demandas y necesidades de la sociedad, teniendo como eje transversal la democratización de acceso y universalización de la educación para todos, desde la agenda de políticas públicas para la educación. El estudio se realizó mediante un enfoque exploratorio cualitativo, utilizando como fuentes algunas referencias de la literatura especializada (FRIGOTTO, 2007; DIAS SOBRINHO, 2012; TEIXEIRA, 2002; TURRA, ENRICONE; SANT'ANNA, 1995; DOURADO, 2011; LIMA, 2009, 2010, 2013), así como la base documental pertinente a los dos Planes Nacionales de Educación de Brasil (BRASIL, 2001, 2014), y los datos del INEP - Instituto Nacional de Estudios Pedagógicos Anísio Teixeira (2018) sobre fechas que cubren los balances de los PNE. Al final del estudio, hubo un desajuste entre los objetivos esperados, los objetivos logrados (incluso parcialmente, en el caso del segundo PNE*

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aún vigente) y la falta de cobertura o cumplimiento de las solicitudes exigidas por los ciudadanos brasileños. En palabras de Dias Sobrinho (2012): “Una sociedad que no puede o no quiere extender los beneficios de una educación de buena calidad a todos, además de estar condenada a un empobrecimiento creciente en el sistema mundial altamente competitivo, también es una sociedad perversa. ”; Por lo tanto, se necesita otra lógica centrada en la democratización y validación del derecho social de la educación sin contingencias y desviaciones.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Educación brasileña. Políticas públicas de educación. Planes nacionales de educación (PNE's).

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this study is to discuss the relationship between the planned (goals and strategies), in the light of the National Education Plans of Brazil (PNE 2001-2010; 2014-2024), the demands and needs of society, having as its transversal axis the democratization of access and the universalization of education for all, from the agenda of public policies for education. The study was conducted by a qualitative exploratory approach, using as sources some references from the specialized literature (FRIGOTTO, 2007; DIAS SOBRINHO, 2012; TEIXEIRA, 2002; TURRA; ENRICONE; SANT'ANNA, 1995; DOURADO, 2011; LIMA, 2009; 2010; 2013), as well as the documentary base pertinent to the two National Education Plans of Brazil (BRASIL, 2001; 2014), as well as data from INEP - National Institute for Pedagogical Studies Anísio Teixeira (2018) on dates covering the balance sheets of the PNE's. At the end of the study, there was a mismatch between expected goals, goals achieved (even partially, in the case of the second PNE still in force) and the non-coverage or compliance of requests demanded by Brazilian citizens. In the words of Dias Sobrinho (2012): “A society that cannot or does not want to extend the benefits of good quality education to all, in addition to being condemned to growing impoverishment in the highly competitive world system, is also a perverse society”; therefore, another logic focused on the democratization and validation of the social right of education without contingencies and deviations is needed.

KEYWORDS: Brazilian education. Public policies of education. National education plans (PNE's).

Introduction

It is known that “politics” are fundamental for the composition of public policy planning, without, however, being confused with its development process, that is, as a level of discussion in the different arenas, *politics* precedes *public policies*, characterized as a space of power where different interests and values are in recurrence, in this sense, the discourse with greater support and influences from the perspective of the other actors, constitutes, in a negotiated way, guidelines for a possible agenda or forwarding negotiations. Policies, in turn, can be characterized as activities carried out by the government of a country or by subnational bodies in the planning and development of their agendas that constitute public policies.

