

The imperialist's conditionalities for peripheral higher education privatization policy

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Abstract

The globalization of capital implied worldwide consequences, evidencing in the new international division of labor a global imperialist policy in which it is effective through its accumulation by spoliation. Educational policy does not limit its ideological basis only to the local precepts of its National State. From the conjuncture of globalization, the elements that constitute the social patrimony of a nation need to be conferred not only on a local micro-analysis, but a macro analysis is urgent, in which it contemplates the global space-time, thus comprising the interdependent relationship involving central and peripheral countries. Higher education is highlighted in World Bank documents from the 1990s onwards by providing the peripheral National States with four documents outlining strategies to align peripheral higher education policy with the attempts of imperialist states. The understanding of higher education in peripheral countries as a highly profitable niche conceived policies that were and are in line

with the rationality of financially-oriented capital. In the Brazilian particularity, this process contributed to the privatization expansion of Higher Education and its consequent commodification.

Keywords: *Higher Education Policy. Privatization. Imperialism.*

Global policy and the imperialist operational mechanisms

Global politics takes place within a space-time dimension in which the globe is divided between central and peripheral countries, as well as the constitution of measures that contribute to the capitalist accumulation of the hegemonic sectors to the detriment of the subordinates. The planetary logic is no longer just a set of nation-states engaged in their interdependent relations in which themes related to colonialism stand out. Nations and individuals that, according to Ianni (1997, p. 13-14), “subsumed, real or formally, by global society, by the configurations and movements of globalization”. Capitalism has become globalized, implying worldwide consequences, evidencing in the new international division of labor a global imperialist policy in which its mode of accumulation by spoliation (HARVEY, 2004) is a crucial point in the process of capitalist preeminence.

In this sense, with the capitalist expansion and the collapse of the USSR and Eastern Europe, what many scholars of the subject call the globalization of capital, become effective. In fact, there is conversation about a “new configuration of world capitalism and the mechanisms that govern its performance and regulation”. A phase that arose during the 1980s, although it possesses several similar aspects of the previous ones, the content of this current phase is different. For Chesnais (1996, p. 21), “capitalism seems to have triumphed and seems to dominate the entire planet, but the political, industrial and financial leaders of the G7 countries are anxious to present themselves as bearers of a historical mission of social progress”. The mode of accumulation that

has taken place in the stage of globalized capital is due to the new form of centralization of colossal financial capitals, especially in relation to pension funds, whose main role is to generate great results especially in the sphere of finance.

Therefore, a unified space has been created on a global scale, which makes it possible to distinguish the center from the periphery. The National States that are located in this center are notably characterized in this format: *locus* that seizes a certain quantity of the economic surplus produced in peripheral countries, as well as having high technological and educational levels - which represents, among other occasions, concrete quality of life - against the subaltern countries. Thereby, countries that are located on the periphery of capitalism can be understood as a heterogeneous *locus*, where there are different levels of industrialization, there is no equanimity with regard to income distribution, as well as access to sophisticated services, a characteristic that we can classify as a rule is the overexploitation of labor, so this is justified by the fact of meeting the needs for the development of the economies of the central countries, in other words, a dual mode of expropriation (meeting national and international demands). In this way, the reason for its backwardness would be predominantly external, although in view of the capitalist particularity of each peripheral country, it is of great importance in terms of its backwardness and consolidation of social, economic, political and cultural dependence.

According to Vesentini (1983, p. 19-20),

The constituted world economy is a category produced by history. It is the world economy in the phase of imperialism. It is the world economy in which, through the game of the international division that imposes itself, the mercantile relations dominate [...]. The State is the place where the need to reproduce capital on an

international scale will crystallize. It is the place of diffusion of the mercantile and capitalist relations, necessary diffusion to the accomplishment of the international division of the work. It is the place where the necessary violence will take place, since it is the element and the means that make such a policy possible ... Thus understood, the world economy is a moving whole. The relations of domination remain, but change. The economic policy of a peripheral state can thus try to adapt to the changes that have occurred in the international division of labor, to influence such division. In this way, it is at the same time the expression of an international division of labor and an attempt to reverse such division. The world economy is vital to the continuation of the capital accumulation process in the center, when the latter reaches a certain stage in the development of the productive forces. This phase is that of imperialism. The sharing of the world is carried out among the main powers of the center. The export economy is the order of the day. The diffusion of mercantile relations replaces the economy of plunder. Wage mechanisms replace slavery.

