

**BUSINESS RELATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL PUBLIC POLICIES FOR HIGH SCHOOL: TRAINING FOR THE MARKET AND THE TRAINING MARKET**

***RELAÇÕES EMPRESARIAIS E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS EDUCACIONAIS PARA O ENSINO MÉDIO: A FORMAÇÃO PARA O MERCADO E O MERCADO DA FORMAÇÃO***

***RELACIONES COMERCIALES Y POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS EDUCACIONALES PARA LA EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA: LA FORMACIÓN PARA EL MERCADO Y EL MERCADO DE LA FORMACIÓN***

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**ABSTRACT:** This text discusses public policies and the relationship between the market and the public. Thus, we present a brief historical context in which the dispute process of construction of Brazilian education is evidenced, considering, as one of the central policies, the National Pact for the Strengthening of Secondary Education, which articulates and coordinates actions and strategies between the Union and governments. state and district in the formulation and implementation of policies, with a view to allegedly raising the quality standard of this stage of education in its different modalities. The qualitative approach methodology is used by a literature review and document analysis of documents from Instituto Unibanco (IU), as well as Theses and Dissertations, based on Severino (2018) and Bardin (1997). We show, from this study, that the public-private relationship was historically constituted from the 1990s with the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien Conference), materializing in that same decade with the Reform of the Apparatus of State, in the case of making market interests through education and its policies.

**KEYWORDS:** High school. Public-private partnership. Public policy cycle. Training.

**RESUMO:** Este texto discute sobre políticas públicas e as relações entre o mercado e o público. Assim, apresentamos um breve contexto histórico em que evidencia o processo de disputa de construção do ensino brasileiro, considerando, como uma das políticas centrais, o Pacto Nacional pelo Fortalecimento do Ensino Médio, que articula e coordena ações e estratégias entre a União e os governos estaduais e distrital na formulação e implantação de políticas, com vistas a pretensamente elevar o padrão de qualidade dessa etapa de ensino em suas diferentes modalidades. A metodologia de abordagem qualitativa é cunhada por uma revisão bibliográfica e análise documental de documentos do Instituto Unibanco (IU), bem

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como Teses e Dissertações, com base em Severino (2018) e Bardin (1997). Evidenciamos, a partir deste estudo, que a relação pública – privada foi se constituindo historicamente a partir da década de 1990 com a Conferência Mundial sobre Educação para Todos (Conferência de Jomtien), materializando-se ainda nessa mesma década com a Reforma do Aparelho do Estado, tratando-se de se fazer por meio da educação e suas políticas os interesses de mercado.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Ensino médio. Parceria público-privada. Ciclo de políticas públicas. Formação.

**RESUMEN:** Este texto discute las políticas públicas y las relaciones entre el mercado y el público. Así, presentamos un breve contexto histórico en que se evidencia el proceso disputado de construcción de la educación brasileña, considerando, como una de las políticas centrales, el Pacto Nacional de Fortalecimiento de la Escuela Secundaria, que articula y coordina acciones y estrategias entre la Unión y los gobiernos estatales y distritales en la formulación y políticas, con miras a supuestamente elevar el estándar de calidad de esta etapa de la enseñanza en sus diferentes modalidades. La metodología de abordaje cualitativo está acuñada por una revisión bibliográfica y análisis documental de documentos del Instituto Unibanco (IU), así como Tesis y Disertaciones, basadas en Severino (2018) y Bardin (1997). Evidenciamos, a partir de este estudio, que una relación público-privada se constituyó históricamente a partir de la década de 1990 con la Conferencia Mundial sobre Educación para Todos (Conferencia Jomtien), materializándose aún en la misma década con la Reforma del Aparato del Estado, tratando de hacer a través de la educación y sus políticas intereses de mercado.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Educación secundaria. Colaboración público-privada. Ciclo de políticas públicas. Formación.

## Introduction

In the following paper, we present the results of a documentary and bibliographical research on the relationship between public policies for secondary education and the capitalist market, questioning: what is the relationship between the cycle of public policies for secondary education and the capitalist market, considering the historical context of Brazilian public education, in terms of training processes - training for the market or training market?<sup>3</sup>

This is a research with qualitative approach, considering, from Minayo (2022), the meanings, values, attitudes and motives, around the relationship Training, High School, Public Policies and Capitalist Market, which were inferred from the examination of

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<sup>3</sup> The research presented here is the result of the investigative process that substantiated the Master's dissertation, entitled “Implementação do Projeto Jovem de Futuro em Marabá/PA (2012-2014) no contexto da Escola de Ensino Médio Girassol: Entre a lógica de mercado e a perspectiva de formação ampla”, presented in 2021 at the Post-Graduate Program in Curriculum and School Management (PPEB/UFPA), by Elsivan Machado Barbosa da Silva Lima, under the supervision of Prof. Doriedson do Socorro Rodrigues.

documents analyzed through the categorization strategy of content analysis, according to Bardin (1997).

