

**THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MANAGERIAL REFORM OF BRAZILIAN EDUCATION: LARGE-SCALE EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT SYSTEMS AS INSTRUMENTS OF THE POLITICAL PEDAGOGY OF CAPITAL**

***O PAPEL DOS ORGANISMOS INTERNACIONAIS NA REFORMA GERENCIAL DA EDUCAÇÃO BRASILEIRA: OS SISTEMAS DE AVALIAÇÃO EDUCACIONAL EM LARGA ESCALA COMO INSTRUMENTOS DA PEDAGOGIA POLÍTICA DO CAPITAL***

***EL PAPEL DE LOS ORGANISMOS INTERNACIONALES EN LA REFORMA DE GESTIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN BRASILEÑA: SISTEMAS DE EVALUACIÓN EDUCATIVA A GRAN ESCALA COMO INSTRUMENTOS DE LA PEDAGOGÍA POLÍTICA DEL CAPITAL***

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**ABSTRACT:** For three decades, capital has been plunged into an organic crisis that has conditioned the maintenance of its accumulation bases, which led to a process of bourgeois recomposition in order to restructure work and production, as well as reconfigure the relation between the State and civil society. This process affects all spheres of social life, including human development policies, which assume a strategic character, both for the formation new workers and for the ethical and moral conformity of civil society. In this context, it is clear that international organizations, notably UNESCO, the World Bank Group and the OECD have undergone significant transformations, assuming a new role in the planning and formulation of the educational policies of their Member States, in order to create a consensus on around a political pedagogy of capital, for which large-scale educational assessment systems are a strategic element.

**KEYWORDS:** International organizations. Managerial reform. Educational evaluation.

**RESUMO:** Há três décadas o capital está mergulhado em uma crise orgânica que tem condicionado a manutenção de suas bases de acumulação, o que levou a um processo de recomposição burguesa, a fim de reestruturar o trabalho e a produção, bem como reconfigurar a relação entre o Estado e a sociedade civil. Tal processo atinge todas as esferas da vida social, inclusive as políticas de formação humana, que assumem caráter estratégico, tanto para formação de trabalhadores de novo tipo, quanto para conformação ética e moral da sociedade civil. Neste contexto, percebe-se que os organismos internacionais, notadamente a UNESCO,

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*o Grupo Banco Mundial e a OCDE passaram por transformações significativas, assumindo novo papel no planejamento e formulação das políticas educacionais dos seus Estados-membros, de modo a criar um consenso em torno de uma pedagogia política do capital, para a qual os sistemas de avaliação educacional em larga escala são um elemento estratégico.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Organismos internacionais. Reforma gerencial. Avaliação educacional.*

**RESUMEN:** *Durante tres décadas, el capital se ha visto sumido en una crisis orgánica que ha condicionado el mantenimiento de sus bases de acumulación, lo que ha llevado a un proceso de recomposición burguesa para reestructurar el trabajo y la producción, así como para reconfigurar la relación entre el Estado y la sociedad civil. Este proceso afecta a todas las esferas de la vida social, incluidas las políticas de desarrollo humano, que son estratégicas en términos de capacitación de nuevos trabajadores, así como la estructura ética y moral de la sociedad civil. En este contexto, está claro que las organizaciones internacionales, especialmente la UNESCO, el Grupo del Banco Mundial y la OCDE han experimentado transformaciones significativas, asumiendo un nuevo papel en la planificación y formulación de las políticas educativas de sus Estados miembros, a fin de crear un consenso sobre en torno a una pedagogía política del capital, para la cual los sistemas de evaluación educativa a gran escala son un elemento estratégico.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Organismos internacionales. Reforma gerencial. Evaluación educativa.*

## Introduction

In this article, we analyze the influence of international organizations in the process of structural and superstructural adjustments that triggered, from the second half of the 1990s, the movement that led to the implementation of managerial reforms in the Brazilian educational field. We also distinguish the role that these institutions have played, especially in the last three decades, in the definition of educational public policies in Brazil, such as the implementation of information systems and educational evaluation on a large scale.

