
A EXPANSÃO MERCANTIL DA EDUCAÇÃO SUPERIOR COMO TEMA DA PRODUÇÃO DO CONHECIMENTO NOS PERIÓDICOS NO BRASIL (2008-2018)


Alisson Slider do Nascimento DE PAULA

ABSTRACT: This research seeks to undertake a state of the art on the theme of private/commercial expansion of higher education in the last ten years in periodicals of national circulation. From the analysis of the findings in the development of the state of the art, it is possible to expand the bibliographic universe with a greater methodological rigor about the problematic highlighted in the present research. Thus, the findings validated by the research understand that the higher education reform movement took place in the colossal private/commercial expansion of this level of education in terms of enrollments and courses in private institutions, as well as pointing to elements that make it possible to privatize the sector higher education as an essential market niche for profit


RESUMO: A referida pesquisa busca empreender um estado da arte sobre o tema da expansão privada/mercantil da educação superior nos últimos dez anos em periódicos de circulação nacional. O trato metodológico parte da análise dos achados no desenvolvimento do estado da arte; é possível expandir o universo bibliográfico com um maior rigor metodológico acerca da problemática destacada na presente pesquisa. Com isso, os achados validados pela pesquisa compreendem que o movimento de reforma da educação superior decorreu na colossal expansão privada/mercantil deste nível de ensino no que tange às matrículas e aos cursos em instituições privadas, além de apontar para elementos que viabilizem privatizar o setor público compreendendo a educação superior como nicho de mercado essencial para extração de lucros.


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RESUMEN: Esta investigación busca emprender un estado del arte sobre el tema de la expansión privada/mercantil de la educación superior en los últimos diez años en periódicos de circulación nacional. A partir del análisis de los hallazgos en el desarrollo del estado del arte, es posible expandir el universo bibliográfico con un mayor rigor metodológico acerca de la problemática destacada en la presente investigación. Con ello, los hallazgos validados por la investigación comprenden que el movimiento de reforma de la educación superior transcurrió en la colosal expansión privada/mercantil de este nivel de enseñanza en lo que se refiere a las matrículas y los cursos en instituciones privadas, además de apuntar a elementos que viabilice privatizar el sector público que comprende la educación superior como un nicho de mercado esencial para la extracción de beneficios.


Introduction

Higher education policy, in recent decades, has experienced and is experiencing various metamorphoses that imply changes in the modus operandi of Higher Education Institutions (HEI), as well as in the processes related to financing, access, permanence, assessment, accreditation, recognition, etc. These metamorphoses are recognized in civil society by the term reform, however, the concept of reform implies an action of reforming or being reformed, that is, it is configured as an initiative that seeks to establish a possible advance in the system or structure. In this sense, it is legitimate to question whether higher education reforms, especially from the 1990s on, have managed to bring about progress or setbacks at this level of education. Is the exponential expansion of privatization in higher education a result of this movement of reforms?

The global scenario of capital has irradiated its parasitic logic from fictitious speculation under national states, in addition to the neoliberal ideology itself, which serves as a basis to carry out the essential measures of financialization through the deregulation of the economy, seeking to circumscribe state regulation over prices, as well as the capital-labor relationship. The implications of this rationality were privatizations, since the official discourse hovered on the need to reduce the public deficit via privatization of public services of a social character. In fact, education did not escape this logic, and began to incorporate, according to the Master Plan for State Reform (PDRE), the non-exclusive services of the State.

The present work seeks to undertake a State of the Art research on the private/mercantile expansion of higher education as a theme of knowledge production in journals in Brazil (2008-2018), so that it is feasible to situate the current academic debate about this theme in the scenario of oligopolization and capital of financial predominance.
The state of art

This section aims to describe the paths taken to build the state of the art of this research. It is understood that this methodological resource will help in the apprehension of bibliographic materials\(^2\), as well as in the definition of categories of analysis, descriptors and specific criteria in the organization of the theoretical and methodological contribution. It is noteworthy that the problem that is posed in the present research seeks to understand the scenario of the debate in scientific productions in national periodicals about the private/mercantile expansion of higher education.

For Ferreira (2002), the state of the art seeks to denote a descriptive methodology of the scientific production on the subject/object investigated, according to the bases and categories that permeate the body of work, being, in turn, analyzed from the perspective of the researcher. In this sense, this process is about the specific definition of the object of investigation, the ultimate expression of the research objectives.