In Ianni's conception, this process of global politics in which the globalization of capital takes place suggests a change of capitalism beyond all limits, "subsuming formally or really all other forms of social and technical organization of labor, production and expanded reproduction of capital". Thus, every economy of a country, no matter what it is, becomes an indispensable element of the world economy. This process implies intrinsic elements of the mode of production and reproduction of life in the capitalist form, with respect to the productive forces, the market, and the international division of labor, to be developed at a global level. "A globalization, that is progressively contradictorily, actually or formally subsumes other and various forms of organization of the productive forces, involving material and spiritual production" (1997, p. 17-18).

With the process of global capitalist expansion, as Barreto and Leher (2008, p. 429-430) point out: "In the absence of new territories of accumulation, capital was structured to expand the expropriation and exploitation of labor in a

movement the hegemonic sectors were able to realize their aspirations through the erosion of social rights, the fragmentation of productive chains and the 'relocation' and 'reterritorialisation' of the stages of the productive chains", causing to the peripheral countries production with reduced value, energy and minerals. Thus, a process of economy reprimarization of the underdeveloped countries was carried out, as well as the process of "assembly of commodity export platforms in the peripheries, the interest bearing capital gained a new breath, being able to appropriate economic surplus in an unprecedented proportion". In this context, mechanisms for effecting the conformation and pattern of capitalist accumulation today were necessary to realize the attempts of the international hegemonic sectors, that is, to consolidate the imperialist designs in the stage of the globalized capital. We will not detain on a deeper analysis of imperialist theory, since it has a broad field of debate, including contributions by Hilferding (1985), Luxembourgh (1976), Lenin (2003), and others. Despite of this, it is crucial that we turn to Wood's (2014) analysis of imperialism's modes of operation in a global geopolitics that plagues the National States of the capitalist periphery. The author notes that the existence of international organizations that meet the demands of financial capital as well as a system of states stand out as indispensable determinants, thus corroborating the mode of accumulation by imperialist spoliation.

In this context, for the international bourgeois fractions, a structural¹ adjustment in the National States of dependent² capitalism, which in turn corresponded to the demands of modern imperialism regarding the flexible accumulation of capital. As claimed by Barreto and Leher (2008), this was due to the hegemonic sectors needing to institute a political and juridical order to assure the capacity, as well as the regular aspect of the prediction that capital needs in its routine transactions.

Hence, based on the authors' considerations above, the hegemonic sectors need mechanisms to consolidate their hegemony in the way of being of imperialism today. Thus, to paraphrase Barreto and Leher:

In order for the internationalized bourgeoisie to act through a system of states consisting of allies, subordinates and enemies, bodies are needed to articulate this system and to act on behalf of its ruling nucleus (the G7). Hence the activities of international organizations (WB, International Monetary Fund, IMF, WTO) as collective intellectuals and operators of the new imperialism. (2008, p. 430).

Once exposed, we will seek to unveil the underlying elements that run through the relations of domination from the center to the capitalist periphery, among others those that correlate with the educational complex, understanding it as an essential strategic instrument.

The model of education for the peripheral National States

Educational policy does not limit its ideological basis only to the local precepts of its National State. From the conjuncture of globalization, the elements that constitute the social patrimony of a nation need to be conferred not only on a local micro-analysis, but a macro analysis is urgent, in which it contemplates the global space-time, thus comprising the interdependent relationship involving central and peripheral countries.

In general terms, Amaral (2010) makes precise considerations about the concept of globalization, economy of knowledge, internationalization, among others. Various theoretical traditions have adopted such perspectives “in the social sciences, a global perspective is adopted, for example, in the theory of world culture [...] in the theory of the world-system ... and theory of systems/world society” (p. 41). Education gains an emphasis on the global scenario, with the

guidelines of the international organizations undertaking guidelines for education policies of the capitalist periphery through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank (WB), etc. However, in the last years there has been a qualitative change in the modus operandi of these organisms, several educational systems have been conditioned by the programs elaborated by the international organisms.