Public policies therefore correspond to the values and decisions prioritized by the government, considering the scope of the politics process. Its development will take place through the cycle of policies characterized by: a) the formation of an agenda (decisions about which agendas will have priority and which, in fact, constitute political problems and not a “state of affairs”); b) formulation of the policy/its text (elaboration of guidelines, fundamentals, purposes, definition of instruments and alternatives for the subsequent process of the public policy); c) implementation (scope in which the policy is put into practice, according to its purpose, that is, it is an intervention in reality that was characterized as a political problem and that through concrete actions is worked on) and; d) the evaluation of the policy (whether or not it reached the purpose for which it was intended, if its design managed to bring together metrics focused on efficiency, efficiency and effectiveness). Public policies must be planned according to the sector, its demands and elected priorities. Education, for example, fits into public policies of social cut. Educational planning, through public policies, as Turra, Enricone and Sant'Anna (1995, p. 16) has as basic assumptions: a) the design of education in the country, highlighting the value of the person and the school in society and b) the application of analysis - systematic and rational - to the process and development of education, seeking to make it more efficient and capable of responding with greater precision to the needs and objectives of society.

The planning of public policies in Brazil, however, since the 1930s has been developed through local hegemonic economic interests and articulated with global ones, considering the process of industrial/commercial development as central axes and social policies as counterpart instruments, when necessary to do bi or multilateral agreements. Now, considering the speech of Turra, Enricone and Sant'Anna (1995) above, it is observed that the logic in the Brazilian reality is inverted, even for contemporary times, but not only in the Brazilian reality, since the same logic affects advanced or economically dependent capitalist countries or with unstable economies. It is clear that the difference lies in the degree of priority and investment of resources for the development of a plan that will bring about the desired changes. However, when we understand that the logic of capitalism can influence the directions of public education policies in developing countries², it is not so simple to say that this happens everywhere and at times with the same strength and intentionality, that is, what strongly marks its expression is

² As we observed in Lima (2009) The orientation of the international division of labor for the imposition and determination of the social imaginary, establishes the roles defined between developed and developing countries through an instrumental rationality that calls for solidary accountability: commitment and insertion of inclusive policies, eradication of poverty and, for this, strong emphasis on education, centered on the same market indicators: efficiency, effectiveness and productivity, objects often intangible to the logic of universal service of universal social policies.

the movement of the international division of labor and market determinations, using multilateral agencies as vehicles. In terms of financing and assistance, the new typology of “necessary man” is outlined and which should be formed by the internalization of his ideas (LIMA, 2009).

The design of educational planning in Brazil, crossing the level of public policies and policies in particular, is immersed in the logic set out above, more closely exemplified by the National Education Plans (2001-2010; 2014-2024), the object of study of this work, where agendas, goals and strategies were developed for the offer, conditions of permanence, expansion and academic success, without, however, observing the concrete conditions for its effectiveness, the recurring confrontations in the political arenas and the need for intercurrency with citizens, since it is democratic management, a transversal principle that all Brazilian policy makers, educators and the community should observe.

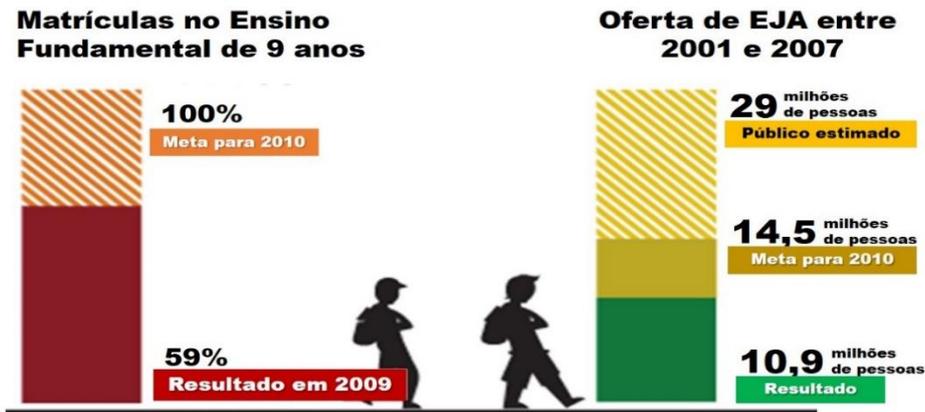
National education plan (2001-2010): assessment and discussions

There were many public policies for education developed for the Brazilian reality between the last decade of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, through the democratic orientation emphasized by the Federal Constitution of 1988 (BRASIL, 1988) that culminated in the new Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBEN) no. 9394/1996 (BRASIL, 1996), and in the unfolding of constitutional amendments that dealt with the expansion of schooling in Brazil (no. 53/2006 and 59/2009), followed by the constitutional determination as to the elaboration of National Education Plans that would guarantee the continuity of regulatory policies aimed at ensuring major goals and strategies in relation to the quality of education, the coverage of offer and the expansion of the right for all basic education in Brazil.