It is licit to emphasize the need to put in the body of the text mediations placed by the theoretical-methodological notion of historical-dialectical materialism. This research method seeks to undertake a notion of totality. Universality, particularity and singularity are instances, in a logical processuality, subordinated, which do not enter into contradictions, however, they are distinct in a proposition formation.


Critical-dialectical research [...] fundamentally questions the static view of reality implicit in phenomenological and structuralist approaches. This view hides the conflictive, dynamic and historical character of reality. Their markedly critical stance expresses the claim to unveil, more than the "conflict of interpretations," the conflict of interests. These researches manifest a "transformative interest" in the situations or phenomena studied, safeguarding their always historical dimension and unveiling their possibilities for change.

Thus, this method seeks to apprehend reality in its entirety, which is constituted from the synthesis of multiple determinations, starting from the concrete reality of a given object so that the same identified by the researcher is taken to abstraction, which will allow an analysis of the phenomenon in its entirety, towards the construction of concepts about it, in search of its essence, bringing it back to concreteness through simple determinations (Netto, 2011).

In developing the procedure for collecting articles from journals, we used the databases: Portal Periódicos Capes and Educ@. As inclusion and exclusion criteria, we defined that the

\(^2\) The bibliographic materials to which emphasis is being given are journal articles, as well as master's theses and doctoral dissertations, and specialized books in the thematic area addressed by this research.
texts that would be used should contain in their title at least one descriptor defined in the research field; furthermore, for further refinement of the collection, we established the temporal cut-off of ten years between publications, thus comprising 2008 to 2018; also, the selected articles had to undergo peer review. These criteria were established for a more precise refinement of the collection of articles in journals.

Table 1 shows the findings (articles) in the Capes Periodicals Portal. The thematic category that was selected, in this context, dealt with higher education for thematizing in a more specific and direct way the major area of research. Therefore, the Boolean operator used was "and", furthermore, the descriptors selected for this thematic category were: mercantilization; privatization; reform; financialization; and oligopolization. All descriptors were combined with the thematic category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESCRIPTORS/COMBINATES</th>
<th>A/S.A</th>
<th>A/C.A</th>
<th>A/ABSTRACT</th>
<th>A/LE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Mercantilization</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Privatization</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Reform</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Financialization</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Oligopolization</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the author

The representation of the aspects that systematize the table is explained as follows: A/S.A (Article Without Quotes); A/C.A (Articles With Quotes); A/Summary (Summary Analysis); A/LE (Articles to Read). However, with the first filter (A/C.A), 7 articles resulted, and with the abstract refinement this number was reduced to 6 articles selected for reading, that is, 54.5% of the findings were validated. In the intersection between the descriptors higher education and privatization we collected 4 articles, however, after all the refinement process we obtained 2 articles, that is, 50%. In the combination between higher education and reform we obtained 9 findings, and after the refinement we validated 3, a percentage (33.3%). In the intersection higher education and financialization no article was obtained in the general search. Therefore, in the combination higher education and oligopolization, only 2 articles were collected, all were validated (100%). Thus, of the 26 findings in this thematic category, only 13 were validated (50%).

In Table 2, we deal with the same thematic category, but we used the Educ@ database because it corresponds to a platform that systematizes its operation with online publications in the field of education and uses the Scielo methodology. It is noteworthy that the same
descriptors used in Table 1 were used again for the intersection with the thematic category. In fact, we only used a form of refinement, from the results between the combination of descriptors: it is the General Findings (A/G); after reading the abstract and identifying the object's notes, we defined validation or not of the finding, therefore, Validated Findings (A/V).

**Table 2 – Thematic categories: Higher Education (Educ@)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESCRIPTORS/COMBINATES</th>
<th>A/G</th>
<th>A/V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Mercantilization</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Privatization</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Reform</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Financialization</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education and Oligopolization</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the author

In examining Table 2, we initially combined the descriptors higher education and mercantilization: the total initial finding was 5 articles, however, after refinement we validated only 1 (20%). In the intersection higher education and privatization we collected 3 articles, with the refinement 2 articles were validated (66.7%). Furthermore, in the combined research between higher education and reform, 7 findings were generated, however, only 2 were validated (28.6%). No results were obtained when the descriptors higher education and financialization were intertwined. Finally, in the search for the combined higher education and oligopolization, one article was generated, however, it was not validated.

