School educative aims and internationalization of educational policies: impacts on curriculum and pedagogy

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Abstract
The text discusses the impact of the internationalization of educational policies for the definition of educational school aims and its effects on local educational policies, the organization of school systems and, consequently, the curriculum and pedagogy. In the first topic, I treat the role of international organizations for the definition of educative aims in emerging countries. In the second, I make a compilation of propositions about educative aims from documents of the World Bank and UNESCO, after identifying the meanings of education, poverty, learning, human development, evaluation and work. In the third one, by studying the documents of the Brazilian educational policy, I try to show how these propositions act in the orientations for the curriculum and the pedagogy. Finally, I make considerations on the negative consequences of them for the education and teaching to sectors of the impoverished population, and I point out possibilities of action on the part of educators to quality education socially relevant.

Keywords: School educative aims; International organizations and educational policies; Interfaces between curriculum and pedagogy; Teaching quality.

Introduction
The definition of school educative aims precedes and guides decisions on educational policies, curriculum guidelines, pupils' training objectives, content selection, teaching-learning actions, ways of schools functioning, teacher training guidelines and the evaluation policies within the systems of teaching and of the school learning processes. At the same time, the aims are the main criteria for education quality in organizing the programs and projects of the educational systems, consequently for schools and teachers. Lenoir (2013) explains that aims indicate a philosophical and axiological orientation. They express the chosen values and give foundation to the organization of the educational system, unlike objectives that refer to more precise, circumscribed results, focused on concrete actions delimited for a certain period including quantified targets. It is on this basis that one can identify both the explicit and implicit guidance of school systems and their impact on the operational plan of schools and classrooms, especially curriculum and pedagogy. However, its formulation needs to be understood and analyzed beyond national policies since they are subordinated to strategies based on agendas of the global political economy, in the context of globalization. In fact, the aims result from a game of forces in which interests of
varied origin, systems of values and beliefs are confronted, within the complexity of the social reality that characterizes societies. Lenoir writes:

[...] school educative aims are powerful indicators for grasping both the explicit and implicit orientations of school systems, the theoretical functions of sense and value of which they are carriers, as well as the expected modalities in the empirical and operative planes within teaching-learning practices. The analysis of the aims allows us to perceive their anchoring in the social reality, the sense they attribute to the educational process, the challenges and the visions they convey, as well as the recommendations for updating in the classroom (Lenoir, 2016, p. 24).

The debate on educative aims also has implications in the field of research in the humanities, especially in the field of education. In Brazil, it is notorious the occurrence of dissents on aims, functions and forms of organization and curricular and pedagogical management of schools, in sectors of educational research, in scientific and professional associations, in the institutional environment. Such disagreements are reflected in the existence of very diffuse meanings of "teaching quality" and curriculum and pedagogical forms of achievement (Young, 2016, 2007; Libâneo, 2012, 2014).

In this paper, I discuss various ways of acting of international organizations in the definition of school educative aims, especially in emerging countries, and its impact on educational policies, school systems and thus the curriculum and pedagogy. It also seeks to know how international organizations act in the constitution and structure of school systems forming a network influences the way school leaders and teachers think and act in the classroom. The investigation resulted from comparative studies between propositions about educative aims from documents of the World Bank and UNESCO and official documents of the Brazilian educational system and its repercussion in the organization of the curriculum and pedagogy in schools. I argue that the criteria of quality of education drawn from the guidelines of international organizations contradict an emancipatory view of the educational process because of its subordination to the logic of the market and to the interests of the globalization of capital. It is considered that the proposition of an educational system focused only on productive activity, professional performance and the adjustment of individuals to these demands, is too restrictive to the human formation and development of the country.

1. The impact of the internationalization in local educational policies

It is consensual among scholars and analysts in the economic field that neoliberalism emerges around the 1980s as the economic policy of reaction of the capitalist world to the welfare state and state interventionism, defending the role of individual freedom and the superiority of the rules of the market for the regulation of the economy (Paulani, 2006; Lenoir, 2016). In the education sector, certain characteristics are identified: reduction of state responsibilities through the privatization of educational services, institution of meritocracy in several instances of the education system, competition logic to ensure profitability and competitiveness, actions aimed at competition between schools, decentralization of education by imposing responsibilities to states and municipalities.

The diffusion process of neoliberalism includes two interrelated phenomena, globalization and internationalization. The term globalization is
understood here as "an ideological project driven by economic neoliberalism that has the effect of subjecting the population to the laws of the market [...] an option of capitalism at the service of only their financial interests, supported by neoliberal ideology, among others that globalization may offer "(Lenoir, 2016, p. 329). Globalization implies the interference of countries and companies in the reorganization of work and technological capacities at the international level, redefining inequalities between countries in terms of world production and consumption (Frigotto, 1998). Dale (2004, p. 436) argues that "globalization is a set of political-economic devices for the organization of the global economy, driven by the need to maintain the capitalist system more than any other set of values." In the constitution of globalization, the author mentions three sets of related activities of an economic nature (hyper-liberalism), of a political nature (governance without government) and cultural (commodification and consumerism). He also comments:

[...] all national regulatory frameworks are now, to a greater or lesser extent, shaped and delimited by supranational forces, as well as by national political-economic forces. It is through these indirect ways, through influence on the state and over the mode of regulation, that globalization has its most obvious and important effects on national educational systems (Dale, 2004, p. 441).