In this perspective, based on data collection and literature analysis, we identified the three international organizations that have had the most influence on the definition and formulation of public and social policies in the educational field, especially in countries on the periphery of the international capitalist system, as is the case in Brazil, namely: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank Group (GBM).

Such ascendancy stems from the exercise of hegemony (GRAMSCI, 2016) that these organizations exercise over peripheral countries, especially as a result of the financial and technical assistance operations offered. These actions, in some cases, are coordinated between

international organizations and have as a counterpart, in addition to the payment of interest on the released credit, the adoption by governments that demand structural adjustment measures in different areas of the State, such as, for example, educational reform that has been implemented in Brazil, especially since the mid-1990s.

In the educational field, the guidelines of the international organizations are materialized through the implementation of a political pedagogy of capital, which is verified concretely in the implantation of educational evaluations in large scale, in the propagation of the ideology of “human capital” and the “pedagogy of competences”. Such procedures have been conducted by these international organizations, mainly in the countries on the periphery of the capitalist system, with emphasis on Latin American countries, such as Brazil.

### **international organizations and education**

The analysis of documents and studies published by international organizations, especially those published since the 1990s, shows that these organizations have worked together to build a hegemonic conception around the educational field. In this sense, in a synthetic way, for these organizations, education “is the cornerstone of economic growth and social development is one of the main means to improve the well-being of individuals”<sup>3</sup> (GBM, 1992, p. 09).

In addition to the relations they have established with each other, international organizations have also worked with international and national organizations, such as the “Program for Educational Reform in Latin America and the Caribbean (PREAL)” and the “Everyone for Education” movement, in a way to influence the educational policies of countries on the periphery of international capitalism, forming what Ruiz (2016, p. 04) categorized as an “international architecture of organizations and institutions”<sup>4</sup>. This institutional arrangement aims to guide public educational policies in order to formulate a global consensus on the dissemination of a political pedagogy of capital that aims at the formation of a new bourgeois sociability, giving new meanings to the relation involving capital, work and education.

The alliance between the hegemonic fractions of the dominant classes, international capital and international organizations is not exactly a novelty. As discussed by Fernandes (1975), when dealing with the causes for the pattern of external domination imposed on Latin

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<sup>3</sup> “é a pedra angular do crescimento econômico e o desenvolvimento social é um dos principais meios para melhorar o bem-estar dos indivíduos”

<sup>4</sup> “arquitetura internacional de organismos e instituições”

America, “the particularist interests of the privileged strata, in all situations, could easily be treated as 'supreme interests of the Nation', establishing a internal structural connection for the worst manipulations from the outside”<sup>5</sup> (1975, p. 12).

The convergence of positions between these organizations and international capital is evidenced in the document “Educación Primaria”, published in 1992 by GBM. This document makes explicit that education should be used as a mechanism to educate the working class to the demands of the flexible regulation mode. This orientation is expressed in the “as economies around the world are transformed due to technological advances and new production methods that depend on a well-trained and intellectually flexible workforce, education acquires more and more importance”<sup>6</sup> (GBM, 1992, p. 09).

It is also possible to observe a convergence of public and social policies endorsed by international organizations, via financing or advice, in order to promote “total quality” in educational systems (ENGUIITA, 1994). In line with the assumptions of “neoliberalism mediated by the third way”<sup>7</sup> (FIGUEIREDO, 2013), international organizations have indicated that the adoption of reforms in the state apparatus is a condition for access and the granting of financing, with the implementation of characteristic public policies. the field of administration. Based on these assumptions, it is worth recalling the warning made by Marx (2004) that:

The true meaning of education, for philanthropist economists, is the formation of each worker in the greatest possible number of industrial activities, in such a way that one is dismissed from a job by the use of a new machine, or by a change in the division of labor, that person can find a placement as easily as possible (MARX, 2004, p. 81).<sup>8</sup>

Such convergence is materialized in the publication of joint documents, as well as in the holding of events, meetings and seminars. The creation of broad cooperation networks between international organizations allows, at least in the educational field, these organizations to develop actions in an articulated way, as a way of influencing, above all, in the definition of public policies in countries on the periphery of capitalism. Such influence can be identified not