However, the balance resulting from the set of educational policies was not sufficiently satisfactory since the first National Education Plan (I PNE, Portuguese initials) foreseen for the period from 2001 to 2010, showing that, on the one hand, there was almost universalization of the nine years of Elementary Education at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, on the other hand, only about a third of 29 million people were reached by Youth and Adult Education (EJA, Portuguese initials), out of a total of 50% expected by the Plan; repetition, abandonment and the eradication of illiteracy have not been satisfactorily addressed at the level of investments and concrete actions, to the point that there are no substantial changes in their percentage decrease, given the marked history of social inequality in Brazil. (LIMA, 2013). Figure 1,

below, explained this reality and brought to the debate a central question: what went wrong? Why is there a huge gap between planned and achieved, since the goals designed for the period have not been reached? And in this context, what were the priorities of the Brazilian State, which could explain this gap? Such issues will be addressed throughout this work.

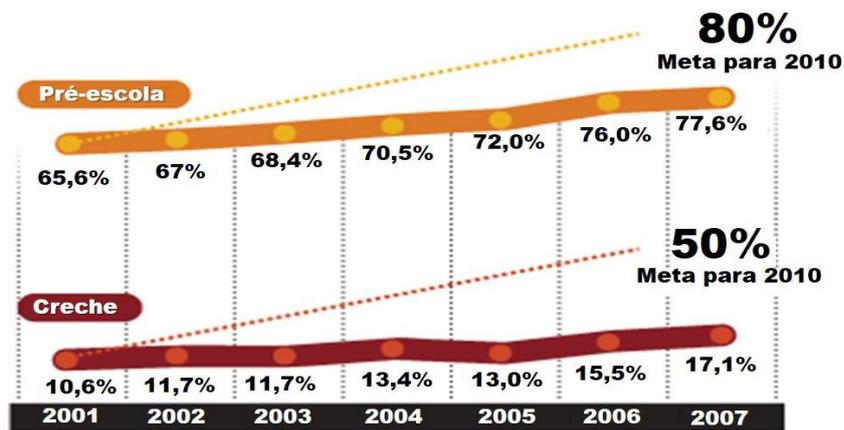
Figure 1 – the projected and the achieved - Elementary education and EJA³



Source: School Census /MEC/INEP (2010) In: Moço (2010).

Early childhood education, which should reach 50% of Brazilian children of day care age in the period provided for by the PNE, reached only 17.1% and pre-school education, which had an 80% target, was below expectations, that is, 77.6%, as shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2 – Access to early childhood education⁴



Source: Report The right to learn (UNICEF, 2009) In: Moço (2010).

³ We read on the figure: First column – Enrollment on Elementary School of nine years. / 100% - 2010 goal. / 59% achieved in 2009. / Second column – EJA offer between 2001 and 2007. / 29 million people – Estimated public. / 14.5 million people – 2010 goal. / 10.9 million people – Result.

⁴ We read on the figure: In green: Pre-school / In red: Nursery/daycare center. / Last column: 80% - 2010 goal. / 50% - 2010 goal.

The Paulo Montenegro Institute and Ação Educativa (2012) recorded that there was no increase in the rate of people considered to be fully literate in Brazil, that is, if on the one hand, 12% was the index that represented the decline in functional illiterates (illiteracy and rudimentary literacy), on the other hand, 13% was the index that registered the increase in the percentage of people belonging to the level of basic literacy⁵.