Internationalization refers to processes and actions, driven by international organizations, in the form of plans, programs, guidelines and implementation procedures linked to economic, financial, social and educational policies, in order to make feasible the global agenda of the major world powers, especially in emergent countries.

The Educational reforms, in the context of neoliberalism, began in the 1980s in European countries, and then the poor and emerging countries expanded them. Beginning in 1990, policies, guidelines and norms regarding educational policies are now more directly formulated by the World Bank. The historical mark for supranational influences in world education was the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, organized and led by international organisms involved in education, followed by the New Delhi (1993) and Dakar (2000) Conferences, among others. Documents generated from these conferences, in particular the World Declaration on Education for All (1990), signed by country members, and the World Bank's policy and technical guidelines have served as a reference to the educational policies of these countries.

By analyzing the internationalization of educational policies, Freitas (2011) argues that multilateral organizations, NGOs, education movements linked to business corporations "seek to implement the vision of education as a subsystem of the productive apparatus", defining objectives for the school based on strategic needs of labor. It is an explicit government policy aligned with business corporate interests, to link educational policies to labor productivity, regulating the training of workers to the immediate needs of the economy.

Torres-Arefizmendi (2009) also analyzes the implications of international policies in determining educative aims. Per him, neoliberalism seeks its foundations in the managerial theories of quality in which the principles of efficiency, competitiveness and productivity apply, the same way it is applied to all productive sectors, including public services such as education. The meanings
of quality of education are determined to be adopted by developing countries by international organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. He writes:

The hegemony exercised by the proto-states over the governments of affiliated countries implies the creation and proposition of certain meanings and values to be internalized by the actors of neoliberalism. The quality meaning of education is part of a regime of truth established by these organisms, adopted by governments as absolute truth (p. 53).

The internationalization of policies and guidelines for education and global processes of governance based on the model of economic rationality intervenes directly or indirectly in the aims and goals of education. Thus, the analysis of the impacts of school educative aims on educational policies, curriculum and pedagogy implies on the search for the defining sources of these educative aims, such as the guidelines of international organizations.

2. Educational aims in documents of international organizations

The links between aims and objectives of school systems in various countries and the guidelines of supranational organizations have been studied by international experts such as Ball (1994), Dale (2004), Lessard and Mieirieu (2004), Young (2007), Ball and Mainardes (2011), Pacheco and Marques (2014), Lenoir (2016) and, in Brazil, among others, Silva and Cunha (2014), Libâneo (2014), Evangelista (2013, 2014), Freitas (2011, 2012), Evangelista and Shiroma (2006), Neves (2005), Frigotto and Ciavatta (2003), Leher (1998), De Tommasi, Warde and Haddad (1998). It is verified in these studies that those organisms have constituted a complex set of propositions, norms and procedures that impel the definition of school educative aims, impregnating institutional decisions of the countries in relation to educational reforms, plans, curricular guidelines, pedagogical-didactic processes. According to these studies, most commonly centered on World Bank documents, policies are geared to "reaching the minimum learning needs of the masses so that all individuals can participate effectively in the development process" and therefore "be useful for increasing productivity and also improving the opportunities of less-disadvantaged groups" (World Bank, 1974, p. 60). The Bank's strategy to combat poverty and reduce social exclusion is highlighted as a condition for increasing the productivity of the poor because of economic development.

According to Bastos (2014), poverty alleviation policies had been announced since 1971 when the first document of specific politics to the Education sector was published: the Education Sector Working Paper that outlined publicly the criteria for educational funding for the first time. In 1974, another document signaled to the underdeveloped countries the adoption of a pragmatic curriculum "to ensure that the educated students are more likely to obtain employment", according to the concept of human capital. For Evangelista and Shiroma (2006), the documents of international organizations on education fell on concepts such as productivity, quality and competitiveness, according to human capital theory, until 1990. Without abandoning this orientation, concepts such as justice, equity, social cohesion, social inclusion and social responsibility have been emphasized in the following years, introducing an apparently humanitarian bias in educational and social policies. The introduction of new concepts is explained by the perception of the technicians of international organizations that the expectation of reducing poverty worldwide is not enough,
and it is also necessary to seek policies to alleviate poverty to combat the deleterious effects of competition in the globalized market. According to the authors:

Poverty took on a new centrality in discourse when the World Bank disseminated its report in 1990, in which it was alerted to the need to promote productive use of the most abundant discourse of the poor, labor. The best way forward to increase such a resource was investment in education (p. 46).

Those orientations around poverty alleviation actions were the basis of the propositions of the World Declaration on Education for All: meeting basic learning needs (UNESCO, 1990). They meet the principle of “social inclusion” since poverty situation, by becoming a barrier to economic development and the very development of individuals requires inclusion policies to integrate individuals into the context of economic development. According to the World Bank:

Social inclusion is a process that ensures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being considered normal in the society in which they live (World Bank, 2007, p. 4).