Chart 1 shows the selected articles, specifying: year, author, article title, and journal title:

**Chart 1 – Selected journals Capes Periodicals Portal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Bras. Educ.</td>
<td>The commodification of Brazilian higher education and the market strategies of for-profit institutions</td>
<td>Cristina Helena Almeida de Carvalho</td>
<td>2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ver. Intern. Ed. Sup.</td>
<td>The financing of higher education in the threshold of the 21st century: the path of mercantilization of education</td>
<td>Altair Alberto Fávero; Diego Bechi</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Espaço Acadêm.</td>
<td>The formation of reflective citizens in the face of the current process of mercantilization of higher education</td>
<td>Diego Bechi</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Portuguesa de Educ.</td>
<td>Teaching work in Brazilian higher education:</td>
<td>Deise Mancebo</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the next section, the general content of each of the findings will be exposed. It is licit to consider that, since this is a state of the art, the general content of the authors will be cited, seeking to be as faithful as possible to the central idea of the findings.
The perspectives on the highlighted themes

The collected works discuss the process of private/mercantile expansion of higher education. Although this is not only a topic dealt with in academic spaces, this debate goes beyond, since it is a social concern regarding the process in which historically conquered social rights are sold as merchandise, and education, in particular, is no exception to this logic, especially higher education.

In this sense, the collected and validated papers denote for an understanding of the processes of the phenomenon of mercantilization of higher education, dealing with its operationalization and its ways of being, besides the implications resulting from this processuality. With this, below are the articles collected, according to the thematic category, pointing out the objective within an analytical synthesis.

Regarding the findings in the repository Portal Capes Periódicos, the authors do not diverge in their specific considerations about the process of mercantilization of Brazilian higher education. However, they point to the process of mercantilization, especially the growth of for-profit institutions, in addition to the strong tendency toward financialization. There are reservations about the Distance Education modality, because it is currently a specific modality for the educational market. They also understand that this process does not take place in isolation, but within the conditions of a complex totality. The sociomatabolic system of capital in its globalization movement directly condenses these market processes.

The trend towards commodification is not limited to the national scenario, it is a global movement; Carvalho (2013, p. 764) explains that "the transformation of the educational sector in object of interest of big capital is one of the consequences of globalization, especially [...] in countries of Anglo-Saxon origin, especially the United States. In addition, Fávero and Bechi (2017, p. 94), addressing the financing of higher education, converge with the aforementioned author when they identify the movement of privatization and commodification of Brazilian higher education, however, the authors emphasize management contracts and the guidelines of international organizations, highlighting the logic of privatization of public higher education. The authors assert:

The operationalization of management contracts has made it feasible to raise financial resources by establishing partnerships between public institutions and private companies, as advocated by law no. 10.973 (Law of Technological Innovation), of December 2, 2004, which provides incentives for innovation and scientific and technological research in the productive environment. The measures adopted by the federal government to subsidize scientific and technological development inside public universities keep active the World
Bank's projections for higher education, summarized in the document entitled *La Ensenanza Superior: las perspectivas de la experiencia* (1995). The guidelines for higher education reforms proclaimed to developing countries, including Brazil, substantiated in favor of the State modernization process, advocated and disseminated by international financial organizations […], intended the governments to reduce public spending on education and, in return, stimulated the diversification of funding sources for public universities (FÁVERO; BECHI, 2017, p. 94).

The work of Serafim (2011), seeks to analyze the processes of mercantilization of higher education based on European, North American and Latin American models. In fact, the author points out in the context of the debates about the transformations in the Latin American higher education systems that two processes are triggered: the first corresponds to the mercantilizing and pragmatic tendency of the public university, which stems from the experiences of the capitalist center; the second process, in turn, refers to the mercantilization of private higher education, since the process of expansion of private institutions is configured, in the global scenario, as a concrete process.

The deepening of the private/mercantile expansion of higher education also signals the need to reduce state spending on public/state higher education. Bechi (2016, p. 94) understands that the

[...] reforms implemented in the field of higher education encouraged the diversification of funding sources through the establishment of partnerships between public institutions and the private sector. Neoliberals believed that with the consolidation of this strategic framework, the efficiency and quality of this sector would transcend the limits imposed by public funding. [In this direction, the document The policy for Federal Institutions of Higher Education [...] established new funding alternatives for the IFES, to be implemented in the exercise of their autonomy: "the universities will be stimulated to seek additional sources of resources from other spheres of the public sector and from the private sector to expand the fulfillment of social demands other than education.