The concern with the national economy and the neodevelopmental logic⁶ of the first decade of the 21st century, between meeting market demands and social protection policies were certainly determining factors for not achieving the goals set for education. Here, not all the modalities and levels of Brazilian education will be dealt with, given the cut of the work, it is worth mentioning, however, that at the level of the I PNE, the announcement about the planned had been highly recommended as a way to reverse the historical trajectory of negative and alarming national education, however, the denunciation of the political game is another face that overlaps, attesting that other priorities have taken place. Therefore, the systematics of a project with greater clarity, with more realistic data was not contemplated, although, in the middle of the process of the first PNE, due to a Contingency Plan of the government of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (Development Plan of the Education), social policy measures had tried to alleviate the situation (through Presidential decrees), such an effort would only be mitigated, closing the decade with numbers below an educational transformation at least close to the desirable⁷.

The Growth Acceleration Program (PAC, Portuguese initials) presented by the Lula government to Brazilian society, came into force on January 28, 2007. The PDE as a fraction of the PAC had been characterized by President Lula himself as "A revolution in Brazilian

⁵ On the Brazilian government website, it is stated that the illiteracy rate fell from 13.63% in 2000 to 9.6% in 2010, according to IBGE data.

⁶ For Sampaio Jr. (2012, p. 683) the "[...] neodevelopmentism can only fantasize about the possibility of national capitalist development because it ignores the necessary linkages between concentration and centralization of capitals, absolute dominance of financial capital over the accumulation process, logic of empire that presides over the action of the imperialist powers (United States ahead), total subordination of the world economic order to the imperatives of financial capital, uncontrollability of capital, terminal crisis of Keynesianism and tendency to neocolonial reversal in the countries that are part of the periphery of the world economy" (Original: "[...] neodesenvolvimentismo só pode fantasiar sobre a possibilidade de um desenvolvimento capitalista nacional porque ignora os encadeamentos necessários entre concentração e centralização dos capitais, dominância absoluta do capital financeiro sobre o processo de acumulação, lógica de império que preside a ação das potências imperialistas (Estados Unidos à frente), total subordinação da ordem econômica mundial aos imperativos do capital financeiro, incontrolabilidade do capital, crise terminal do keynesianismo e tendência à reversão neocolonial nos países que fazem parte da periferia da economia mundial").

⁷ Saviani (2009) warned that the PNE (2001-2010) foresaw in article 3 that periodic evaluations of the scope of its actions should be carried out, so in the fourth year of validity that would be in 2004 this should happen, in order to correct the deficiencies and distortions, but in fact the legal provision has not been observed. The PDE was only announced when it was less than four years to PNE conclusion. By the way, this organization of this plan via decrees had the substantial participation of the private sector.

education" and that, in his view, should respond to historical gaps hitherto not fully or partially covered. This first design envisaged the articulation of civil society and federated entities to strategically promote the provision of quality education for all. This would be done through partnerships and control of the registered indexes regarding student performance (IDEB) and seasonal verification by external evaluations, for example, SAEB, Prova Brasil, ENEM. As for higher education, the words expansion and democratization would be the guiding principles in the context of the reasons for the PDE, considering the following principles: a) expansion of the supply of vacancies, b) quality assurance; c) promoting social inclusion through education; d) territorial ordering and e) economic and social development (BRASIL, 2012)

Without a doubt, the establishment of policies for the development of the democratization of education in a country is urgent and decisive in order to break with the elitist education historically rooted, however, the PDE, as an interface of educational policies, according to Saviani (2009) can be characterized much more as a "goals program" than a plan itself, given the punctual attempts to reach some goals in a given time (2017), aiming at the duplication of places in higher education, falling short of the PNE proposal (2001-2010) that at least predicted a total number of vacancies for 30% of young people between 18 and 24 years old (and even so it did not reach the target for the decade), therefore, a target that in theory should be tangible. To achieve the goals of the PDE, three instruments were considered as determinants: a) Restructuring and expansion of universities: Support Program for Federal University Restructuring and Expansion Plans (REUNI, Portuguese initials) and National Student Assistance Plan (PNAES, Portuguese initials); b) Democratization of access: University for All Program (PROUNI, Portuguese initials), reformulation of the Higher Education Student Financing Fund (FIES, Portuguese initials) and c) Evaluation and regulation: National Higher Education Evaluation System (SINAES, Portuguese initials) via the National Student Performance Exam (ENADE, Portuguese initials).