It is clearly a matter of planning social policies to instrumentalize economic policy, as it is clear from a 1990 document quoted by Coraggio:

According to the Bank, its strategy has two components: 1) to promote productive use of the most abundant resource of the poor, labor, through an efficient growth of intensive labor, based on adequate market incentives, physical infrastructure, institutions and technological innovation; 2) Provide the poor with basic social services, especially primary health, family planning, nutrition, and primary education. [...] It is important to note that, in this view, the Bank considers ‘investment in education as the best way to increase the resources for the poor’ (Coraggio, 1996, p. 85).

Leher points out that the institutionalization of poverty alleviation policies is one of the most explicit guidelines of the World Bank documents in the context of globalization, aiming to fulfill an ideological function of “operating the contradictions arising from the structural exclusion of the peripheral countries that unfolds unprecedentedly” (Leher, 1998, p. 9).

The analysis of documents produced by the World Bank and UNESCO, in this case mainly the Jomtien World Declaration on Education for All (1990), make it possible to extract at least four educative aims: education to satisfy basic needs, attention to human development, education for the labor market and education for sociability and living together.

a) Education to satisfy basic needs

The World Declaration on Education for All has as its subtitle the expression “Meeting Basic Learning Needs”, which defines the purpose of school education. In its preamble, it recognizes education as a fundamental right of all and its importance for a better world and for personal and social progress and the role of knowledge and cultural heritage to promote development. It also recognizes that basic education is fundamental for the continuity of studies and for the scientific and technological formation aiming at autonomous development. The notion of satisfaction of basic learning needs is presented as follows:

Article I - Meeting Basic Learning Needs - Every person - child, youth and adult - shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic
learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time (UNESCO, 1990, p. 4).

Education content and methods need to be developed to serve the basic learning needs of individuals and societies, enabling them to tackle their most pressing problems - combating poverty, increasing productivity, improving living conditions and protection to the environment - and allowing them to assume their rightful role in building democratic societies. These functions had already been explained in a World Bank document:

Education is the cornerstone of economic growth and social development and one of the main means to improve the well-being of individuals. It enhances the productive capacity of societies and their political, economic and scientific institutions and contributes to poverty reduction by adding value and efficiency to the work of the poor and mitigating the consequences of poverty on issues related to population, health and nutrition […]. First-level education is the basis and its fundamental purpose is twofold: to produce a literate population with basic knowledge of arithmetic capable of solving problems at home and at work, and to serve as a basis for their later education (Banco Mundial, 1992, in Torres, 1996, p. 131).

The Article IV of the Declaration informs the meaning of "learning" as useful knowledge and skills, which should be predicted as results and measured by assessment systems:

Article IV - Focusing on Learning - Whether or not expanded educational opportunities will translate into meaningful development - for an individual or for society - depends ultimately on whether people actually learn as a result of those opportunities, i.e., whether they incorporate useful knowledge, reasoning ability, skills, and values. The focus of basic education must, therefore, be on actual learning acquisition and outcome, rather than exclusively upon enrolment, continued participation in organized programmes and completion of certification requirements. […] It is, therefore, necessary to define acceptable levels of learning acquisition for educational programmes and to improve and apply systems of assessing learning achievement (UNESCO, 1990, p. 7).

The Declaration of New Delhi (1993) and Dakar (2000) confirm those orientations, including the definition of desirable levels of knowledge (competencies) according to standards of minimum quality as measured by performance evaluation system. It is recommended that countries develop national action plans "integrated within a broader framework of poverty reduction and development". According to the objective 6 of the landmark Declaration of Dakar:

Quality of education: Improve all aspects of quality education and ensure excellence so that measurable and recognized learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, (basic knowledge on mathematics (numeracy) and life skills (UNESCO, 2000).

As can be seen, these guidelines induce a definition of learning, the adoption of an instrumental or results curriculum, and the creation of large-scale performance evaluation systems, characteristics that have been improved over these 25 years and have been transformed into official education policies of

b) Attention to human development

The Jomtien World Declaration also proposes the achievement of a more cooperative international context to support development in which the well-being of all must be the goal of efforts for social development, preventing populations from remaining in marginality (also economic) and poverty. It is at this juncture that human development enters. In terms of the Declaration: “Basic education is more than an end in itself. It is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which countries may build, systematically, further levels and types of education and training” (UNESCO, 1990, p. 3).

According to Boom (2004, p. 215), in the glossary annexed to the World Declaration, human development “refers to the concept which regards the general well-being of the human being as a focus and goal for development and extends to the application of learning to improve the quality of life”. It is, therefore, an individual-centered development aimed at enhancing its productive energies. More specifically, human development is understood as “a term that is used in the narrowest sense and refers to the development and conservation of people’s capacities to contribute to economic and social development.” Boom writes further:

Even though this new strategy is expressed in terms of humanitarian goals and preservation of freedom, it seeks a new control of the countries and their resources. Moreover, the new strategy focuses on the human being as the most important resource on which all efforts should be focused, not only as an object of exploitation but as a subject that demands and consumes and is therefore susceptible to enter the market. In short, human development is the mirage with which it is intended to impel the new relocations of global politics in which the market operates as the economic controller par excellence and the productivity of the individual constitutes the central purpose of this strategy (Boom, 2004, p. 220).