It is noteworthy that only in the 1990s in Brazil did the changes that more effectively operationalized the commodification of higher education gain visibility. Mancebo (2010, p. 74-75) denotes that the "educational systems were subjected to profound processes of privatization, in public institutions, of a trend - increasingly predominant - of commodification of the teaching work," re-signifying the logic of university management, bringing it closer to the rationality of business management, "losing its character as an institution of society focused on human formation and the production of knowledge engaged in solving national problems.

In addition, it is worth considering that the rationality of higher education in Brazil is similar to that of secondary education, because, according to Silva Jr, Lucena and Ferreira
higher education is conditioned by educational reforms with emphasis on teaching methods, access, working conditions, academic productivity, approximation with the market via public-private partnerships, culminating in the perverse scenario of mass certification. Indeed, for Segenreich and Castanheira (2009), the logic of mercantilization takes place with great influence from the diversification of types of institutions, expressing itself in three aspects: the organizational forms that private institutions presented (in this aspect emphasis will be given to teaching at the expense of research); to the new types of courses, rising the technological higher education courses, which incorporate the bancomundialist rationality of tertiary education; finally, the new teaching modality, which has greater influence with the development of the Distance Education (DE) policy, enabling these new types of private institutions to use this resource to extract profits through the exploitation of the educational market.

The study by Neves (2011) analyzes higher education reform from the perspective of the Bologna process, although his notes are not directly linked to the idea of commodified education (Rodrigues, 2007); however, are indirectly linked to the notion of commodity-education, since the rationality of the reform based on the Bologna guidelines aimed at increasing the competitiveness of education systems and promoting mobility and employability. In effect, higher education narrowed even more its links with the market, but, in this panorama, it started to follow the logic of the learning market.

The notion of higher education as tertiary education meets the guidelines of the World Bank, however, Nunes and Braga (2016) call attention to the phenomenon of the knowledge society, because in the context of the global economy education occupies a strategic position. Indeed, mercantilist guidelines arise, in view of the expansive movement of capital. According to Ferreira (2010), to understand the reforms of higher education, under any government, it is essential to understand the university panorama. This panorama is:

[...] marked by four orders of questions: economic (exemplified in the market interests for this sector and in the dictates of international organizations); social (related to the issue of access to higher education); legal (based on reform proposals and legal devices for its implementation); political (represented by neoliberal ideology). Therefore, in order to address this issue, it is necessary to understand the contemporary global phenomenon of capital financialization and the neoliberal logic that interpenetrate the current higher education "reform", as well as the legal provisions linked to it (FERREIRA, 2010, p. 174).

3 Merchandising-education is characterized as a capital that seeks to valorize itself through the commercialization of educational services, for example, investment in HEIs. In effect, this commercial capital will have a tendency to approach its social action as merchandise, seeking to sell its services in the educational market.

4 The commodity-education is characterized as a commodity form that determines that education/training and knowledge are essential inputs for commodity production.
As a result of the context of capital globalization, since the economic crises in the 70s and 80s marked, according to Marques (2013, p. 73), "a period of multiplication of isolated institutions of higher education, breaking the hegemony of the university as a mode of organization of higher education. In addition, the mercantilized expansion of higher education marked the following decades, constituting a concentration movement that is typical of the predominantly financial capital. In this sense, the current scenario of higher education identifies "institutional diversity and hegemony of private companies, adding the oligopolization process of higher education".

The expansion of the private/mercantile sector of Brazilian higher education depends essentially, for Gaspar and Fernandes (2014, p. 949), on:

[...] increase in the population's income (a natural phenomenon, not easily controllable) and public policies of financial incentive - with much lower costs - in various modalities (Prouni, Escola da Família Program, Literacy Scholarship, among others), which imply in market expansion and rising prospects for profit, stimulating capitalist investments in the sector. In many cases, they do not commit much - in comparison with the direct expansion of vacancies - state resources, since they result in long debts for the students, such as Fies, from CEF (Caixa Econômica Federal); Educred, maintained by some HEIs; Pravaler (from Itaú and IFC, a branch of the World Bank); as well as financing offered by other private banks.

The notes, in general, made by the texts validated in the Capes Periodicals Portal, diagnose an expansive movement of Brazilian higher education linked to the ideology of capital, in view of its private/mercantile tendency. The processuality in which the metamorphoses of higher education take place are not situated in isolation, however, the globalization movement drives Brazilian higher education to mold itself to the planetary mercantilist trend.