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<sup>5</sup> “os interesses particularistas das camadas privilegiadas, em todas as situações, podiam ser tratados facilmente como ‘interesses supremos da Nação’, estabelecendo uma conexão estrutural interna para as piores manipulações do exterior”

<sup>6</sup> “medida em que as economias de todo o mundo se transformam devido aos avanços tecnológicos e aos novos métodos de produção que dependem de uma força de trabalho bem capacitada e intelectualmente flexível, a educação adquire cada vez mais importância”

<sup>7</sup> “neoliberalismo mediado pela terceira via”

<sup>8</sup> O verdadeiro significado da educação, para economistas filantropos, é a formação de cada operário no maior número possível de atividades industriais, de tal sorte que se é despedido de um trabalho pelo emprego de uma máquina nova, ou por uma mudança na divisão do trabalho, possa encontrar uma colocação o mais facilmente possível (MARX, 2004, p. 81).

only from the definition of policies, but also in the dissemination of goals, studies and joint meetings. As an example of networking among these organizations, we have the publication of the “Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the Implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4: ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education, and promoting opportunities for lifelong learning. for all”<sup>9</sup> (UNESCO/WORLD BANK/INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, 2015), subscribed by UNESCO and the GBM.

It draws our attention that of the three international organizations analyzed, the only one that has the educational field as an institutional attribution is UNESCO. The GBM is an international financial institution, while the OECD aims to stimulate economic development and trade between its member states.

**Table 1 - International Organizations Analyzed**

| <b>International Organization</b> | <b>Founded in</b> | <b>Headquarters</b> | <b>Number of Members</b> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| GBM                               | 1946              | Washington (EUA)    | 187                      |
| UNESCO                            | 1946              | Paris (France)      | 195                      |
| OCDE                              | 1961              | Paris (France)      | 35                       |

Source: Devised by the authors with data from GBM (2020), UNESCO (2020) and OCDE (2020).

As presented in “Table 1. International Organization Analyzed”, the GBM and UNESCO are institutions with a worldwide reach in fact, as they have hundreds of associated member countries in all parts of the world. The OECD is the international organization with the smallest number of members, 37 countries, mostly concentrated in Europe and the Americas, the exceptions being South Korea and Japan.

International organizations feature the uneven character of their decision-making structures. What tends to reflect the inequality of political power and wealth that characterizes the international system (COELHO, 2012; PEREIRA, 2010). This is because, in addition to being headquartered in the central capitalist countries, as shown in “Table 1. International Organizations Analyzed”, these international organizations depend mainly on the financial transfers made by this group of countries. In addition, at least in the case of the GBM, voting power is distributed according to the financial participation of each of its member countries.

The understanding of this order makes it possible to understand how the economy was subordinated to the interests of international business corporations, international organizations, and as a consequence of capital. Such organizations become allies, not without evidencing the

<sup>9</sup> “Declaração de Incheon e Marco de Ação para a Implementação do Objetivo de Desenvolvimento Sustentável 4: assegurar a educação inclusiva e equitativa de qualidade, e promover oportunidades de aprendizagem ao longo da vida para todos”

conflicts inherent in the dispute for the conduct of the hegemonic project of capital, in the management of an economy that is globalized (MACEDO, 2017). In this context, these institutions act as mediators of the interests of the bourgeoisie in the relation between capital and work, with repercussions in the educational field. In the first half of the twentieth century, the hegemonic fractions of the bloc in power bet on the conflict as a way of solving both the disputes between the sections of the bourgeoisie, as well as those involving the working class - which led humanity to a period of unprecedented crises, in which the World War I (1914-1918), the Wall Street Crash (1929) and World War II (1939-1945) stand out. With the bourgeois recomposition, evidenced from the 1970s, the dominant classes developed instruments to educate the working class for the consensus around the capital project. This project found in international organizations allies for the diffusion of a political pedagogy of capital, which aimed at subordinating the working class to the interests of the bourgeoisie, especially with regard to the training of an educated and flexible worker.