Therefore, the idea of human development is linked to the individualistic conception of being human according to the principles of liberalism in the function of which social policies are designed to aid the basic needs of the poorer sectors of emerging societies.

c) Education for the labor market

The subordination of all forms of education to the labor market is another visible trace in the propositions of the documents we have been analyzing. The main challenges in the Jomtien World Declaration are: to “improve the capacity of the education system to contribute to the development of the workforce and ensure that disadvantaged and underperforming students have access to relevant quality and learning opportunities.” In a recent Bank document entitled Learning for All: Investing in People’s Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development (2011), the strategy for achieving “Learning for All” in the next decade is that “the individuals shall learn in and out of school from pre-school through the labor market”.

Linkages between education and labor markets. - Improving the labor-market relevance of education is an objective of the strategy. Many young people in developing countries are leaving school and entering the labor market without the
knowledge, skills, and competencies necessary for employment in a competitive modern economy. This leaves thousands of young people frustrated and disillusioned that they are not earning the promised returns to education. By focusing on learning, the new strategy looks beyond enrollment and years of schooling completed to whether school-leavers will be able to find a job and earn a living. The system approach to education reform recognizes employers as key stakeholders in education and regards no formal skills training as part of a continuum of learning opportunities for acquiring key knowledge and skills. Efforts are underway in the Bank, in collaboration with development partners, to develop a framework and tools to measure the skills and competencies of a country’s labor force. One aim of these efforts is to increase the share of education projects that include labor-market objectives and thereby improve the acquisition of workforce skills (World Bank, 2011, p. 44).

Therefore, the links between the school and the labor market are reinforced. The school vision as a provider of “minimum” content required for work and employment is maintained, but it is enhanced the notion of learning as the acquisition of useful knowledge and survival skills, dissociated from its meaning and its scientific basis, bringing little contribution to the intellectual development and for the formation of the personality in an integral and omnilateral sense. Such education from the perspective of international organizations seeks pragmatic and functionalized results for the market, far from a conception of development based on a human, democratic and social justice perspective.

d) Education for sociability and social integration

It is recurrent in international documents the critic to the traditional school with its impractical contents, spaces and rigid times, unable to adapt to new contexts. A school opened to other spaces and times organized around basic learning needs is then postulated within a space of social coexistence and integration. Among the commitments of the Declaration of Dakar one can find: “To meet the needs of educational systems affected by conflict and instability, and to conduct educational programs to promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and to help prevent violence and conflict” (UNESCO, 2000).

The socializing and integrating role of the school is emphasized in order to form, in students, attitudes of solidarity and social coexistence, in the face of social and cultural diversity, within a policy of social appeasement and conflicts reduction. Combining the aims of education for the sociability with that of providing the poor with a school of useful knowledge and practical skills, there is a policy that, while keeping subjects socially included minimizing the effects of poverty, restricts the possibilities of social mobility (Shiroma, Garcia and Campos, 2011). In addition, it is a matter of training for a type of citizenship, in which “a spirit of competitiveness is developed in parallel with the spirit of solidarity”, leading to reduce differences and misery and softening the class struggle and the racial, social and cultural differences among so many others (Falleiro, 2005, p. 211).

3. School educative aims and repercussions on school policies in Brazil. Impacts on curriculum and didactics

The external influence on Brazilian educational policy inside the framework of the linkages between education and economics, focusing on the formulation of
educational aims, occurs more punctually since the 1950s, with human capital theory associated with the demands of the labor market (Fonseca, 2009). In this way, the agreements of technical and economic cooperation with the North American government appear, emphasizing the program "Alliance for Progress" and the agreement MEC-USAID, in the military regime (1964-1985). In subsequent years, other technical cooperation and financing agencies were realized, such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank (IBRD).

The period of democratic transition after 21 years of military dictatorship and the promulgation of the new Federal Constitution of 1988 coincides with the implantation of the neoliberal economic model in Brazil. The Brazilian education reform takes its first steps with the dissemination of the Decennial Plan of Education for All 1993-94 (Brasil-Mec, 1993), a draft based on the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All. The Plan, which represents formal adherence guidelines and actions formulated by international organizations, has as its main objective: "to meet the basic learning needs of children, young people and adults, by providing them with the fundamental skills required for participation in the country's economic, social, political and cultural life, especially the needs of the world of work ". To that end, learning patterns are defined to be achieved in the various cycles, stages and/or series of basic education in the cognitive domain as well as in sociability and performance goals and objectives (Brasil-Mec, 1993).

The 1998 Constitution defines education as one of social rights, alongside health, food, work, housing, transportation, among others. In article 205, after defining an education as "right of all the duties of the State and the family", it indicates three aims: the full development of the person, his preparation for the exercise of citizenship and his qualification for work.