The documents analyzed, from Severino (2018), come from Unibanco Institute - IU<sup>4</sup>, which support the Young People of the Future Project - *Projeto Jovem de Futuro* (PJF in the Portuguese acronym) and ProEMI, such as the ProEMI's creation decree, documents on the implementation of the *Projeto Jovem de Futuro* in schools, training documents offered to the two managers (principal and pedagogical coordinator), Action Plan and reports of the actions implemented at Girassol State High School<sup>5</sup>.

We also consulted Theses and Dissertations from the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - CAPES* (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) database, considering the period 2011 - 2014, focusing on public policies for high school and market relations, in order to understand the formative perspective, if in favor of a *formation for the market* or if for an institutionality of a *market of formation*.

Theoretically, we understand that public policies are rights of citizens guaranteed in the 1988 Federative Republic of Brazil Constitution (BRAZIL, 1988), assuming, however, to become concrete, that they go through a process of formulation, called cycle of public policies, namely: 1) Formation of the agenda; 2) Policy Formulation; 3) Decision-making process; 4) Implementation; 5) Evaluation (BAPTISTA; REZENDE, 2011; NAJBERG; BARBOSA, 2006; RIBEIRO, 2009 apud DALFIOR; LIMA; ANDRADE, 2015; VIANA; BAPTISTA, 2009), resulting in disputed projects, considering the contradictions between capital and labor.

We also understand that in Brazil, public educational policies present, according to Araujo (2019), a historical dualism in educational policies for high school, with, on the one hand, the offer of education for the elite public focused on intellectual and educational training, on the other hand, the offer of a minimalist education, focused on the interests of the capitalist market, whose objective is to prepare the individual for manual work, aiming to generate cheap labor to meet the neoliberal project.

From these two understandings, we consider that educational policies are designed in different instances of government, through the participation, negotiation and induction of different public and private spheres, through public-private partnerships, which were reinforced in the 1990s, following the scenario of globalization and competitiveness,

<sup>4</sup> Available: <https://www.institutounibanco.org.br/>. Access on: 10 Feb. 2021.

<sup>5</sup> This is the fictitious name of an analyzed high school in the city of Marabá, Pará.

contributing greatly to the All for Education Movement – *Movimento Todos Pela Educação* (MTPE in the Portuguese acronym).

This business organization, with technological and media power, has been making interventions in educational policies, fostering both training for the market and instituting the training market, materializing mercantile interests, although there is also the struggle for humanizing training processes, such as integrated high school, according to Ciavatta (2020). In this paper, however, we seek to understand the public-private relationship, in terms of public policies for secondary education, within the binomial training for the market and the training market.

That said, we emphasize that this exposition, besides the introduction and final considerations, presents a section in which we discuss public policies and the relations between the market and the public. Next, we discuss secondary education and market relations.

### **Public policies and market-public relations**

In this section, we discuss educational public policies as governmental actions that impact the lives of subjects, as well as the relationship between the market and the public in the field of Brazilian education, presenting the globalization scenario strengthened since the 1990s and its relationship with the business management model introduced in public schools of the state high school network.

As far as public educational policies are concerned, we consider that the business class is interested in influencing public management with its business management model. To this end, through their analyses and interference, they seek to discredit the existing model of public management, blaming the State for the alleged unsatisfactory results in basic education.

This dispute, however, around management models of educational policies, has historical reasons in the Brazilian scenario, not infrequently the economic sector seeking to mark its interests from the dominance of state forces and civil society, through government agencies responsible for education (SAVIANI, 2014). The creation of management territories for Brazilian education often serves, therefore, market interests.

In this perspective, for example, with the Revolution of 1930, the Organic Laws of Education created the National Service of Commercial Learning (SENAC) and the fundamental legal documents, and the agrarian import system, replaced by the industrial one,

generated a demand for industry and factories, causing the need for manpower, imposing a rethinking of education by the State. In this context, according to Saviani (2014), the trend of Professional Education emerged, aiming to educate for the labor market. In 1932, however, the Manifesto of the Pioneers of Education was released, whose main objective was the defense of quality public school, universalization and renewal of education; the Ministry of Education and Public Health was then created.

In the 1990s, the scenario turns to globalization, neoliberalism, competitiveness, and education follows this trend of a supposed modernity, considering the interests of capital. In that same year the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien Conference) took place in Thailand, whose objective was to establish worldwide commitments to guarantee to all people the basic knowledge necessary for a decent life, guided by a market logic. The event was attended by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), with the support of the World Bank, among other organizations. It should be noted that during this conference a declaration with pre-established commitments was born, of which Brazil was a signatory (SILVA; ABREU, 2008).

According to what is described in the World Declaration on Education for All, the governments that participated in the conference and signed the Jomtien Declaration committed themselves to invest, mainly, in Basic Education, in order to ensure the survival of the population, full development of capabilities, dignified life and work, improvement in quality of life, among others (UNESCO, 1990), but under the logic of competitiveness and neoliberalism.