Although the development of the National Education Plan (2001-2010) was under development, how would the elaboration of the PDE and its establishment of actions via government decrees be explained, considering Saviani's observation, as to whether this is rather a "program of goals" than an education plan? Why did the proposition occur at that historic moment and not when the PNE that was underway was concluded, when there, the construction of the next PNE (2011-2020) would be justified?

Ramos (2007) notes that in the elaboration and implementation process of the PDE there was no direct participation with many representative movements, among which, the National Confederation of Education Workers (CNTE), the National Union of Municipal Education

Councils (UNCME), the National Union of Students (UNE), the Brazilian Union of Secondary Students (UBES) and the National Association for Teacher Training (ANFOPE). The scope that could be understood as an advance in the PDE as a whole in terms of basic education was the institution of IDEB, the “Provinha Brasil” and the Teacher's Salary Floor. The first two for considering the relationship between student performance and dropout rates, repetition and efforts for qualitative aspects and the third, as a goal that promised to “improve” the investment in the dignity of the teacher by recognizing his social role. With a neo-developmental inclination, the government of that time continues to give the State the dimension of an “Assessing State”, as in the previous government, but now with metrics closer to the international market, even if in internal discourse, the intentionality announced was different. The discourse and economic actions and the emphasis on the pedagogical as a resolution that structural issues made a more accurate look and planning impossible to achieve even the goals of the PDE and still, being even more distant from the PNE.

Now, if there is a defense of the democratization of education and its proportional expansion at all levels, it would be necessary to seek the institution of representative forums in which all voices could express their social contribution and inferences that would guide social achievements, however, PDE would be constituted as a fragmentary and fragmented instrument of the desired corrections and, worse, there was no precision and forecast of specific investments of GDP in education in the face of the challenges that were being made at that time. There was a recognition that thinking about a percentage for education via GDP was necessary, but nothing that exceeded 5% at that time. Not only goodwill, as Saviani (2009) points out, would be sufficient to achieve the quality education that Brazilian society needed, since the significant financial resources to conduct the PDE, different from 3.5% of GDP that until that moment was applied would not cover education as a whole. If he spoke about the 5% projection in 2007, what Saviani highlighted was that since 1997 he had drawn attention to the 8% percentage as necessary.

Finally, the central objectives expressed by the PNE (2001-2010), did not reach the goals foreseen in the context of a new government that had been installed. Such objectives were centered on 4 axes: a) the global increase in the education level of the population; b) improving the quality of education at all levels; c) the reduction of social and regional inequalities with regard to, successfully, access and permanence in public education and d) democratization of public education management, in official establishments, obeying the principles of the participation of education professionals in the elaboration of the school pedagogical project and

the participation of the school and local communities in school councils or equivalent (BRASIL, 2001).

The level of education, although it had a relative quantitative growth, was not reached by the corresponding level of proficiency of students in the period. The quality of Brazilian education has not advanced in terms of proficiency in Portuguese and mathematics and social and regional inequalities have remained the same, however, the level of absolute poverty has been reduced in order to mask the gap with the socioeconomic reality of the population, increasing corners of relative poverty. And finally, although there was more space to think about democratic management through channels provided for in the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (BRASIL, 1996), the Pedagogical Political Project being one of them, it failed to establish a work as a basis for the school to think, to understand that it should outline goals in and by the collective, in this case, the Brazilian school, governed by the principle of a Democratic State of Law, is predominantly autocratic with relative spaces of social participation.

