

EVALUATION OF THE MAIS EDUCAÇÃO PROGRAM IN BRAZIL¹

AValiação DO PROGRAMA MAIS EDUCAÇÃO NO BRASIL

EVALUACIÓN DEL PROGRAMA MÁS EDUCACIÓN EN BRASIL



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ABSTRACT: The article presents some results of a research that evaluated the functioning and results of the Mais Educação Program. This is a survey that had a probabilistic sample (random draw schools from the Ministry of Education register, containing 45,492 schools that were on the accession list, in 2013). The error was 5%. Respecting ethical aspects of free consent and anonymity, we applied questionnaires to teachers, program coordinators and managers of 1,637 schools (distributed in 861 municipalities across the country). The results point to new activities in the curriculum: Sports (62.6%); Arts (49.1%); Scientific Initiation (16.4%). The results also demonstrate that the extension of the school day in elementary education has become desired by 92.9% of school administrators. This reflection is important, considering that the Program operated between 2008 and 2016 (Lula and Dilma governments) and the proposal to extend the school day in elementary education disappeared from the political agenda.

KEYWORDS: Policy evaluation. Comprehensive education. Mais Educação program.

RESUMO: O artigo apresenta alguns resultados de uma pesquisa que avaliou o funcionamento e resultados do Programa Mais Educação. Trata-se de um survey que teve uma amostra probabilística (escolas de sorteio aleatório de cadastro do Ministério da Educação, contendo 45.492 escolas que estavam na lista de adesões, em 2013). O erro foi de 5%. Respeitando aspectos éticos de livre consentimento e anonimato, aplicamos questionários para professores, coordenadores do Programa e gestores de 1.637 escolas (distribuídas em 861 municípios, em todo o país). Os resultados apontam para novas atividades no currículo: Esportes (62,6%); Artes (49,1%); Iniciação Científica (16,4%). Os resultados também demonstram que a ampliação da jornada escolar no ensino fundamental se tornou desejada por 92,9% dos gestores escolares. Essa reflexão é importante, considerando que o Programa funcionou entre 2008 e 2016 (governos Lula e Dilma) e a proposta de ampliação da jornada escolar no ensino fundamental desapareceu da agenda política.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Avaliação de políticas. Educação integral. Programa Mais Educação.

RESUMEN: El artículo presenta algunos resultados de una investigación que evaluó el funcionamiento y los resultados del Programa Más Educación. Esta es una encuesta que tuvo una muestra probabilística (escuelas extraídas al azar del registro del Ministerio de Educación, que contiene 45.492 escuelas que estaban en la lista de acceso, en 2013). El error fue del 5%. Respetando los aspectos éticos del libre consentimiento y anonimato, aplicamos cuestionarios a docentes, coordinadores de programas y administradores de 1.637 escuelas (distribuidas en 861 municipios del país). Los resultados apuntan a nuevas actividades en el currículo: Deportes (62,6%); Artes (49,1%); Iniciación Científica (16,4%). Los resultados también demuestran que la extensión de la jornada escolar en la educación básica se ha convertido en deseada por el 92,9% de los administradores escolares. Esta reflexión es importante, considerando que el Programa operó entre 2008 y 2016 (gobiernos Lula y Dilma) y la propuesta de ampliación de la jornada escolar en la enseñanza básica desapareció de la agenda política.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Evaluación de políticas. Educación integral. Programa Más Educación.

Introduction

The present article is a cut from a research study completed in 2016 (FUNDAJ, 2016), which aimed to evaluate the Mais Educação (More Education) Program in Brazil. From a probabilistic sample, which included schools from all states and the Federal District, it was possible to conduct a study from the perspective of policy evaluation. From this scope, the present text is focused on presenting the evaluation of its operation and its repercussions, from the perspective of managers and coordinators of the Program (called community teachers).