From these considerations, we highlight that educational public policies are built from three levels of influence: international, national, and local. In the international field, we cite the influence of the World Bank, which has a neoliberal ideology and is promoted by International Financing Organizations. It is a great reinforcer of the idea of the educational crisis, pointing to the State itself as the culprit and presenting the solution in private initiative. It still recognizes the expansion of access to school quantitatively, but denotes a crisis of "efficiency" and "effectiveness", being that "[...] the orientation of the World Bank (1995) has been to educate to produce more and better" (LIBÂNEO; OLIVEIRA; TOSCHI, 2012, p. 107-108), showing its mercantile logic. This causes actions and reactions in the national and local context, in the school context.

These international organizations, globalization, and neoliberalism exert a certain pressure on Brazil to present educational policies that are in line with their objectives. The Economic Commission for Latin American and Caribbean Development (ECLAC), whose motto is "citizenship, competitiveness, and equality", defends that it is necessary to strengthen citizenship, competitiveness, and equality in Latin America and the Caribbean through education. Moreover, it advocates investment in Basic Education; however, it has a pragmatic view and defends flexible education. According to Libâneo, Oliveira, and Toschi (2012, p. 107):

The expansion of education and knowledge, necessary for capital and for the globalized technological society, is based on concepts such as modernization, diversity, flexibility, competitiveness, excellence, performance, ranking, efficiency, decentralization, integration, autonomy, equity, etc. These concepts and values are based, above all, on the private sphere, having to do with business logic and the new world economic order.

Still in the field of International Organizations, between 1993 and 1996 an International Commission on Education for the 21st Century was organized and chaired by the Frenchman Jaques Delors, with the objective of analyzing the educational situation in the world and generating a report for UNESCO and, based on it, to start a process of globalized educational reform. The report stated that investment in education promotes peace, democracy, multiculturalism, and economic development, and pointed out, as challenges for the education of the 21st century, the entry of all countries into the field of science and technology, the adaptation of societies and cultures to the information age, and living democratically in community. With this, he concluded that education should be for life and that the school should be concerned with developing in the individual four learning skills as fundamental pillars for each individual: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be. This is a formative perspective focused on a utilitarian pragmatism to the market logic.

From this, we observed that these pillars were present in the implementation of the PJJ at the Escola Estadual de Ensino Médio Girassol (Girassol State High School), through the Jovem de Futuro Methodologies, because they focus on methods and not on contents, causing the emptying of the curriculum and the offer of a minimalist formation to meet the market needs.

In Brazil, the enactment of the Law of Directives and Bases - LDB No. 9.394/1996 opened space to consolidate measures to expand, access and improve the financing of



education in Brazil, also introducing mechanisms for large-scale evaluation of education, and established criteria for Basic Education, which covers early childhood education, elementary school and high school (BRASIL, 1996). However, high school became compulsory only after Constitutional Amendment 59/2009, in which item I of Article 208 of the 1988 Federal Constitution (BRASIL, 1988) came into force with the following change: "compulsory and free basic education from 4 (four) to 17 (seventeen) years of age, including its free provision for all those who did not have access to it at the appropriate age" (BRASIL, 2009.).

Also in 1996, as a way to intensify public policies aimed at education, the Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Appreciation of the Teaching Profession (FUNDEF) and the National Curricular Parameters (PCN) were instituted.

In 1998, the National High School Exam (ENEM) was created to evaluate high school education in the country, with its results being used for access to higher education. Law 11.684/2008 (BRASIL, 2008) made Philosophy and Sociology compulsory in high school.

In this context, according to Menezes (2001), in order to fulfill within a decade the resolutions discussed and agreed upon at the World Conference on Education for All, the MEC prepared the Decennial Plan of Education for All (1993 to 2003), which pointed out guidelines for the recovery of basic education in Brazil.

In 2003, a policy of the Luís Inácio Lula da Silva's government was the Brazil's Size School Program, focusing on the universalization and democratization of teaching and school management, as well as proposing the creation of the Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Valorization of the Teaching Profession (FUNDEB), in substitution of FUNDEF, which only contemplated elementary education, but, on the other hand, did not propose resources for early childhood education and high school.

In 2006, the All for Education Movement (MTPE) was launched, a business organization that articulates, monitors and proposes interventions in education policies. In 2007, the Education Development Plan (PDE in the Portuguese acronym) was created based on the MTPE: a government plan made up of a set of programs with 30 actions, 17 of which deal with Basic Education, 12 being of a global nature and five being specific to the level of education. It was a macro plan with actions that encompassed all of Basic Education (SAVIANI, 2007).

The MTPE demonstrates, however, that the business organization has occupied a privileged place in the process of implementing policies aimed at Basic Education, starting from a solid junction of the actors involved. Thus

The need to form an alliance involving business groups, governments, and other segments of society in the fight against poor educational quality stems from the view of some business sectors that the breadth and complexity of social problems exceed the possibilities of the State or any business organization that proposes to act alone. Thus, these businessmen chose to act through a coalition that started to have an evident intervention in different governmental spheres as a strategy to control the educational policy of the country (MARTINS; KRAWCZYK, 2018, p. 10, our translation).