It is necessary to advance in the expansion, discussion and referrals in this guideline. All initiatives aimed at improving the quality of education in Brazil at any level of proposition must be mediated by inquiring about its validity in the face of the country's social, economic and political reality; about the direction the school is intended to take and the degree of social actors' consent or not in such reading; about communication between the school, the teaching networks and the demands of the classroom, in view of the socioeconomic diversity that, in the midst of the discourse of democratization and educational quality, still admits a dualistic school (LIMA, 2010).

National education plan (2014-2024): perspectives and discussions

Since the I PNE (2001-2010) did not reach the goals set and was tenaciously criticized by the Lula and Dilma Rousseff government, as its structure is centered on the “diagnosis-guidelines-goals” tripod. In 2010, numerous representatives of society were invited, among speakers, media, press, coordination, support and culture team for the Conference, with the title “CONAE 2010 - building the National Articulated Education System: the National Education Plan, guidelines and action strategies”. This Conference resulted in a 168-page document with the planning of the PNE (2011-2020) and the forecast for the development of a National Education Forum to discuss and address major educational issues in Brazil. In December 2010, President Dilma Rousseff sent the Bill that approved the National Education Plan for the period

2011-2020, with the modification, among others, of the proposition that the II PNE should be leaner and more objective, with the definition of 20 goals and strategies that corresponded to the achievements.

However, it was not immediately approved, since there are no relevant elements in the construction of national planning, precisely the failure to report to the “diagnosis” of the Brazilian educational reality. What led some parliamentarians and segments of society to initiate debates, discussions, referrals and new requests regarding the scope of education desired for Brazil. Having made the surveys on the “diagnosis” of the Brazilian reality, the processing of the project that received the no. 8,035/2010 continued.

Only four years later, through Law no. 13,005, of June 25, 2014, the II National Education Plan (2014-2024)⁸, was approved without vetoes, composed of 20 goals and 254 strategies, bringing as a proposition for the first time the forecast of investment of 10% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in education, until the end of the decade. The metric to measure the results of reaching the goals of the PNE should be the responsibility of INEP (Portuguese initials for National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira). According to article 5 of the Law of the II PNE, every two years, during the decade of the PNE, studies would be published to assess the evolution of compliance with the established goals (BRASIL, 2014, p. 1).

In addition to the official forecast for monitoring the goals of the PNE, the All for Education Movement⁹, provides a social control tool called the “PNE Observatory”, providing access to information on the status of the PNE goals, at any time and serving as indicators for all federated entities and managers. Even though the II PNE was constituted in a more democratic way than the first (DOURADO, 2011), when observing the 20 established goals, there is a mismatch between the forecast and its reach, for example (see goal 1), although 91.7% of children aged 4 and 5 are enrolled in pre-school, for the age group from 0 to 3 years the percentage is 32.7%, taking the year 2017 as a reference, therefore, at the end of the decade the reach for this age group will not be reached.

⁸ It should be noted that the objectives of the II PNE, as well as the I, are in line with the guidelines established by multilateral organizations and events, of which Brazil is a signatory, such as the World Conference on Education for All (1990), educational commitments at the World Forum Education for All (2000): the Dakar Commitment, objectives assumed at the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDG) meeting in 2000.

⁹ Supported by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), this movement comprises 24 organizations: Association of Education Journalists - Jeduca, Nova Escola Association, Capes, Cenpec, Cedac Educational Community, Itaú Social Foundation, Lemann Foundation, Maria Cecilia Souto Vidigal Foundation, Roberto Marinho Foundation/Canal Futura, Santillana Foundation, Telephone Company Vivo Foundation, Victor Civita Foundation, Avisa Lá Institute, Ayrton Senna Institute, Natura Institute, Paulo Montenegro Institute, Rodrigo Mendes Institute, Unibanco Institute, Ipea, *Mais Diferenças*, SBPC, All for Education, UNESCO and UNICEF.