Although it has been terminated, this Program represented the greatest initiative in the history of Brazilian educational policies in terms of inducing the expansion of the school day in elementary education. The proposal was to increase the time with differentiated activities that could be integrated with the existing curriculum in schools. It was created in 2007, during the Lula government (with Fernando Haddad as Minister of Education). Unfortunately, in 2016, after the parliamentary coup, it was replaced by the New Mais Educação, which was linked to the improvement in the Basic Education Development Index - IDEB (BARBOSA; RODRIGUES, 2020). And, under the current government (Bolsonaro), the program and the proposal to extend the school day in elementary education simply disappeared from the political agenda.

It is worth noting that the Program had a vertiginous growth, reaching the entire national territory. According to data provided by the Ministry of Education, in the first adhesion, in 2008, it accredited 1,380 teaching units. In 2009, there was an expansion to 5,000 schools, in 126 municipalities. In 2010, the Program was implemented in 389 municipalities, serving about 10 thousand schools. In 2011, 14,995 schools joined the Mais Educação Program. In 2012, the adhesion process reached 32,074 schools, reaching 60% of Brazilian municipalities. In 2013, it reached 49,410 schools. This was the year in which there was a major delay in the transfer of resources, leaving some schools with resources to use the following year. In 2014, there were 56,000 accredited schools. In 2015, with the crisis in the Dilma government, there was no adhesion, and the program was implemented only in schools that still had remaining resources.

During its period of existence (2008 to 2016), it caused important changes in the territories where it was implemented and also influenced the creation of municipal programs, such as the municipal networks of João Pessoa-PB (FERREIRA, 2018) and Jaboaão dos Guararapes-PE (ALBUQUERQUE, 2017). Moreover, it was a program that generated several studies. According to the survey of the academic production of theses and dissertations on integral education (2010-2015), conducted by Hayashi and Kerbauy (2016), the Program was

the second most studied (with 27 papers out of a total of 93). The research that was conducted showed advances and limits in its implementation in schools (RODRIGUES; CASTRO; LOPES JÚNIOR, 2017).

Moreover, a recent study on comprehensive education and teacher training mentioned the initiative of the Mais Educação Program to articulate undergraduate students to be monitors (COLARES; CARDOZO; ARRUDA, 2021). In this sense, even though it ended its activities in 2016, the presentation of these results is relevant as an example of a research to evaluate the implementation of a program that can be a reference for "future programs and policies" (SILVA *et al.*, 1999, p. 136). We also have in mind that the expansion of the school day is present in Target 6 of the current National Education Plan, approved in 2014, which proposes the expansion of the school day in at least half of the schools, serving at least 25% of students in basic education (BRAZIL, 2014).

It is worth noting that this research was born from the relationship between Joaquim Nabuco Foundation, through the General Coordination of Educational Studies, and the Territorial Committee for Public Policies on Integral Education of Pernambuco. The participation in the Committee provided the partnership with the Federal University of Pernambuco, especially the Extension Dean and the professors who are participating in the team.

Meanwhile, a dialogue was also established with the Directorate of Curriculum for Integral Education, linked to the Secretariat of Basic Education (SEB in the acronym in Portuguese) of the Ministry of Education (MEC), and, specifically in 2014, it was decided to carry out this research, based on dimensions identified as relevant by the management of the Directorate at that time to assess how the Program was working in schools, especially in terms of the curriculum dimension and as a proposal to extend the school day.

Within the limits of this article, we have selected some important aspects of the research that refer to the evaluation of the operation and repercussions of the program in schools. However, the first part of the article presents, in general terms, its theoretical basis, and the second part describes the methodology of the research, presenting the sample. The third part deals with the formulation context and the official texts of the Program. The last two parts refer to the analysis of the program's performance in schools, based on some of the answers to the questionnaires applied to the managers of schools in which the program was in operation.