According to Martins and Krawczyk (2018), the MTPE was created in 2005 by a group of entrepreneurs and officially launched through the project *Compromisso Todos Pela Educação* (All for Education Commitment) in 2006, consisting of five goals. There is a governance network consisting of a president, governance council, founders council, and fiscal council, and, in addition, it has sponsors and supporters, as shown in the table below (Chart 1), linked to the business community in the country.

**Chart 1 – Maintainers and supporters of TPE**

COMPOSITION OF THE TPE			
MAINTAINERS		SUPPORTERS	
Scheffer	Milú Villela	Antônio Carlos Pipponzi	PATRI-Políticas Pública
Fundação Bradesco	Fundação Lemann	Burger King	Instituto MRV
Fundação Itaú Social	Instituto Península	Fundação Roberto Marinho	Instituto Votorantim
Fund. Telefônica Vivo	Instituto Natura	Fund. Maria Cecília Souto Vidigal	Arredondar
Instituto Unibanco	Família Kishimoto	Família Johannpeter	SHOULDER
Itaú BBA	FLUPP	Fundação Educar Dpaschoal	SUZANO
		Editora Moderna	Instituto Cyrela
		GOL	

Source: TPE (c2021)

This composition shows the commitment and co-responsibility of all for Brazilian education, which is justified by its members because they have business experience. However, we understand that this concern of the business class with public education is part of the neoliberal project that aims at production at the service of capital. It is in this context that the PJJ is found, since it is a program of the private sector IU that was implemented in the EEEM Girassol, a public high school. IU describes as its mission "to increase the human capital of young people in vulnerable situations" (INSTITUTO UNIBANCO, 2010, p. 17). In this sense, we evidence the interference of the business class in public schools in an organized and



articulated way; however, although the MTPE recognizes the advances in education regarding the growth of enrolled students, it charges the government for not ensuring the permanence of students in school and the unsatisfactory quality of education. Thus, it is emphasized that "[...] the political orientation of market neoliberalism highlights, ideologically, a discourse of crisis and failure of public schools, as a result of administrative and financial inability of the State to manage the common good" (LIBÂNEO; OLIVEIRA; TOSCHI, 2012, p. 114).

Therefore, the MTPE points the state as the culprit for the results and society for not supervising and demanding satisfactory results from the state. With this, it is understood that it would be unable to manage public education. By bringing as a principle the defense of co-responsibility between government and society, businessmen gain a privileged space with the executive power and in the educational context, with its model of business management, in such a way that "[...] the guidelines of the TPE in relation to what is up to the management and to the Secretary of Education are guided by the management by results, incorporating a business rationality that has in excellence and efficiency the axes of what would be a quality education" (MARTINS; KRAWCZYK, 2018, p. 9-10).

The influence of MTPE in Brazilian public education occurs due to its power of investment in technology and media dissemination of results considered successful, in addition to the occupation of members in important government positions, such as "[...] members of the National Education Council, the National Union of Municipal Education Officers, presidents of the National Institute of Educational Research (INEP), presidential advisors and even the position of Minister of Education" (MARTINS; KRAWCZYK; 2018, p. 11).

Still according to Martins and Krawczyk (2018), with the MTPE, several of its proposals were incorporated into Brazilian educational policy, to highlight: the Education Development Plan (PDE), the Target Plan *Compromisso Todos Pela Educação* (All for Education Commitment), the National Literacy Assessment (ANA), and the push for High School Reform.

However, high school is an educational stage marked by dispute, a level of Basic Education in which, throughout history, antagonistic projects are materialized in educational policies, many being unable to direct this stage of education so fundamental for young people, so that they meet the needs of their subjects, such as the alleged new high school established by Law no. 13. 415/2017, which directs young people from high school to an early life in the worlds of work, according to Ferretti (2018), showing fragility in relation to social

inequalities, not infrequently constituting "[...] selective and vulnerable to social inequality [...]", as exposed by Nascimento (2007, p. 78, our translation):

Educational policies in Brazil for high school have expressed the educational dualism based on the social division of labor, which distributes men by intellectual and manual functions, according to their class origin, in schools with different curricula and contents. High school has historically been selective and vulnerable to social inequality.

The dualism in high school policies is configured by the fact that this stage of education historically offers an education that values certain subjects to an elite public, aiming at their access to a higher level, preparing them for the realization of intellectual activities and the exercise of power of domination and, on the other hand, offers an education aimed at the labor market, preparing the individual for manual labor, for pragmatic-utilitarian interests. These are policies based on programs and projects developed by the State to guarantee and put into practice the rights foreseen in the Federal Constitution (BRAZIL, 1988) and other laws, characterized as measures and programs created by the governments with the intention of guaranteeing the well-being of the population. However, market interests end up infiltrating these processes. According to Souza (2006, p. 26, our translation):

One can, then, summarize public policy as the field of knowledge that seeks, at the same time, to "put the government into action" and/or to analyze this action (independent variable) and, when necessary, propose changes in the course or direction of these actions (dependent variable). Public policy formulation is the stage at which democratic governments translate their electoral purposes and platforms into programs and actions that will produce results or changes in the real world.