Initially, educational policies integrated the role of social policies in several National States allocated under national government - what Mitter (2006) expressed as national sovereignty of education. This panorama makes it possible to emphasize that international organizations still had no predominance in education, although since the organization of National States there was an important connection between them and international political circles. According to Amaral,

In the literature on comparative education, one can observe a strong interest abroad. There is a vast literature on educators who have traveled through various countries explicitly seeking information on education during the nineteenth century: Victor Cousin in France, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in the USA, Mathew Arnold in England, and Domingo Sarmiento in Argentina. From the twentieth century, Brazil also has an intense history of international cooperation in education (2010, p. 45).

Since the 1990s, the sovereignty of the National States with their respective education systems has been questioned, so the phenomenon arising from the globalization of capital and its processes of globalization constituted a specific level of denationalization in national education systems. It is worth noting that since World War II, the intervention of international organizations³ in the educational area has been operationalized as continuous activities.

In this section, we will emphasize the work of the World Bank, as it has a prominent role in its actions, especially with regard to guidelines for educational policy on the periphery of capitalism. It is crucial to explore the essence of this financial capital base. Bastos and Machado show its constitutive base:

The World Bank Group is in fact a multilateral lending body, composed of seven institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA), which form what is effectively known by the Bank World; and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), the International Center for Conciliation of Investment Disputes (CICDI), the World Bank Institute (IBM) and the Inspection Panel (2015, p. 4).

In addition to this, it was through McNamara's (1968-1981) management that the World Bank included in its scope the confronting poverty policy, thus undertaking the first loans directed to education, engendering a significant adjustment in the educational organization, concerning the financing of projects directed to social areas of the capitalist periphery, especially Latin America and Africa, territories in which the loans were channeled to the educational scope. According to Bastos and Rocha (2015, p. 1), this World Bank action was based on the conceptions of human capital theory, since it understood that investments "in human capital would trigger a process of virtuous circle in those economies, that would make those countries to experience economic and social prosperity, taking their vast populations from a secular situation of poverty and misery".

The World Bank assumed, from the debt crisis of 1982, the conduct of the education policies of the indebted countries, systematizing its control from documents. In this sense, basic education has gained priority, since in the World Bank's design this level of education, besides being cheaper, the return was faster and therefore more profitable.

According to World Bank principles, long-term investment in education will qualitatively affect the economies of the peripheral nations; however, because of the need for these resources, emphasis should be placed on the most popular sectors to potentiate production and the consequent return of invested resources. “The concern with poverty was in its strategies, but added to the rationality of financial costs, to reach the objectives of primary education (first cycle)”, claim Bastos and Rocha (2015, p. 3).

As a result, educational reforms in the peripheral National States focused on the basic education of the popular sectors - as well as the construction of evaluation mechanisms that could measure results in terms of expenditure control - according to World Bank guidelines on higher education in the countries peripherals should be linked to private initiative, and no longer be protected by the state public power. In this panorama, we emphasize the emphasis given in the model of technical education based on the pedagogy of competences to the detriment of the humanistic-based training model, based on critical reflection, as well as on the appropriation of the scientific knowledge produced throughout the history of humanity.

For Paula and Lima (2015), higher education is highlighted in World Bank documents from the 1990s onwards, making available to peripheral National States:

Four documents proclaimed by the organism. Following the chronological order of their publications: (i) 1994 - Higher Education: the lessons of experience; (ii) 2000 - Higher education in developing countries: danger and promise; (iii) 2002 - Building knowledge societies: new challenges for tertiary education; and (iv) Permanent Education in the global knowledge economy: challenges for developing countries. (p. 63).

In 1994 the World Bank published its first paper on higher education for the periphery, its main emphasis was on the need to dismantle the neo-humboldtian model of university. According to Chauí (2011), for the peripheral National States, the World Bank oriented the creation of an operational university model in which the production of knowledge was based on pragmatism, that is, utilitarianism as the axis of a-historical and a-critical. This model would be what the World Bank considers compatible with the capitalist peculiarity of the peripheral National States, that is, the construction of what Fernandes (1975) called a university-dependent standard.

The realization of these objectives for the educational policy of these National States, in the case of Brazilian particularity, gained strength with the reordering of the state apparatus. It is legitimate to emphasize that the structural adjustment of the Brazilian public power was within the conception of the document “*Summary of the 1997 World Development Report (WDR): the State in the changing world*”, which thematizes the state reforms that the periphery of the social capital system must effect. The rationality of minimum state for the social and maximum market is constituted in this report, with that, this rationality makes it feasible for the market to manage the unfolding of social relations, despite the fact that the market is closer to the population, the state is more active to the metamorphoses of the private-market sectors (World Bank, 1997).