Thus, the primary objective of the research was to evaluate the operation and results of the Mais Educação Program in Brazil. The article presents this evaluation briefly - focusing on

the operation and repercussions of the program, in terms of the most relevant curricular aspects, from the perspective of the program's managers and coordinators in schools (called community teachers). The view of these individuals on the policy of extending the school day is a relevant aspect, given the objective of the program to induce the creation of such a policy.

Policy evaluation as a theoretical framework

The research is centered on the perspective of policy evaluation, especially the idea of the policy cycle (SCHNEIDER, 2010). The study of evaluations has a long trajectory that will not be possible to describe in the scope of this article, but, in general, traditional (positivist) approaches try to measure the results obtained in the implementation. And, in this context, the closer the results are to those expected in the official text, the more efficient is the implementation. However, recent studies already point to more multifaceted analyses that consider the complex web of agents involved in the definition and execution of policies (SILVA; MELO, 2000).

Arretche (1998) and Silva and Melo (2000) point out that the public machine does not work in a perfect way and that, therefore, analyzing the results of implementation as 'detours of route' is a mistaken view, anchored in the Cartesian paradigm. In this sense, Silva and Melo (2000) point out the importance of studies on 'implementation' because the public policy or program gains a new life at this stage. In addition, it is possible that the results provide learning about the policies to change what exists or even create new programs/policies.

From this perspective, the research is anchored in the policy cycle and includes the program from its formulation to its operation in schools. And because it is a program that has already been phased out, the results of the research still remain relevant for reflection on the full-time education agenda, which is not consolidated in Brazil.

From the policy cycle perspective, we also used as reference the studies by Ball and Bowe, translated by Mainardes (2006), distancing themselves from the positivist view that is concerned only with verifying whether the policy or program is 'happening' as planned.

Research methodology

The research used the quantitative method, using the so-called survey in the literature (BABBIE, 2001). It focused on evaluating the performance of the Mais Educação Program in schools, considering two axes: management and pedagogical practices, considered fundamental to influence the improvement of learning. Throughout the year 2014, the questionnaires were applied in person (by a company hired through a public tender), respecting the research ethics standards (with the signing of the Free and Informed Consent Terms).

The construction of the questionnaires and the research corpus was guided by the guidelines of the official documents produced by the Ministry of Education, such as the Presidential Decree (BRAZIL, 2010), the Operational Guidelines (BRAZIL, 2014), the Step-by-Step Manual (BRAZIL, 2011), and the Pedagogical Notebooks Series (BRAZIL, 2013). The guidelines on how the program should work were turned into questions, with the goal of identifying whether the Program was having repercussions on pedagogical practices, as was its purpose. In addition, there was a set of questions about the perception of the repercussion of the program on student life and on the proposal to extend the school day, with a diversified curriculum perspective (not restricted to cognitive activities).

Based on these guidelines, it was decided to apply the questionnaires to subjects who worked in the schools and education secretariats - managers, community teachers, monitors, students, and the professionals responsible for the program in the secretariats. Due to the way the sample was calculated, the research is statistically representative for school managers and community teachers. And, within the limits of the size of the article, responses from other participants could not be included (FUNDAJ, 2016).

The schools were drawn (randomly) from the registry provided by the Directorate of Curricula and Integral Education of the Ministry of Education (MEC), containing the 45,492 schools that had their accessions approved by the National Fund for Education Development (FNDE) in 2013. The sample included 1,637 schools (distributed in 861 municipalities), as described in Table 1, randomly drawn based on a sampling plan that was stratified considering the states and administrative dependency (state and municipal) to which they belonged. About 14% of the schools had to be replaced because the program was not working when the company was in the school to apply the questionnaires.