In order to meet these constitutional purposes, public policies are planned, created, and executed through a set of activities performed by the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary branches. The planning of public policies triggers actions that are applied at the federal, state and municipal levels and that directly affect the lives of citizens, especially those of the working class. In this sense, public policies are rights guaranteed to citizens: health, education, work, leisure, social assistance, environment, culture, housing, and transportation. It is emphasized that they "[...] have repercussions on the economy and societies, hence why any theory of public policy also needs to explain the interrelationships between state, politics, economy and society" (SOUZA, 2006, p. 25, our translation).

The consolidation of citizens' rights to public policies can be found in the 1988 Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, especially in articles 198, 204, and 206, which deal specifically with the creation of public policy councils in health, social assistance,

and education in the three spheres of government. These councils have a supervisory, mobilizing, deliberative, and advisory function (BRAZIL, 1988).

The "public policies, after designed and formulated, unfold into plans, programs, projects, databases or information and research systems. When put into action, they are implemented, and then submitted to monitoring and evaluation systems" (SOUZA, 2006, p. 26, our translation). Figure 1 shows how the Public Policy formulation process is structured.

**Figure 1 – The Public Policy Cycle<sup>6</sup>**



Source: Andrade (2016)

According to Baptista and Rezende (2011), Najberg and Barbosa (2006); Ribeiro (2009, apud DALFIOR; LIMA; ANDRADE, 2015), the following phases are fundamental to understand how the cycle of Public Policies occurs:

**1. Agenda formation:** It is the beginning of the elaboration of public policy, since it is during planning that the existing priority problems and available resources are verified through data. Because it is of a flexible nature, not everything that is put on the agenda is carried out immediately, given that the planning process depends on factors such as cost-benefit evaluation, study of the local scenario and its needs, available resources, the urgency that the problem may take on due to probable social mobilization, and political necessity.

**2. Policy formulation:** In this phase, possible solutions or alternatives to solve a problem are presented, through proposals and plans, where the objectives, programs, projects and actions are also decided.

**3. Decision making process:** Phase of the definition of resources and timeframe for the realization of the policy action.

<sup>6</sup> Avaliação = Evaluation; Formação da Agenda = Agenda Formation; Formulação de políticas = Policy Formulation; Processo de Tomada de Decisão = Decision Making Process; Implementação = Implementing

**4. Implementing:** Moment in which planning is transformed into action. It is the realization phase, when financial, technological, material and human resources are directed to the execution of the policy.

**5. Evaluation:** This phase is crucial for public policies, since it allows the control and supervision of the policy, and should be carried out at all stages of the cycle, enabling the correction of possible failures during the process; thus, evaluation is essential for the success of the action.

It was in phase 4, the Implementation phase, that we analyzed the PJF. Considering it is an educational policy, we seek to know in which direction this implementation occurred in the context of ProEMI at Girassol High School, between the market logic and the perspective of broad training, because it is a public-private partnership.

Vázquez and Delaplace (2011, p. 36, our translation) go further, stating that public policy has an endless life cycle and that it is "[...] formed by seven processes: entry of the problem on the public agenda, structuring of the problem, set of possible solutions, analysis of their positive and negative points, decision making, implementation, and evaluation.

Thus, typologies of public policies are classification tools used to interpret and analyze data related to them, considering their complexity. Thus, we describe some of these typologies in Charts 2 and 3.

**Chart 2 – Scope of Public Social Policies**

SCOPE OF PUBLIC SOCIAL POLICIES	
Compensatory Policies	These are policies implemented or sponsored by the State with the objective of rescuing or minimizing deep social distortions. E.g.: quota policies, demarcation policies of indigenous lands, etc.
Emancipatory Policies	These are policies aimed at the empowerment and autonomization of social groups that are initially vulnerable, in such a way that they gain independence from the State's action.

Source: IGEPP ONLINE (c2022)

**Chart 3 – Classification of Public Policies based on Teodore J. Lowi (1964)**

Distributive	It has sectorial or punctual objectives. E.g.: Implantation of hospitals, schools, continuous benefit, family allowance, etc.
Redistributive	Its objective is to redistribute income, allocating goods and services to specific segments of society. E.g.: Agrarian reform, distribution of oil royalties, etc.
Regulatory	Its objective is to regulate a certain sector, establishing obligations, prohibitions, and conditions under which certain behaviors can and must be carried out. E.g.: Traffic Code, Labor Legislation, etc.
Constitutive	Those that deal with procedures, defining competencies, rules of political dispute and public policy making.

Source: Secchi (2012)

Thus, knowing the classification of public policies allows citizens to understand what leads to the adoption of one policy over another in our country. Thus, it is necessary to point out that these policies have political intentions, and are therefore susceptible to change according to the political movement. For Saviani (2008, p. 7, our translation):

Educational policy concerns the decisions that the Public Power, that is, the State, makes regarding education. To deal, then, with the limits and perspectives of Brazilian educational policy implies examining the scope of the educational measures taken by the Brazilian State.