The political project carried out by the two administrations of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso invested in the adaptation of public policies to the demands of the international financial capital, including the reforms initiated in education between the years 1995 to 2002. In 1966 was promulgated the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (LDB n. 9394/96) which reaffirms in article 22 the right to education, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution: "to develop the student, to provide him with the common formation indispensable for the exercise of citizenship, and to provide him with the means to progress in his work and in subsequent studies ".

The Lula Government (2003-2010) continued these policies, but it opened the space in the governmental plans to attend social demands, especially of impoverished sectors of the population and of social movements. In a way, it can be said that these policies have combined to comply with the guidelines of the multilateral organizations with policies of social inclusion. The main instrument of the educational policy of the governments Lula (2007-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) was the Education Development Plan (EDP) (Brasil-Mec, 2007a) formulated and disseminated in 2007 with the specific objective of improving the quality of basic education. The launch of this Plan was simultaneous to the adhesion of the MEC to the Document Goals Plan All for Education Commitment (Brasil-Mec, 2007b), prepared by business entities¹. The EDP put together in a document the programs that were already under development in the MEC, adjusting and updating some of them. One of the most important programs was
the introduction of the Basic Education Development Index (BEDI), incorporating the OECD indicators, with the purpose of assessing the quality of education, associated to the Basic Education Assessment System (BEAS) and the National Assessment of School Income (Brazil Exam). This index was designated as the objective indicator for the verification of compliance with the goals set in the term of adhesion to the All for Education Commitment (Saviani, 2009). The EDP has put into action two measures that show the link with the international organisms: the consolidation of the external evaluation in large scale and institutionalization of the policies of inclusion by the school.

The two plans – EDP and Plan All for Education Commitment - mention as objective to achieve the improvement of the quality of basic education, not including in them any topic in which the aims of school education are explained. Nevertheless, in the guidelines of the Goals Plan All for the Education Commitment are inserted expressions that show the connection with aims mentioned in the World Conferences Education for All and in documents of the World Bank and UNESCO, such as: "to establish as focus the learning, pointing concrete results "to transform the school into a community space", "to establish partnerships outside the school community, aimed at improving the school infrastructure or promoting socio-cultural projects and educational actions."

The National Education Plans (2001-2010 and 2014-2024) have maintained the basic guidelines for international organizations.

4. Impacts on curriculum and pedagogy

As shown, the school educative aims affect directly the educational policies and guidelines, curriculum, forms of school organization, pedagogical practices, and evaluative procedures. Young (2011, p. 614) clearly suggests the distinction between curriculum and pedagogy. The curriculum refers to the knowledge that a country considers important to be dominated by all students, pedagogy refers to the activities developed by teachers to motivate students and help them to engage in the curriculum and make it meaningful. That is, it is the teachers who need to take into account the students' experiences and their prior knowledge as the motivators for learning, not the curriculum. Young criticizes the educational reforms for including in the curriculum the educational experiences to be provided to the students, since the function of the curriculum is only to stipulate the important concepts to which the students need to have access. Likewise, he makes restrictions on the power attributed by the curriculum reforms themselves to promote social and behavioral changes. For him, the belief that economic and social problems can be solved by curricular changes obscures the most fundamental purpose of school education: to lead pupils to learn beyond their everyday experiences, that is, to act on students' intellectual development - something that they would hardly have access at home.

The documentary analysis carried out in the course of this research on the indications of international organizations and the bibliographical research of the academic production regarding the impact of these organisms on the policies for the school, allows to identify two types of curriculum: the instrumental or results curriculum and the social integration curriculum for social inclusion.

The instrumental curriculum is characterized by minimum contents defined from goals formulated in the form of measurable competences, evaluated by
tests whose results will serve as means of regulating the work of schools and teachers. According to the World Bank's explicit guidelines, it addresses the immediate needs of students for work and employment. This curricular model establishes as a function of the school system the achievement of immediate and objective results, obtained through large scale evaluation procedures. The existence of the National Curricular Common Base (NCCB) is necessary as a reference for the preparation of the tests and the parameter for teacher training, at the same time. The results obtained in the national evaluation are composed of the Basic Education Development Index (BEDI) grade awarded to each school, becoming mechanisms of accountability of the school and teachers for the success/failure of the students. Pacheco and Marques (2014) point out that, in the neoliberal model, school educative aims are subordinated to forms of governability supported by the market. According to these authors:

[...] the new forms of governmentality are imposed by the standardization of results, in which the conception of school regulated by factors of productivity makes sense. It is this market (or quasi-market) model that enables "accountable education as a process of global governance," transferring responsibility to the school and its actors, becoming either an attractive language to activists, teachers and parents, and also becoming an instrument of school meritocracy and setting the foundations of privatization of education (p. 20).

This model, implanted in the midst of multiple contradictions between the orientations imposed by the teaching systems and the daily practices of the teachers, reduces the curriculum to a list of competences and a type of evaluation reduced to technical and rational standards, losing the peculiarities of the Educational act such as scientific training, intellectual development and personality development. That is, the pedagogical didactic aspects are diluted in the curriculum, the teacher is transformed into an agent of execution of already programmed tasks. Thus, in the curriculum of results, the following pedagogical consequences occur, among others: schools work only to improve educational indices, the teaching-learning process is reduced to the transmission of content from teaching systems, pedagogical packages and didactic materials, the school evaluation is subordinated to the contents provided in the national tests, teachers have their profession emptied as they lose their autonomy (Silva, 2015).