In this sense, in the work *Capital Humano: como influye en su vida lo que usted sabe*, published by the OECD, when defining the objectives of education, Keeley (2007), exemplifies how the political pedagogy of capital materialized by the historical block (GRAMSCI, 2016). Such understanding, which is shared by international organizations, is presented by Keeley (2007), without this author being concerned with the gains that the international bourgeoisie gains from the exploitation of the working class, educated and conformed by the ideology of human capital; thereby:

Education creates a workforce capable of taking on more complex jobs with lower wages. At the same time, the existence of these jobs makes it worthwhile for students to stay in school; in the long run, all those unpaid hours in the classroom will translate into work that will compensate workers for the time they were learning without making money (KEELEY, 2007, p. 32).<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted that it is often possible to map the work of former employees, scholarship holders or consultants from these international organizations working as directors of educational organizations, both private and governmental, in Brazil. This is a way for international bodies to also influence the induction of government policies in their Member States. The data presented in “Table 2. Link between Former Education Ministers and

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<sup>10</sup> A educação cria uma força de trabalho capaz de assumir empregos mais complexos e com salários mais baixos. Ao mesmo tempo, a existência desses empregos faz valer a pena que os alunos continuem na escola; a longo prazo, todas aquelas horas não remuneradas na sala de aula se traduzirão em um trabalho que compensará os trabalhadores pelo tempo que eles estavam aprendendo sem ganhar dinheiro (KEELEY, 2007, p. 32).

International Organizations” indicate that of the eight occupants of the post of Minister of State for Education in Brazil, during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff, four worked in these organizations. Paulo Renato Souza took the position of Associate Director of the Regional Employment Program for Latin America and the Caribbean of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and Operations Manager of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), one of the organizations of the GBM, before being appointed minister of education under the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The survey of the links between former ministers of education and international organizations was carried out based on the analysis of the curricula registered at CNPq's Lattes Platform and the information available in the dictionary of biographical entries of the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil (CPDOC) of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV).

**Table 2** - Links between Former Education Ministers and International Organizations

| <b>Government</b> | <b>Ex-Minister</b>    | <b>International Organization</b> |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| FHC               | Paulo Renato de Souza | GBM                               |
| Lula da Silva     | Cristovam Buarque     | GBM                               |
|                   | Tasso Genro           | No registered link                |
|                   | Fernando Haddad       | No registered link                |
| Dilma Rousseff    | Aloizio Mercadante*   | No registered link                |
|                   | José Henrique Paim    | GBM                               |
|                   | Cid Gomes             | GBM                               |
|                   | Renato Janine Ribeiro | No registered link                |

\* During the government of Dilma Rousseff, Aloizio Mercadante held the position of Minister of MEC in two periods (24/01/2012 to 02/02/2014 and 02/10/2015 to 12/05/2016)

Source: Author with data from CNPq/Plataforma Lattes (2019) and FGV/CPDOC (2019)

The participation of international organizations in the elaboration, orientation and execution of educational policies developed by the different Brazilian governments has intensified, especially since the second half of the 1980s, when occurs what Mundy (2007, p. 99) classified as the decline of “redistributive multilateralism” and the rise of “new forms of multilateralism of a defensive and disciplinary nature”, which would assist in understanding the emergence of new actors and new international strategies for the educational field, in the form of “educational multilateralism” (MUNDY, 2007, p. 100). Such assumptions would be related to “the role of international organizations in the construction of a global culture characterized by homogeneous national educational policies, linked to the ‘modern’ ideals of the nation and

the citizen”<sup>11</sup> (MUNDY, 2007, p. 100). Still on the issue of expanding the scope of action of international organizations, Ruiz (2004, p. 02), explains that it was:

[...] since the 1990s, international organizations have increased their field of activity considerably, and more, they have carried out more and more new activities in educational matters. International organizations are part of national debates on educational policy, on the role of the State in regulating formal education and on the characteristics of the academic structures of national education systems. They have promoted the inclusion of demanding performance standards for students, teachers and even institutions, as well as new criteria for assessing education and new definitions for the provision of public education and its financing.<sup>12</sup>