Public educational policies refer to everything that a government does or does not do in relation to education. In this way, it is understood that they are actions carried out or not in the educational field, which come from the public power, whose main objective is to promote the common good, in ideal terms, putting market interests to infiltrate it, and materialize through plans, programs, and projects. In Brazil, educational public policies have kept their focus more specifically on school issues, according to what is pointed out in the historical context.

In view of the above, it is evident that the influence of the private sector in Brazilian educational policies is based on a cohesive organization that presents the interests of hegemonic groups with neoliberal ideologies. As it is a network formed by a group that has the power of capital and defends its interests, it is able to make itself present in different areas of government, whether in the executive or legislative branches, and can also influence public management with its model of business management, as occurred through the PJJ and its implementation in a number of schools in the country, such as the Girassol High School.

## **The last stage of Basic Education in Brazil: a historical path - between setbacks and processes**

In our analyses about the relation of market logic in educational policies for high school, we start from the understanding that Basic Education is permeated by dilemmas, being them: the guarantee of the right to Basic Education, universalization of Basic Education, eradication of illiteracy and teacher training. These dilemmas, however, may be under a broad training perspective, opposing social inequalities, or under a mercantile logic, maintaining social inequalities. And the history of Brazilian education is marked by these antagonisms, within a class society.

In this perspective, for example, the first national educational reform, carried out by the Minister of Education and Health Francisco Campos, known as the "Francisco Campos Reform", regulated and organized Brazilian secondary education by establishing a series of measures, such as: the expansion of years of secondary education and its division into two cycles, serial curriculum, compulsory class attendance, imposition of a regular and systematized student evaluation system and the restructuring of the federal inspection system. This reform was effected through Decree No. 18.890/31, whose goal was to produce productive secondary students who would serve the capitalist society that was being consolidated in that period (1930) (SAVIANI, 2014). This reform is a historical milestone, as it broke with structures built in this stage of education throughout history, but did not break with the traditional education focused on meeting the needs of the elites, as what has been occurring with through Law No. 13.415/2017 (FERRETTI, 2018).

With the "Capanema Reform of 1942 and 1943", under the consultancy of Roberto Mange and Lourenço Filho, the set of Organic Laws of National Education was instituted, namely: a) Organic Law of secondary education, of 1942; b) Organic Law of commercial education, of 1943; c) Organic Laws of primary education, of 1946. In the organic laws, the goal of secondary education was established as forming the country's driving elites, together with professional education, this more oriented to the emerging needs of the industrial economy and urban society. (SENAI) (SAVIANI, 2014).

Among the decisive changes in this stage of education, we can find the Federal Law no. 1.076/50 (BRAZIL, 1950), which allowed graduates of professional courses to enter higher education courses, as long as they could prove the level of knowledge indispensable to the completion of the studies mentioned. The full equivalence between the courses, with the equating, for all intents and purposes, of the professional education to the propaedeutic



education, occurred with the implementation of the first Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, Law No. 4.024, from December 20, 1961 (BRAZIL, 1961).

Another decisive landmark was the promulgation of Law no. 5.692/71 (BRAZIL, 1971), which reformed Law no. 4.024/61 (BRAZIL, 1961), with regard to what was then 1st and 2nd grade education. Note that here occurred a transposition of the former *ginasial*, until then considered as the initial phase of secondary education, to constitute the final phase of the eight-year 1st grade (BRAZIL, 2012).

In relation to the secondary level (corresponding to the current high school), the professionalization becomes mandatory, supposedly to eliminate the dualism between a classical and scientific training, preparing for higher studies, and another professional training (industrial, commercial and agricultural), in addition to the Normal Course, intended for the training of teachers for the first phase of the 1st level. However, the generalized implementation of the professional qualification brought, among its effects, especially for public education, the loss of identity that the high school had come to have, either as a preparation for higher education, or as a professional terminus. A decade later, Law no. 7.044/82 (BRAZIL, 1982) was issued, making this professionalization in high school optional (BRAZIL, 2012).

The most recent decisive historical milestone occurred with the current Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDB), Federal Law no. 9.394/96 (BRASIL, 1996), which has still been receiving successive changes and additions. The LDB, in line with the 1988 Federal Constitution, defines high school as a stage of the level called Basic Education, consisting of early childhood education, elementary school and high school, the latter being its final stage (BRAZIL, 1988, 1996).

Among the changes in the LDB (BRAZIL, 1996), the following stand out:

Law 11.741/2008, which redimensioned, institutionalized, and integrated the actions of the High School Professional Technical Education, of Youth and Adult Education, and of Professional and Technological Education. Articles 37, 39, 41 and 42 were changed, and Chapter II of Title V was added with Section IV-A, called "High School Professional Technical Education", and with articles 36-A, 36-B, 36-C and 36-D. This law incorporated the essentials of Decree number 5.154/2004, especially, revalorizing the possibility of High School integrated to Professional Technical Education, contrary to what Decree number 2.208/97 had previously stated (BRAZIL, 2013, our translation).