One may conclude that the pedagogical didactic aspects that characterize the teaching-learning process do not have special relevance in the documents to which we have referred, and the reason is very simple: they are unnecessary. As the curriculum is reduced to quantifiable goals and competences and to provide useful knowledge, skills and values for employability, regulated by large-scale evaluation systems, pedagogy and didactics disappear. The "improvement of the quality of education" is subordinated to economic analysis. In Torres' words, this is an educational model that has little education, since it suffers from two absences, teachers and pedagogy, that are precisely the scope in which the qualitative aspects that constitute the essence of education (Torres, 1996). Following Torres' argument (2001), the consequence is that the "pedagogical" sense of the school is lost in those policies, because the basic needs of learning have become a "limited and elementary package of skills useful for survival and to the immediate and most elementary needs of people" (p. 29).

The social integration curriculum aimed at social inclusion² is derived from ideological and political matrices inscribed in documents of international organizations, as already mentioned, within the policies of poverty reduction and aiming at attending poor or socially vulnerable populations in an environment organized to provide socio-educational experiences of social integration and social host, including the results based curriculum (Libâneo, 2012; Garcia, 2014). The rise of the concept of diversity in the social and academic field, highlighting
the heterogeneity of cultures, differences or multiculturalism, can be explained in large part by the emergence of social phenomena involving international conflicts, the expansion of economic globalization, the affirmation of identities (Moehlecke, 2009; Rodrigues & Abramowicz, 2013, p. 17), as well as the growth of social movements involving ethnic-racial groups, minority segments such as indigenous groups, religious groups and gender. The visibility of the concepts was also projected in the programs and actions of international agencies and organizations, with emphasis on UNESCO's actions since at least the year 2000, in public policy proposals aimed at promoting social cohesion in multi-ethnic societies and multicultural contexts, and more recently (2009), focusing on meeting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue.

In parallel and in accordance with these propositions, the terms "social inclusion" and "inclusive education" are found in the documents of international and national organizations in direct relation with educational policies oriented towards poverty reduction and care for "vulnerable" groups. It is argued that the promotion of inclusive education will result in an inclusive, fair, competitive and productive society. According to Garcia (2014), it is stated in this documents that the minimization of situations of social exclusion must be ensured by an efficient, liberal, modern, technical, managerial state, in direct articulation with civil society and private sectors.

The conception of civil society that underlies inclusion policies is part of a process of privatization of social conflicts. Social reality in this perspective must be managed by local communities ... this approach contributes to the process of transforming the meaning of the term "collective rights" into "individual responsibilities." [...] The responsibility of the State is displaced by serving the population to the community itself, freeing it from social conflicts. In other words, the recognition of rights is embedded in this policy; however, it is civil society itself, within the communities that must take responsibility for attending to its rights, now understood as "services rendered" (p. 109).

In this way, the role of inclusive education, in the logic of "inclusive" social policies of international organizations, is to end all forms of discrimination, pay attention to differences and thus promote social cohesion. For the author, "these policies are in development in Brazil, to a great extent, through the articulation of the formal income in education and the distribution of income" through programs explicitly directed to the low-income population (p. 132).

Such a sense of inclusion policies was included in most social programs in Brazil. With effect from 2007, in the context of inclusive policies adopted in the second administration of Lula Government, the service to diversity started to characterize educational programs, especially the More Education Program [Programa Mais Educação] and Integral Education Program in full-time school (Brasil-Mec, 2007), which are explicitly addressed to the socially vulnerable populations care. Thus, the conception of inclusive policies applied to the social sphere went largely to the scope of the school system, placing the school as the main pole of mediation for solving social problems. According to the document on Integral Education:

The articulation between Education, Social Assistance, Culture and Sports, among other public policies, could constitute an important intervention for social protection, prevention to situations of violation of the rights of children and adolescents, and also to improve school performance and in school persistence, especially in the most vulnerable areas (Brasil-Mec, 2007, p. 25).

The introduction of full-time school as a way to attend to Integral Education dates back to 1950 when the educator Anísio Teixeira introduced it as an alternative modality of school organization, with the objective of attending poor
children and adolescents for assistance and schooling. The MEC document that addresses *Integral Education* (Brasil-Mec, 2009) argues that the public school should change its conventional role restricted to schooling to assume other not typically school functions, i.e., the functions of educator and protector (p. 17). In order to meet the multiple training dimensions in the sense of full-time integral training, it should offer students not only the formal curriculum, but a set of diversified activities such as sports, arts education, semi-professional workshops (p. 18). Within the idea of integrality, the quality of education would also imply attention to differences "according to ethnic belonging, gender awareness, sexual orientation, ages and geographical origins" (p. 10). The condition for achieving this purposes is for the schools of Integral Education to be part of the State’s efforts to "offer redistributive policies to combat poverty" (p. 10), since there is a strong correlation between the poverty and low school performance situation. The approximation of this concept to the *World Bank* statements already mentioned is visible. The *National Education Plan 2014-2024* foresees the goal of "providing full-time education in at least 50% of public schools, in order to serve at least 25% of students in Basic Education." It is foreseen that care in these schools should primarily target poor communities and children in situations of social vulnerability (Brasil-Mec, 2014, p. 59).