Chart 1 – Distribution of the schools participating in the research by State

State	Number of schools
Acre	39
Alagoas	103
Amapá	09
Amazonas	21
Bahia	87
Ceará	85
Distrito Federal	46
Espírito Santo	39
Goiás	30
Maranhão	85
Mato Grosso	79
Mato Grosso do Sul	44
Minas Gerais	64
Pará	41
Paraíba	86
Paraná	55
Pernambuco	83
Piauí	63
Rio de Janeiro	79
Rio Grande do Norte	103
Rio Grande do Sul	63
Rondônia	59
Roraima	08
Santa Catarina	61
São Paulo	57
Sergipe	70
Tocantins	78
TOTAL	1637

Source: FUNDAJ (2016)

This distribution is proportional to the number of schools in which the program was operating in 2014 (the universe from which the sample was drawn). Within each stratum, the probability of inclusion was proportional to the number of students enrolled. The drawing in the strata was performed by the method known as power of allocation to obtain estimates with a good level of precision. Sample sizing was performed considering estimates generated with a tolerable coefficient of variation of 0.013 (1.3%), and a confidence level of 95% (CÔELHO, 2014).

Schools are, therefore, sample units, and, in this case, managers are the main respondents, since there is at least one per school. Moreover, considering that in each school there should be a community teacher or professional who coordinates the Program in the school,

this also becomes a representative subject of this population. For analysis purposes, this means that the answers from these subjects are likely to be generalizable. The questionnaires were answered by 1,637 school managers and 1,562 community teachers; 1,232 students; 1,575 monitors; 583 municipal and 23 state secretaries. For the purposes of this text, the responses from community managers and teachers will be considered.

The formulation context and the program texts

In order to evaluate it, it is necessary to explain, in general terms, the context in which the program emerged. Established by the Interministerial Ordinance No. 17/2007 (BRAZIL, 2007) and expanded by Decree No. 7.083, January 27, 2010, in the government of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, with Fernando Haddad as Minister of Education (BRAZIL, 2010), it was intended to be an inducer of the policy of expansion of the school day in elementary education. It started in the Secretariat of Continuing Education, Literacy and Diversity (SECAD in the Portuguese acronym), but, after Decree 7.690/2011, it was transferred to the Secretariat of Basic Education (SEB in the Portuguese acronym) in order to expand its inclusion in the school curriculum (BRAZIL, 2011). It was inserted in the context of the Education Development Plan - PDE, which, as analyzed by Rosângela Carvalho (2009), was a milestone in educational policies, based on the discourse of social quality of education that relates to the proposition of education as a human right and places equity as fundamental. The Workers' Party governments (Lula and Dilma) built their policies based on the discourse of social development - which allied economic aspects of neoliberalism and the emphasis on reducing social inequalities, with redistributive policies in all areas.

In the case of education, the collaboration regime (foreseen in the Federal Constitution) foresees that the federal government contributes resources from the National Fund for Education Development (FNDE) through voluntary adherence (from state and municipal secretaries). The Money Directly to School Program (PDDE), created by the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration, was maintained and expanded, being the vector for the transfer of resources to the various programs existing in previous governments. In the case of Mais Educação, the MEC guided the creation of Territorial Committees that would bring together secretaries for shared management (BRAZIL, 2014).

The proposal of the Program was to expand the school time and articulate the 'workshops' to the school curriculum in an integrated way. They were offered through

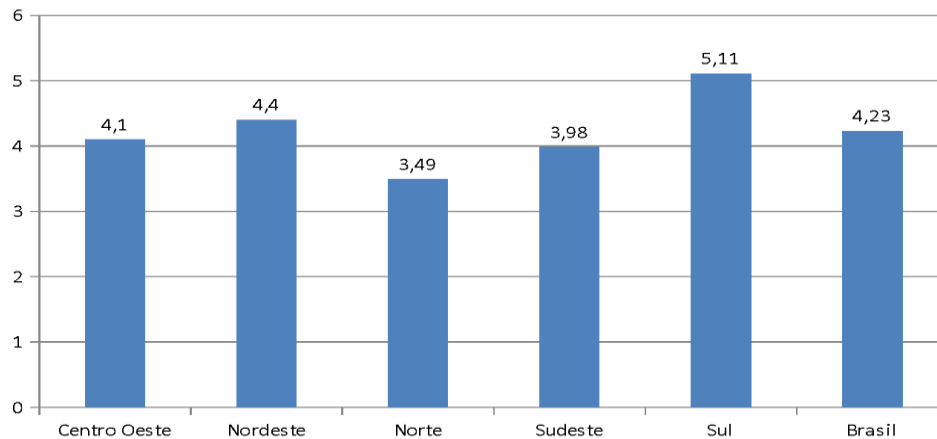
macrofields, which could be chosen by the school (from a range of options), with the exception of the macrofield of pedagogical support (the only mandatory one). The schools received the materials and resources for small reforms and for the payment of the monitors - professionals who only received a subsistence allowance and had to be oriented by a "community teacher". This form of precarious work was heavily criticized in the design of the Program (SILVA; SILVA, 2012).