According to the LDB, the purpose of high school is to prepare for the continuation of studies, basic preparation for work and the exercise of citizenship. In 1998, the National

Curricular Guidelines for High School were formulated, highlighting that the administrative and pedagogical actions of the educational systems and schools must be consistent with aesthetic, political and ethical principles, including the aesthetics of sensitivity, the politics of equality and the ethics of identity (BRAZIL, 1998).

High School, as a stage of Basic Education, is part of this scenario of inequalities. Therefore, LDB nº 9.394/1996, in its article 4, clause II, determines that it is the State's duty to "progressively extend compulsory and free secondary education" (BRAZIL, 1996).

In consonance with LDB nº 9.394/1996 (BRAZIL, 1996), the National Education Plan (PNE), Law nº 10.172/2001, established goals for Brazilian education, valid for ten years, aiming to guarantee within this period, among other advances, the global elevation of the educational level of the population, the improvement of the quality of education at all levels, the reduction of inequalities, both social and regional, the expansion of services in Kindergarten, High School and Higher Education (BRAZIL, 2001).

Another very important landmark for secondary education was the institution and regulation of the Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Valorization of Education Professionals (FUNDEB), through Law 11.494/2007, replacing the Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Valorization of Teaching (FUNDEF), which did not include secondary education. (BRAZIL, 2007).

Another policy for this stage of education was the institution of the Pact for Strengthening Secondary Education, through Ordinance No. 1140/2013, thus,

[...]MEC (Ministry of Education) and the state and district education secretariats, [...] assume the commitment to value the continued training of teachers and pedagogical coordinators who work in public high school, in rural and urban areas, in accordance with Law 9.394, of 1996, and with the National Curricular Guidelines for High School, established in Resolution CNE/CEB nº 2, of January 30, 2012 (BRAZIL, 2013, our translation).

Therefore, the Pact was a commitment signed with a focus on the continuing education of high school teachers and pedagogical coordinators, as well as the discussion with teachers of practices that would align with the National Curricular Guidelines for High School - DCNEM (BRAZIL, 2013).

Regarding specifically the expansion of high school, the current PNE, in line with what the Federal Constitution provides, in its article 208, brings the

Goal 3: make school attendance universal for the entire population between 15 (fifteen) and 17 (seventeen) years old by 2016 and raise, by the end of the period this PNE is in force, the average net enrollment rate in secondary

education to 85% (eighty-five percent)” (BRAZIL, 2014, p. 22, our translation).

However, for there to be this expansion in High School, public educational policies must be in place since early childhood education, since High School is the last stage of Basic Education and, to get there, the student must go through the other stages. Thus, the State must treat this entire pathway with care, and it is also necessary to ensure the permanence of these students and their learning, so that they do not fall by the wayside, which would be failure or even abandonment of studies during the course of Basic Education. In this sense, the implementation of effective public educational policies corroborates so that students who are in a situation of social vulnerability can complete the entire process of Basic Education successfully. Furthermore, "we all know that the distribution of income and wealth in the country determines the access and permanence of students in school" (CURY, 2002, p. 169).

In this context, there is a need for reflection and action to meet the needs of these subjects, who have suffered from the lack of effective educational policies, but from the point of view of the needs of the subjects who are the target audience of this stage of education:

[...]alarming is what the latest National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) reveals about the denial of the right to secondary education to Brazilian youth. There are 18 million young people between 15 and 24 years of age who are out of school and 1.8 million, who are of high school age, are not attending. In the range of entering university, 18 to 24 years old, 16.5 million young people, that is, 69.1% are not studying. **One can conclude that Brazil doesn't really have a high school education** (FRIGOTTO, 2013, p. 1, our translation).

According to the author, the lack of structure of high school, added to the process of commercialization of the school, the concessions that the State makes to private companies and the interference that these private companies perform within the school, has generated throughout the history of education inequality in basic school (FRIGOTTO, 2013).

Thus, it is evident that the bourgeois state strengthens a market-proliferation formation, whose historical context denotes its beginning from the twentieth century, after the second World War with the aim of obtaining profits, multinational and transnational companies have emerged and strengthened with monopolistic practices, a model in force until today, which are based on the laws of financial institutions and large business groups, in a context of globalization and consolidation of the neoliberal project. In this sense, there is a predominance of capitalist interest in training subjects for the productive efficiency of the market and not for integral human development. The process of fragmentation in favor of the market and the market for training is materialized in High School, through the minimalist

training offered for this stage of education, both for teachers and for students through public-private partnerships, as an example we can cite the partnership between the Innovative High School Program (ProEMI in the Portuguese acronym) of the Ministry of Education/MEC, with the Youth of the Future Project (PJF), of the Unibanco Institute/IU, whose objective of the business class is, through the capitalist dynamics of accumulation, to keep the proletariat in conditions of economic dependence, generating cheap labor, making this worker have to sell his labor force to ensure his subsistence. However, despite the school being inserted within a bourgeois State, it is a space of formation of the working class, therefore, it is necessary within this space, to work on the construction of organic intellectuals of the working class and thus strengthen the struggle for the construction of a social quality education that is in dispute, because "school is the instrument to elaborate the intellectuals of various levels [...], in this sense, if this school is based on the principles of capitalism, it will be geared to ensure the interests of the hegemonic class" (GRAMSCI, 2006 p. 19, our translation).