The findings of the Educ@ base, in turn, were: Souza and Silva (2008), Gregório, Rodrigues and Mancebo (2012), Bertolin (2009a; 2013) and Lima (2012). Again, the texts validated in the research do not diverge from each other: strictly speaking, the authors verify an expansive movement ratified in the analysis of the findings of the Portal Capes Periódicos. Thus, it is necessary to expose, even if only the general ideas, of each of the findings validated in the current base.

In the analysis of the State reform, advocated by Bresser-Pereira, Souza and Silva (2008, p. 275) understand that the "looks on the reform of higher education in Brazil, at the end of the twentieth century, show some fundamental pillars that supported it while signaling elements of
a managerial management", which, in turn, was "focused on the search for results through competitiveness, in response to the desires of the business logic, the market and its customers.

Gregório, Rodrigue e Mancebo (2012, p. 988) assume that:

[... ] governmental policies for Higher Education are guided by the principles of the Reform of the State in Brazil, in progress since 1995, and by the reconfiguration of the national economy according to the globalization and financialization of capital. The dependent capitalist insertion of Brazil in the international scenario is reflected in the educational field, particularly with regard to the ideas and actions shared between the federal government and international organizations, which has progressively transformed the Brazilian public university into an institution based on the logic of "tertiary education", widely defended and disseminated by the World Bank.

This scenario is explained by Bertolin (2009b, p. 195), when the author understands that this global conditionality has macro dimensions that reveal the economic power behind the much-vaunted reforms:

[... ] the emergence of liberal policies initiated in the 1980s and the economic logic underlying the suggestions of multilateral financial organizations have favored the development of higher education reforms that guide the systems to the logic of the market in several countries. In addition to these events essentially linked to economic concerns, higher education today is also faced with new needs and realities that justify reforms and transformations in its systems. The expansion of the so-called massification of higher education, the revolution in information technologies and working conditions, the increase in knowledge, the diversity of professional paths and the new demands of continuing education are examples of these new realities, which also demand new responses from higher education institutions and courses. These new needs are also used as arguments and justifications in favor of the development of measures that reorient and reconfigure higher education to the logic of the market.

Indeed, Bertolin (2013, p. 1047) asserts that market reorientations on higher education reforms unfold via "means of higher education" and "ends of higher education". The first occurs through "the insertion of market mechanisms in the regulation of systems; the introduction of private managerialist models in the government and management of public institutions; and the increase of private institutions and financing in the systems"; the second is effective from the "great expansion of courses and specialized educational institutions for the demands of private companies and the market in general; and the unprecedented emergence of research and investigation applied to the market".

The assumptions of the market are incorporated, even, according to Lima (2012), in the National Education Plan itself (2014-2024) - Law No. 13.005/14 - in which the narrowing via public-private partnership will be on the agenda, in addition to the deepening of public funding
policies in private institutions, such as the Student Financing Fund (FIES) and the University for All Program (ProUni).

Final remarks

Based on the analyses, we understand that Brazilian higher education has undergone several metamorphoses since the 1990s, which are situated in the field of the rise of the private/mercantile sector. This sector has made its operations effective through the expansion of Private Institutions of Higher Education (IPES), course offerings, and the charging of fees in public institutions, thus blurring the boundaries between public and private.

In addition, it is considered that some legal mechanisms have contributed significantly to the realization of this scenario, such as, for example, law no. 11.079/04, which institutes Public-Private Partnerships, in addition to meeting the guidelines of international organizations (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, among others) in constituting the higher education sector of the countries of the capitalist periphery in a sector of paid services.

The academic debate on the reform and mercantilization of higher education is linked to and in direct dialogue with the scenario of globalization, or worldization of capital, as some authors prefer to characterize the scenario of exponential private/mercantile expansion of higher education on a global scale, and in the Brazilian reality follows the parameters consistent with the dependent capitalist pattern.

It is licit to consider the scenario of oligopolization and transnationalization of Brazilian higher education, which moves an expressive number of enrollments and courses. The market bias in this level of education is supplemented, as Carvalho (2013, p. 773) asserts, by interventions of "lobbies and benches in the National Congress that are financed by groups with greater economic resources," in addition to the logic of concentration and internationalization of capital in the higher education sector, "inherent to the most powerful economic activities under the dominance of globalized and oligopolistic capitalism. In the limit, it is essential to continue the follow-up of research on the private/market expansion of higher education, in addition to the possibility of expanding the scenario from the local to the global.

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