According to the Operational Manual (BRAZIL, 2014), one of the criteria established for selecting school units was to elect schools with an index equal to or higher than 50% of students participating in the Bolsa Família Program. This conception is related to the Lula government's predominant perspective of reducing social inequalities. Thus, it can be considered that the Program reached the poorest layers of the population, offering better conditions and "educational opportunities" (its objective).

The Mais Educação Program in schools

The team responsible for coordinating the program (at MEC) created a network involving higher education and research secretariats and institutions to produce research and booklets that would serve to guide practices. In this sense, the research asked about the use of such documents, considering the possible influence on the approximation between formulation and implementation. Among them, the booklet *Mais Educação: step by step* (BRASIL, 2011) was indicated as the most used (90.4%). It presented, in an objective way, operational paths for implementation. The second most cited was the Operational Manual (BRAZIL, 2014). It can be noticed, however, that the Pedagogical Notebooks, which contained more elements to guide pedagogical practice, were used less frequently, being used by 69.1% of managers and 75.3% of community teachers. This information shows greater emphasis on operational issues, differently from what was thought in the formulation, confirming the policy evaluation studies already mentioned.

Decree 7.083/2010 (used by 60.3% of the managers) set the goal of extending the school day to 7 hours a day or 35 hours during the week. The results show that schools were partially complying with these norms, since the program was working an average of 4.2 hours every day of the week, with more school time in the South of the country (average of 5.1 hours), as shown in Graph 1 below.

Graph 1 – Average hours of program operation in schools

Source: FUNDAJ (2016)

The extension of time and, consequently, the permanence of the student for two shifts in the school unit, requires the provision of meals such as lunch, especially for poor families. Understanding this need, 70% of the schools offered lunch from Monday to Thursday. On Fridays there was a slight decline to 62%. And the meals were mostly (85.8%) prepared at school. Following the guidelines of the MEC, in that context, most (83.8%) had received guidance from accredited nutritionists, and 58.5% of the schools were buying food from family farmers. The guidance provided by Law 11947/2009 was that at least 30% of the financial value transferred to states and municipalities and the Federal District should be used to purchase food directly from family farms (BRAZIL, 2009).

The student selection process

A controversial issue is that the program used selection criteria, both for its implementation in schools and municipalities around the country, and for the choice of students who would participate in the Program. The discourse to justify the choices was to reduce social inequalities, since the initial schools had low IDEB and were in situations of social vulnerability. The justifications for the choice of students were, for example, that they were lagging behind, and that they were beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família program, among other aspects. These facts point to the prospect of stimulating the breaking of the poverty cycle, in the medium and long term, by investing in education for students in vulnerable situations. But, on the other hand, the direction gave room for a timid start in schools that were afraid or had difficulties in embracing the proposal.

However, there was a concern (on the part of the Ministry of Education) to provide subsidies for these objectives to be met, materialized in the creation of documents that helped in the execution of the program. The Step-by-Step Manual, the Operational Manual and the series of Pedagogical Notebooks were materials rich in information that were built by civil institutions and with the participation of researchers.