According to Cury (2002), the responsible action of the State and its corresponding obligations is the irreplaceable springboard for guaranteeing the right to Basic Education, offered as a citizen's public right and not as merchandise. Therefore, the concern with young people's access to high school, as well as their conclusion and continuation of their studies, should be beyond a market concern, since it is a matter of guaranteeing a basic, social, and subjective right of this subject.

As of the year 2016, the government of Michel Temer (2016-2019) arises a set of educational policies that go against the PNE. Among these policies we can mention the Constitutional Amendment n. 95/2016 (BRAZIL, 2016), also known as the Constitutional Amendment of the Public Spending Cap, Proposed Constitutional Amendment - *PEC do Teto*, PEC 241, and PEC 55. It is the limitation of spending on Brazilian public spending with validity scheduled for 20 years (BRAZIL, 2016). The reform of high school through the Provisional Measure -MP 746/2016, which resulted in Law No. 13.415/2017, which promotes changes in the structure of high school, such as the teaching of art and physical education that become optional, the teaching of English Language becomes mandatory, allowing other languages. Thus, the curriculum now consists of:

[...]BNCC and by specific training itineraries defined in each education system and with emphasis on the areas of languages, mathematics, natural sciences, humanities and technical and vocational training. It gives autonomy to education systems to define the organization of the areas of

knowledge, skills, abilities and learning expectations defined in the BNCC (BRAZIL, 2016, our translation).

Despite several protests, the BNCC was approved by the CNE in December 2018, after being ratified by the MEC, and should be adopted by all schools by 2022. The point is that this movement of the private sector in the public sector, marked by plans and programs that materialize mercantilist interests, which make the training of young people in high school minimal, needs to be countered, in favor of training projects in full, as Ciavatta highlights (2020).

### **Final remarks**

During the course of this work, based on the analysis of the literature of the historical context, of the concepts studied and presented, it is evident that public policies, in order to be materialized, go through a formation process called cycle of public policies, having five fundamental stages for them to be substantiated.

In Brazil, when we analyze the educational public policies, we evidence a historical dualism, a dispute process that reveals the division of social classes when we observe, throughout the historical process, the offer of education with intellectual training for the elite on one side and, on the other side, the offer of a minimalist education that aims to form cheap labor, which does not consider the learner in other dimensions: social, cultural, linguistic, among others.

Educational policies are, in a way, under pressure from international organizations, the result of a globalization policy whose focus is to meet the objectives of the neoliberal project, which is to strengthen the power of the ruling class; to this end, it uses the discourse that individual freedom, autonomy, free trade, and the incentive to competition guarantee the country's economic and social growth.

In this sense, throughout this process, several educational policies were created, with some advances, but also the public-private partnership was strengthened, especially since the policies of the 1990s with the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995 - 2002). The All for Education Movement - MTPE is a clear example of a business organization that acts in public educational policies. It is the interference of the business class in public management, seeking to blame the State for unsatisfactory results from their point of view and to present their business management model as effective.

The high school, the last stage of Basic Education, the dualism in educational policies aimed at this public, is even more evident, for the more elitist public historically regarding access to higher education, and for the great part of the population, the preparation of cheap labor, manual work.

It is necessary to deepen the studies through research on the profits that the market has on education, both financial and ideological, as well as to strengthen the movement of resistance and struggle in defense of democratization and the guarantee of a public education of social quality.

In the course of this research, we have also evidenced that the public-private relationship was historically constituted starting in the 1990s with the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien Conference), materializing still in the same decade with the Reform of the State Apparatus (1990). This historical path shows us that public educational policies in Brazil have been outlined at different levels of government, based on negotiations and agreements between the public and private spheres.

It is also evident that the educational policies aimed at high school present a historical dualism, with intellectual formation aimed at an elite public and minimalist formation focused on the needs of the capitalist market, aiming to generate cheap labor. With the globalization process, the international organizations and neoliberalism started to exert strong pressure on Brazil to present educational policies that are in line with the neoliberal project.

In this sense, the neoliberal project of the business class is very well articulated to meet their own interests within the public school, the All for Education Movement (MTPE), which is a Private Apparatus of Hegemony (PAH), is an example of this articulation, because it is a business organization that has strong influence in Brazilian public education, due to having members that are part of this organization that occupy important positions in the government, as well as having media and technological power.

We understand that the influence of the private sector in Brazilian educational policies is consolidated by a cohesive organization that represents the interests of hegemonic groups with neoliberal ideologies, against which it is necessary to fight for a project of public education, free and with social quality, based on the perspective of integrated education, for which the complete education of young people is a guide.



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