The More Education Program formulated in the Lula Government in 2007, integrates the set of guidelines and actions of the Education Development Plan (EDP), with the objective of "inducing the expansion of the school time and the curricular organization from the perspective of Integral Education" aiming at "care for children and adolescents with low school performance and in social vulnerability situations" (Brasil-Mec, 2012). The Program is present in all Brazilian states, with large federal resources. As the main national education policy program designed to "prepare" the extension of the school day for students between the ages of 6 and 14, it is not a full-time school, but develops complementary activities in the counter-shift of pedagogical accompaniment, environment, sport and leisure, human rights, culture and arts, digital culture, prevention and health promotion, educomunication, scientific education and economic education (Brasil-Mec, 2009). According to Cavalieri (2014), this policy leads to the formal extension of the child's time in school, but the social role of the school as a space of knowledge and learning is not extended.

Public policies aimed at meeting differences, on the one hand, respond to the effective aspirations of overcoming conditions of social and economic degradation of certain groups. On the other hand, they serve as a strategy of social appeasement, in the sense of stopping manifestations of conflicts, nonconformity, violence, etc., that are in detriment to the expansion of market interests. In this second case, it is no accident that the theme of cultural diversity is present in documents of international organizations as it constitutes a condition for economic development. Without undermining the initiatives undertaken in the Lula government and without overlooking the legitimacy of the criticism of a homogenizing education that rejects cultural heterogeneity, it is impossible to ignore that the educational reforms proposed by international organizations in a context of a "structured global agenda for education" (Dale, 2004), include guidelines for very specific actions to attend to cultural diversity. Shiroma (2014) mentions World Bank recommendations to modify state functions in combating
social exclusion by creating participatory forms of community. As already mentioned, it involves civil society in the provision of public services, in new forms of relationship between State and society (Garcia, 2014; Shiroma, 2014).

The social integration curriculum inscribed in the analyzed programs corresponds to expectations of a type of social policies that is used by the school to make social interventions, a fact already called by Nóvoa as "overflowing school" (2009). The school becomes a place of social protection for the poor to meet the needs of health, leisure, and social assistance, attending to actions that should fit other sectors of the state apparatus, that is, policies for the school are subordinated to Social policies (Algebaile, 2006). The process of teaching-learning and the issues of content and method are visibly put in the background in order to overvaluing the role of sheltering social protection. Failure to value the contents and pedagogical processes by which poor students are enabled to develop intellectual abilities can result in forms of social exclusion within the school, exclusion from school even before social exclusion in society after school.

A proposal of school functioning that places much more emphasis on socio-educational actions than on school content and the development of thinking capacity leaves little room for professional pedagogy (didactics) and the role of teachers in improving the process of teaching-learning. It remains a pedagogical question: how to think of a way of teaching in which all students can learn what is necessary as a condition of equality between human beings and, at the same time, consider the human and social diversity of these students in the teaching-learning process.

Final considerations

The school educative aims established within the context of the internationalization of educational policies and defined within a set of poverty reduction strategies and search of social cohesion according to market interests, were synthesized in four items: a) satisfaction of basic learning needs: knowledge, skills, attitudes; b) individual human development; c) preparation for the labor market; d) sociability and social integration. Learning is seen merely as a natural necessity, devoid of its cultural and cognitive character. The role of education is dissolved, reducing the possibility of full development of individuals, since children and young people are submitted to a curriculum of "minimal" notions useful only for the immediate work and thus forced to accept a school weakened of meaningful contents. The World Bank’s recommendation leaves no doubt:

Education is crucial to economic growth and poverty reduction. [...] The World Bank’s strategy to reduce poverty focuses on promoting the productive use of labor, which is the main asset of the poor, and on providing basic social services to those in need. [...] Education, especially basic education, contributes to reducing poverty by increasing the productivity of the poor, reducing fertility and improving health, and by equipping people with the skills they need to participate fully in the economy and Society (World Bank, 1995, p. 23).

Thus, fundamental education becomes an indispensable instrument of the changes carried out in globalized capitalism and global economic success, especially those directed to the most marginalized social sectors, since it ensures the productive potential of "everyone", that is, of the poorer, and prevent
problems of capitalist expansion linked to marginality and poverty. Hence, learning and schooling lend themselves, in the first instance, to the solution of social and economic problems within the criteria of the global market.