The Manual indicated the minimum participation of 100 students, until the school gradually expanded its full time education activities. On the other hand, this made the program limited, especially in large schools. Although schools had autonomy, there were also criteria for choosing students, which were described in the Operational Guidelines (BRAZIL, 2014, p. 18, our translation):

- Students who present age/grade gaps;
- Students in the final grades of the 1st phase of elementary school (4th and/or 5th years), where there is a higher spontaneous dropout of students in the transition to the 2nd phase;
- Students in the final grades of the 2nd phase of elementary school (8th and/or 9th grades), where there is a high dropout rate after completion;
- Students from years/grades where dropout and/or repetition rates are detected;
- Students who are beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família program.

Most community teachers (83%) took into consideration students who were having problems in their performance, and vulnerability was taken into consideration by 71.3% of them. They did not follow the recommendations of the Handbook in preferring students from the early years (59.6%). It is noteworthy that 69.3% of the community teachers considered the will of the students themselves as relevant, and 51.6% responded to the request of family members (51.6%): these factors show a demand, a desire aroused by the program in the school community. Although not prescribed in the Manual, the fact that the students' will was determinant in the choice shows a relationship with the program guidelines contained in the Step by Step Manual, which deal with the valorization of student protagonism (BRAZIL, 2011). In addition, meeting the request of family members indicates an affinity with the precept of the program to encourage dialogue with the family (BRAZIL, 2013).

Curriculum and pedagogical practices

The legal texts and guiding notebooks contained a proposal for articulation between the extended school day and the curriculum, also valuing popular knowledge (CAVALIERE; GABRIEL, 2012). One must consider, above all, that policy texts can be interpreted differently in the contexts in which their practices take place. And this discretionary power of those who execute is pointed out by analysts (MAINARDES, 2006; SILVA; MELO, 2000).

In this sense, some questions were asked about the planning of activities and the political-pedagogical project. According to 91.2% of the managers and 94% of the community teachers, the inclusion of the program was planned in meetings. As for curricular changes, the program's activities were incorporated, according to 77.7% of the managers. The most mentioned activities were: Sports (62.6%) and Arts (49.1%). In this movement, Scientific Initiation had a lower incidence (16.4%), probably due to the predominance of an encyclopedic curriculum (ROMANELLI, 1978; AZEVEDO, 2001).

The program provided resources and guidelines for pedagogical activities to occur in places outside the school, understood as those "[...] significant of neighborhood and city life, in order to recreate the cultural and civilizing experience of humanity in the forms of cinema, theater, music, museum, park, neighborhoods and others, experienced as curricular action" (LECLERC; MOLL, 2012, p. 5, our translation).

The research found that, according to 67% of community teachers, there were classes outside the school environment. They most frequently mentioned: squares (38.9%), parks (29.0%), and libraries (27.5%). It is significant that Museums (22.1%), theaters (19.4%), movie theaters (16.1%), and circuses (10.4%) appeared in the answers, spaces that provide cultural capital to poor students who would hardly have access to these educational spaces (BOURDIEU, 1998). This perspective reinforces the program's goal of offering "educational opportunities" to the poorest population - which was also the logic of the Lula and Dilma governments, present in the various programs.

Perception about the program results

The managers, taking a general view of the school, evaluate that the students' performance in the subjects has improved since their participation in the Program, with a percentage of 97.5% of agreement (adding 'totally' and 'partially') - according to Table 1.

Table 1 – Managers: The activities of the Mais Educação Program influence the students' performance in the subjects

<i>REPLIES</i>	%
Totally Disagree	0,4
Partially Disagree	0,8
Neither agree nor disagree	1,3
Partially Agree	30,2
Totally agree	67,3

Source: FUNDAJ (2016)

According to Charlot (2000), awakening the desire to learn is fundamental. The author refers to the process of construction of meanings in the teaching-learning process, which aims to establish a dialogical relationship between teachers and students that promotes meaningful learning. And this educational premise should be valid for the performance of both public and private schools; however, studies have shown that the difference in socialization processes between social classes makes the poor do not identify with the modus operandi of schools and prefer other paths (THIN, 2006).