In this sense, the words spoken by the Director of Education of the OECD, Barbara Ischinger, in the prologue of the document *Educação Hoje: a perspectiva da OCDE* (Education Today: the OECD) perspective (2010), in which it is expressed that:

We have realized that despite - or due to - our active production of publications, we need to create greater transparency in the central message of this production in its entirety. We identified the need to present it in an accessible way for the use of different audiences - our national contacts, other sectors of governments, experts, the media and the general public - who do not have time to delve into all the international analysis that appears in our education board (OECD, 2010, p. 05).<sup>13</sup>

Ischinger (OECD, 2010) thus explains the role of international organizations as diffusers of a political pedagogy of capital, in the hegemonic construction of a social consensus.

The performance of international organizations, as diffusers of a political pedagogy of capital, occurs, above all, in line with the process of recomposition of international capitalism. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the statement by Pereira (2010, p. 45), when dealing with the GBM, for whom “after the 1987 administrative reform, the Bank started to articulate all its financial and technical assistance operations in each country with a strategically coordinated

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<sup>11</sup> “o papel das organizações internacionais na construção de uma cultura mundial caracterizada por políticas educacionais nacionais homogêneas, vinculadas aos ideais ‘modernos’ da nação e do cidadão”

<sup>12</sup> [...] a partir da década de 1990, os organismos internacionais têm aumentado seu campo de atuação consideravelmente, e mais, tem levado a cabo cada vez mais novas atividades em matéria educacional. Os organismos internacionais fazem parte dos debates nacionais sobre política educacional, sobre o papel do Estado na regulação da educação formal e sobre as características das estruturas acadêmicas dos sistemas educacionais nacionais. Eles têm promovido a inclusão de exigentes padrões de desempenho para estudantes, para professores e inclusive instituições, assim como novos critérios de avaliação da educação e novas definições para a oferta de educação pública e o seu financiamento.

<sup>13</sup> Nós temos dado conta de que apesar de – ou devido a – nossa ativa produção de publicações, precisamos criar uma maior transparência na mensagem central desta produção em sua totalidade. Identificamos a necessidade de apresentá-la de forma acessível para o uso de diferentes públicos – nossos contatos nacionais, outros setores dos governos, experts, meio de comunicação e público em geral – que não tem tempo para se aprofundar em toda a análise internacional que surge em nossa diretoria de educação (OCDE, 2010, p. 05).

approach, with the objective of boosting and accelerating the implementation of adjustment measures”<sup>14</sup>. Thus, in view of the worsening of the structural crisis in capital, international organizations have been working to, through consensus, transfer more and more portions of the public fund to the hegemonic fractions of the international bourgeoisie.

Based on these assumptions, the mobilization of important fractions of the hegemonic parts of the bourgeoisie, especially those representing the interests of international capital, around the creation of international organizations and the subsequent alteration of their mandates and missions, with the exception of UNESCO, with a view to encompassing the educational field. In the midst of the systemic crises of the capital system, these institutions work together with business organizations and the other hegemonic fractions of the international bourgeoisie to promote in the educational field factors that result in a new international system that shapes social life, not only at the level economic, but in all its dimensions.

Such a conformation can be understood as the updating of the phenomenon that Gramsci (1980, p. 375) categorized as "Americanism and Fordism". As it involves the economic, political and ideological dimensions, this phenomenon constituted a new way of life for the working class, closely linked to the productive sphere of the Taylorist-Fordist mode of production. When expanding from the factories to the set of social relations of production, Americanism and Fordism enabled the creation of a new type of worker, conformed from elements of strength and consent. Based on these principles, Gramsci (1980, p. 375-376), points out that:

[...] Americanism and Fordism derive from the immanent need to organize a programmatic economy and that the various problems examined should be the links in the chain that mark exactly the transition from the old economic individualism to the programmatic economy. These problems arise due to the various forms of resistance that the development process encounters in its march, resistance caused by the difficulties inherent to *societas rerum* and *societas hominum*. A progressive movement initiated by a specific social force has fundamental consequences: the subordinate forces, which should be "manipulated" and rationalized according to the new objectives, inevitably resisted. But they also resist, some sectors of the dominant classes, or at least allies of the dominant forces (1980, p. 375-376).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> “após a reforma administrativa de 1987, o Banco passou a articular todas as suas operações financeiras e de assistência técnica em cada país com um enfoque coordenado estrategicamente, com o objetivo de impulsionar e acelerar a implementação das medidas de ajustamento”

<sup>15</sup> [...] o americanismo e o fordismo derivam da necessidade imanente de organizar uma economia programática e que os diversos problemas examinados deveriam ser os elos da cadeia que assinalam exatamente a passagem do velho individualismo econômico para a economia programática. Estes problemas surgem em virtude das diversas formas de resistência que o processo de desenvolvimento encontra na sua marcha, resistência provocada pelas

The international organizations, as pointed out by Pronko (2019) when addressing the GBM, act through the imposition of economic conditions on the countries that resorted to financing and loans, they are able to play an important ideological and political role.

Other public policies developed and proclaimed by international organizations for the educational field in Brazil are those of an evaluative nature, such as the implementation of the School Census, the SAEB, ENEM and the National Higher Education Assessment System (SINAES, Portuguese initials). It is also worth noting the spread of the idea of accountability as an instrument for monitoring public spending by society.

### **Large-scale educational assessment systems as a guideline for international organizations**

Although the policies of large-scale educational assessment are not exactly new, in the last two decades of the twentieth century, Brazil, having lines of financing from international organizations, developed a complex system of large-scale assessment of its different levels of education<sup>16</sup>. Regarding the process of implementing large-scale evaluations in Brazil, different authors (FONSECA, 1996; THERRIEN, 2014), point out the “Program for the Expansion and Improvement of Education in Rural Areas (EDURURAL/NE)” as the first systematic evaluation in large scale of national education. EDURURAL/NE was developed between 1981 and 1985 in rural schools in 60 municipalities in the states of Ceará, Pernambuco and Piauí, under the responsibility of coordinating and executing a team of researchers from the College of Education (FACED) of the Federal University of Ceará (UFC), together with the Carlos Chagas Foundation and in partnership with the State Education Secretariats. This longitudinal study involved the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, including school performance tests, for 5 years, to monitor 603 rural schools, with 807 teachers and around 7,000 2nd and 4th grade students and their respective families (THERRIEN, 2014, p. 01). This evaluation counted on the financing of the GBM, carried out through technical cooperation agreements. For Fonseca (1996, p. 229), “the cooperation of multilateral agencies (such as the

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dificuldades inerentes à *societas rerum* e à *societas hominum*. Um movimento progressista iniciado por uma determinada força social não deixa de ter consequências fundamentais: as forças subalternas, que deveriam ser “manipuladas” e racionalizadas de acordo com os novos objetivos, resistiram inevitavelmente. Mas resistem também, alguns setores das classes dominantes, ou pelo menos aliados das forças dominantes (1980, p. 375-376).  
<sup>16</sup> Segundo Fernández *et al.*, (2009, p. 04), o estudo que pode ser considerado como a primeira pesquisa avaliativa em educação foi desenvolvido por J. M. Rice e ocorreu em 1897, nos Estados Unidos da América. Esta avaliação educacional analisou comparativamente os resultados obtidos por algumas escolas estadunidenses utilizando como critério as pontuações obtidas pelos estudantes em testes de ortografia.

IBRD and the IDB) for Brazilian education followed a process of technical assistance between Brazil and the United States that started in the first half of the century”.

UNESCO (1997) stresses the importance of educational assessments on a large scale because:

Education, considered a transformation process that involves changes between factors and products, must have a “control system” that allows to know how it is working, if the final products are in accordance with the pre-established quality standards, what how efficient is the operation of the process, etc. As the educational process is prolonged in terms of time, intermediate controls must be carried out to ensure that children are learning well and, thus, to prevent poor quality learning from continuing in the process without correcting their defects and making a final control to ensure that young people are learning according to the needs and expectations of society.