The expected percentage of young people aged 15 to 17 in school (goal 3 - 100% by 2016), has not yet been reached, today it is registered around 84.3%, when a goal of 85% for young people is projected for 2024 of young people aged 15 to 17 in high school, it is noted that it is very distant, since currently it is registered 62.7%.

Taking goal 5 for the purposes of observation, it is seen that its reach for the decade is very compromised, since adequate learning in reading is close to the expected 45.3% of 100%; in relation to writing, 66% of 100% and adequate learning in mathematics is 45.5%. In relation to goal 7, both in elementary school from the 6th to the 9th year, and in high school, the percentages are below expectations.

The increase in the schooling rate in Brazil still needs more care, since Brazilians are expected to reach 12 years of schooling, but in 2017 the approximate rate of 9.1 years was obtained. It is noted that simply registering the number of years may not necessarily represent the degree of achievement or proficiency of these students.

Concerning goal 15, according to recent data from INEP (BRASIL, 2018), approximately 55.6% have adequate formation in their area of formation, which will require focusing on the quality and quantity of highly qualified people to work in schools Basic Education.

What does all this indicate? Certainly, planning must be accompanied by concrete actions and a wide debate with the population and their representatives. It is not enough to plan, it is not enough to criticize the plans of previous governments if the history that is being made does not advance, does not understand the requests of the population and, moreover, the intentions of the governments and not the State are privileged. Specifically, when looking at the II PNE, the outline of the plan went through consistent instances of democratic dimension, but it lacked and is still lacking sufficient conditions and articulations to carry out concrete actions and sufficient governance for the establishment of the desired education.

Dias Sobrinho (2012) notes that a democratic and universal education requires much more than recognition of the right to the right, that is, it brings together quantity and quality as a material extension for all. The idea of people as a unit will also require a change in the orientations of political discourses for education, to the point that instead of talking about inclusive education, non-exclusive education is experienced, rather than highlighting the percentage of vacancies for a given social fraction, there be offer as a right and an achievement for all.

Final considerations

It is known that the need to think about education in its entirety, whether in a formative pathway through basic education or in traditional universities and higher education courses, or at a technical and technological level, is not something new, it is a well-known and done discussion at the national level, what should not be done in a country that pronounces itself democratic is to condition the offer of courses to induce a sampling of the working class with the discourse of care in sufficient amount to social demands, this Frigotto (2007) called focal policies. In this way, inequality is maintained as a product and condition of the dominant project of Brazilian society and the necessary structural changes are left out of any discussions and the culpability of not being included in the framework of social opportunities lies in the responsabilization of the child, youth and adults who have not sought their place in the sun.

What happens is that, in Brazil, regarding their nature, public policies can be characterized as conjunctural or emergency (aiming to reduce a temporary, immediate situation), as far as the scope of possible benefits is segmental (aimed at a segment of the population, characterized by a factor determined by age, physical condition, gender etc.) and fragmented (aimed at social groups within each segment), as to the impacts they may cause to beneficiaries, or their role in social relations are more distributive (aim to distribute individual benefits); they are usually instrumentalized by clientelism rather than redistributive (aim to redistribute resources among social groups: seeking certain equity, withdraw resources from a group to benefit others, which causes conflicts) and are still regulatory, that is, they aim to define rules and procedures that regulate the behavior of the actors to serve the general interests of society; they would not aim any immediate benefits for any group (TEIXEIRA, 2002).

In order for public education policies to actually meet the demands for universalization and democratization, they should be structural, in terms of their nature or degree of intervention, enabling equal conditions of the social opportunities available to all students, at the same time as universal and regulatory, guaranteeing education as a priority, therefore, not excluding in its purpose. Now, in the social organization that has capital as a support, this will hardly happen, so it is the most common to maintain the systemic structure and favor the percentage inclusion as a representative service platform. Which in itself does not change the hegemony of capital at all. It is the struggle for the expansion of spaces that may favor some achievements in Brazilian education based on the reality we have. It is obvious that good intentions are not enough if the degree of social protection policies is not observed, given the large-scale social inequalities in the Brazilian panorama.

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