Given this scenario, it is evident the importance of investigating the actions aimed at stimulating the desire to study. When asked whether they agree that students in the Mais Educação Program show an increased interest in studying, 85.3% of the community teachers agreed (adding the answers 'totally' and 'partially') that this statement is true (according to Table 2).

Table 2 – Community Teachers: Students in the Mais Educação Program show increased interest in their studies

<i>REPLIES</i>	%
Totally Disagree	6,4
Partially Disagree	6,0
Neither agree nor Disagree	2,2
Partially Agree	44,0
Totally Agree	41,3

Source: FUNDAJ (2016)

Besides learning, one of the goals of the program was to put the debate about full-time schools on the public agenda. And Mais Educação was making strides in this direction. In the survey, 92.9% of the responding managers agreed that public schools should operate full-time (as described in Table 3, in the total responses that partially and totally agree).

Table 3 – Public schools must operate full time, according to managers

<i>REPLIES</i>	%
Totally Disagree	0,6
Partially Disagree	4,5
Neither agree nor Disagree	2,0
Partially Agree	23,7
Totally Agree	69,2

Source: FUNDAJ (2016)

This result points to a learning effect of the policy, considering that the extended day was not on the symbolic horizon of elementary schools, except for occasional experiences such as those initiated by Anísio Teixeira (TEIXEIRA, 1962) and Darcy Ribeiro.

Final remarks

This article presents some of the results of a broader survey that evaluated the operation of the Mais Educação Program in public schools across the country. In evaluating the repercussions, the program has led to curricular changes, which point to the valorization of sports activities (62.6%) and the arts (49.1%) as part of a comprehensive education. In this sense, it expanded the right to education, as Arroyo (2012) explains, trying to minimize educational inequalities (GENTILI, 2009). In this way, the Program further reinforces what was present in the social policies of Lula's and Dilma's governments, which aimed to reduce social inequalities. The Program had, from the beginning, a focus on the poorest populations (choosing schools with a majority of families from the *Bolsa Família* – Family Grant Program) and with greater difficulty in keeping up with school logic. In this sense, it fulfilled its stated goal in the documents of "expanding educational opportunities".

Even though it was important in this sense, the Program still had many limitations that needed to be improved, especially because it was still an experiment. In this sense, it managed to ensure that the thousands of schools that joined the Program could have access to equipment and materials to develop activities in Sports, Arts, as well as Literacy and Mathematics (CAVALIERE, 2009), even if it was not yet the ideal school. There are many and immeasurable

repercussions in the school trajectory of those who had access to these activities (FUNDAJ, 2016). On the other hand, even with the limits in its design, the Program left as a learning experience the approval of the proposal for the creation of a policy to extend the school day by 92.9% of the administrators.

Although it had this broad approval, the program was discontinued in the context of the current government (Bolsonaro), without any explanation. In order to have a perspective of continuity, it was necessary to consolidate it as a state policy: this would be the greatest learning, considering the policy studies.

This process of rupture is part of the current context of devaluation of education as a policy to reduce inequalities. The Mais Educação Program represented the federal government's greatest initiative to put the full-time school day for elementary school on the agenda, since historically in Brazil there have been occasional attempts made by different governments. And, in this sense, it goes down in the history of educational policies as one of the programs of the Lula government, within the context of the greatest investment in public education, ranging from early childhood education to post-graduate education. This process was continued and expanded during Dilma Rousseff's first administration. After the coup, the entire Education Development Plan (PDE) was destroyed, with the extinction of most of the programs. And the current scenario of the Bolsonaro government is one of total destruction, from the discourse disguised as religious conservatism, but which covers up neoliberalism, with relationships of patrimonialism and accusations of corruption of the Minister of Education (RODRIGUES, 2020).

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