Therefore, educational systems can be organized in two ways. One is to continue teaching children without obtaining information about what they are learning. The other is to institute a national system to measure academic performance to monitor student learning and obtain information to improve it. Although most educational systems today are organized in the first way, the situation is changing. Many countries, including several in Latin America, have recognized the possibilities offered by measuring academic performance as a basis for improving the quality of education (UNESCO, 1997, p. 04).<sup>17</sup>

In the document, *World Bank Lending for Educational testing: a general operational review*, edited by GBM, Larach and Lockheed (1992, p. 2-3) identified the most common objectives of large-scale educational assessments, which are: a) selecting the students for continuing education; b) certify the students' progress; c) monitor student progression trends; d) evaluate specific educational policies or programs; e) maintain information on school performance in schools and regions; f) diagnose individual learning needs; and g) consideration of several purposes simultaneously.

These objectives that international organizations expect Member States to achieve from the implementation of educational assessments on a large scale demonstrate a compression of the way in which education has contributed, from the perspective of these organizations, to

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<sup>17</sup> A educação, considerada um processo de transformação que envolve mudanças entre fatores e produtos, deve ter um “sistema de controle” que permita saber como está funcionando, se os produtos finais estão em conformidade com os padrões de qualidade pré-estabelecidos, o que quão eficiente é a operação do processo, etc. Como o processo educacional é prolongado em termos de tempo, devem ser realizados controles intermediários para garantir que as crianças estejam aprendendo bem e, assim, impedir que a aprendizagem de má qualidade continue no processo sem corrigir seus defeitos e fazer um controle final para garantir que os jovens estão aprendendo de acordo com as necessidades e expectativas da sociedade.

Portanto, os sistemas educacionais podem ser organizados de duas maneiras. Uma é continuar ensinando as crianças sem obter informações sobre o que elas estão aprendendo. O outro é instituir um sistema nacional para medir o desempenho acadêmico para monitorar o aprendizado dos alunos e obter informações para melhorá-lo. Embora a maioria dos sistemas educacionais hoje esteja organizada da primeira maneira, a situação está mudando. Muitos países, incluindo vários na América Latina, reconheceram as possibilidades oferecidas pela medição do desempenho acadêmico como base para melhorar a qualidade da educação (UNESCO, 1997, p. 04).

economic growth, poverty reduction and good government, which are essential to put the political project of international capital into practice.

### Final considerations

In a context of recomposition of the bases of accumulation of the dominant class, through the implementation of the managerial reform of the State apparatus in Brazil, a hegemonic fraction of the ruling bloc committed itself to the “managed reform” (SOUZA, 2005) of the educational field .

In Brazil, this reform was carried out in collaboration with UNESCO, the World Bank Group and the OECD, in order to establish a social consensus around the validity of large-scale educational assessment systems. We understand that educational evaluations on a large scale represent an aspect of a political pedagogy of capital, since “the dominant ideas are the ideas of the dominant class, the one that monopolizes the means of material and spiritual production”<sup>18</sup> (LOSURDO, 2001, p. 72).

The propagation of this political pedagogy of capital, in our understanding, is materialized, above all, through the process of development and institutionalization of a complex system of large-scale educational assessments, which has a fundamental state apparatus in INEP. In this perspective, the restructuring of INEP, led by the bloc in power, defined that the efficiency of the state apparatus in the educational field should serve a double interest. On the one hand, it made possible to disseminate the political pedagogy of capital, materialized in educational evaluations on a large scale, and on the other hand, it contributed to the dissemination of the business idea of total quality in the educational field.

Finally, it should be noted that the adoption of educational policies guided by these international organizations fosters the inequality of political power and wealth that characterizes the international system, since these institutions act as representatives of international capital (COELHO, 2012; PEREIRA, 2010). This is because, in addition to being headquartered in the central capitalist countries, these international organizations depend mainly on the financial transfers made by this group of countries.

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