For Lenoir (2016, p. 242), the school in the landmarks of neoliberalism requires the mastery of competencies expected by the labor market in which "the function of the school system is to provide the necessary human capital for enterprises and ensure, from an early age, individual insertion as human capital, in the economic logic of the market". For this author, a critical view of education policies leads to avoiding the subordination of education to the laws of the market, the trap of virtuous discourse advocated by neoliberalism, and the utilitarian view of school subjects in favor of an emancipatory view of the human being. Pacheco and Marques (2014) argue that the explicit coercion of schools and teachers through external evaluations leads to the reinforcement of the language of learning in relation to the language of education. That is, there is an emphasis on mechanistic learning rather than teaching "where educational objectives and contents become secondary, while relying on the technical issues of a process that is intended to be efficient and effective", to the point of teacher's work become relatively irrelevant in the production of good students (p. 107). The position of these authors suggests to researchers in curriculum and didactics the search for concrete alternatives on the ways of conducting the teaching-learning process different from those established in the curriculum model of standardized results that can contemplate the accomplishment in the public school of non-schooling, that is, a "full" schooling. Charlot (2005) rejects an education thought and organized in an economic logic and in preparation for the labor market as a matter of priority. According to him, the vision of education imposed by international organizations produces the concealment of the cultural and human dimension of education, as the relationship between the right of children and young people to be culturally different and at the same time similar in terms of dignity and human recognition. And he concludes: "In this way, the reduction of education to the status of merchandise resulting from neoliberalism threatens man in his human universalism, in his cultural difference and in his construction as a subject" (p. 143). As a result, social inequalities of access to knowledge are exacerbated, since the public school is given the function of including populations excluded or marginalized by neoliberal logic, without governments providing sufficient investment, good teachers and pedagogical innovations.

In Brazil, there are two types of curriculum to serve social groups in situations of social vulnerability and with social appeasement purposes: the instrumental or results curriculum and the social integration curriculum. In both cases, it tends to dilute the centrality of the school in its role of cultural and scientific formation and to the commitment of the teaching-learning processes, which should promote and expand the intellectual, affective and moral development of the students (Libâneo, 2016). Such curricula can lead to the aggravation of social injustice by supporting a school model within a poverty alleviation project. In fact, by leaving aside the domain of significant knowledge and by dispensing with pedagogical and pedagogical elements conducive to the quality of teaching, the children of poor families are denied access to universal knowledge and the development of intellectual capacities through this knowledge. (Libâneo, 2014; Evangelista, 2013). Leaving school on the periphery
of the school system, transforming it merely as a physical reference for compensatory socio-educational actions for the low-income population, may lead to increased social exclusion.

In conclusion, globalization and internationalization are concrete facts of the contemporary world, an expression of the dynamics of economic, political and cultural reality. As noted in this text, emerging or poor countries are induced to practice educational policies compatible with the interests of the global market and for this the multilateral organizations offer programs of aid and financing linked to proposals of policies and norms to control the execution of these programs. However, Ball's (1994) understanding that educational public policies are not linearly implemented is encouraging because they are products of an amalgam of interests and propositions of organizations, social and cultural groups, private and public enterprises, academic and school community, associations, political parties, among others. Coraggio (1996) mentions that there are divergences among World Bank technicians regarding diagnoses and recommendations on education policies, that turn it possible the existence of margins for re-evaluation of programs and projects. This author concludes: "This returns to the field of national politicians, intellectuals and technicians an important part of the responsibility for the policies to be adopted." That is, the critical and professional conscience of the educators of a country can bring elements to negotiate or adapt policies proposed or imposed by the multilateral organisms, in a perspective of democracy and social justice.

Notes

1. The All for Education movement defines itself as a movement of Brazilian society which mission is to contribute to a Basic Education with quality. It is a Civil Society Organization of Public Interest (CSOPI) and therefore a private organization. It assembles supporters as institutes and business foundations that are concerned with the schooling of the population and the improvement of the quality of the workforce that are unsatisfactory for the needs of the market. Its subsidiaries include: Itaú Social Foundation, Fundação Bradesco, Fundação Telefônica, Grupo Gerdau, Instituto Camargo Correa, Instituto Unibanco, Itaú BBA, Santander, Suzano, Fundação Lemann, Instituto Península, DPachao. Its partners include Fundación Santillana, Ayrton Senna Institute, Victor Civita Foundation, McKinsey & Company, Natura Institute, Saraiva, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). (Information from the Movement website).

2. The comments made here in relation to the expression "social integration curriculum" refer specifically to the meanings of diversity, inclusive education, community, etc. disseminated in documents of international organizations and official documents of the Brazilian Ministry of Education. It is argued that part of the agenda of representatives of social movements that occupied space in public organs from the second administration of the Lula Government, although it included a project of social inclusion and an education of social quality, ended up being equivalent to the social integration curriculum for inclusive education, as will be shown below. To paraphrase Matheus and Lopes (2014), the "social quality discourse" was impregnated with the "total quality discourse," which is linked to the logic of the market. It should also be noted that in academic production in the critical field of education other modalities of curriculum focused on the social quality of education stand out. I group them under the expression "sociocultural curriculum", used here in a very broad sense to include a variety of theoretical and practical orientations such as critical curricular theory, intercultural education, intercultural curriculum, plural education, education for difference, education for diversity, Networked education. In general, this expression is associated with the consideration of culture "as one of the central categories indispensable to give intelligibility to the world" encompassing terms such as identity,

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