In Brazil, the reorganization of the state apparatus took place in the course of the 1990s and early 2000s, thus making it possible, according to Lima (2011, 88), for an “intense process of privatization of public services, including education and especially higher education”. Neoliberal rationality conditioned these mechanisms, making clear the presence of the mercantilist essence that guided the state actions that concern the “supply of public higher education services, since then understood as 'non-exclusive' of the State”.

With emphasis on Higher Education policy since the 2000s, Lula da Silva's and Dilma Rousseff's government, a great number of policies were implemented that made higher education reform feasible. In order to make it possible to link the interests of, as called by Rodrigues (2007) 'entrepreneurs of higher education', it was necessary to create a juridical-political apparatus that corresponded to this objective. Lima (2013) summarizes the main policies that served to effect the Brazilian higher education reform:

(i) The National System of Evaluation of Higher Education (Sinaes) - Law n° 10.861 / 2004; (ii) Decree No. 5,205 / 2004, which regulates partnerships between federal universities and foundations under private law, making it possible to raise private funds to finance academic activities; (iii) the Technological Innovation Law (No. 10.973 / 2004), which deals with the establishment of partnerships between public universities and companies; (iv) Bill No. 3.627 / 2004, which establishes the Special System of Vacancy Reserves; (v) bills and decrees dealing with the reformulation of professional and technological education; (vi) the Public-Private Partnership Project (PPP) (Law 11,079 / 2004), which covers a wide range of governmental activities, (vii) the University for All Program (ProUni) - Law 11,096/2005 - "Generous" extension of tax exemption for private institutions of higher education; (viii) Bill 7.200 / 06 that deals with Higher Education Reform and is in the National Congress; (ix) higher education policy at a distance, especially since the creation of the Open University of Brazil and, more recently (2007), (x) the Support Program for Restructuring and Expansion Plans of the Federal Universities / REUNI and the Bank of Teacher-Equivalent. (p. 2).

We give special attention to the Program to Support Federal University Restructuring and Expansion Plans (REUNI), established through Decree No. 6,096 / 07 (Brasil, 2007a), which is one of the measures of the Education Development Plan (PDE) (Brazil 2007b). Which sought to achieve the goals of the All for Education Movement⁴. Consequently, these goals are incorporated and broadened into State policy through the promulgation of the National Education

Plan (PNE - 2014-2024) through Law 13.005/14, under the government of Dilma Rousseff. This process brought the priority of the interests of groups linked to the national and international hegemonic sectors to the detriment of social needs.

Although Brazilian higher education policy has followed the guidelines of international organizations, especially the World Bank, to emphasize determinations of cultural heteronomy, this movement presents itself as opposed to the real needs of the Brazilian capitalist particularity. In this context, the Brazilian Higher Education stands at the mercy of the intentions of the imperialist countries.

The content of educational policies that followed the World Bank guidelines are confluent with the dominant rationality of the central National States, that is, with the dominant international sectors. In this sense, the assertion of Marx and Engels (2010, 72) in the German ideology is confirmed when they understand that “the ideas of the ruling class are, at all times, the dominant ideas, in other words, the class that is the dominant material power of society is, at the same time, its dominant spiritual power”. Although these policies show a palliative and focused character, their underlying real objective is hidden. In the official discourse the content of the democratizing character of the reforms was propagated, expanding the number of enrollments in private higher education, engendering means of public financing to the private-commercial institutions, resulting, in this way, in great contributions to the entrepreneurs of higher education to the detriment of public education.

The national scenario of Private Higher Education

The understanding of Brazilian higher education privatization movement is part of the 1964 civil-military regime, in this sense, we will make a historical rescue to understand the current privatization scenario. With this, from the law 5.540/68,

university reform in the Brazilian civil-military regime established the indissociable articulation between teaching and research, however, only for universities. In addition, only isolated faculties could be organized as institutions of public or private law. Silva Jr. and Sguissardi (2000, p. 178) point out that “higher education has become a relevant strategy of reproduction and expansion of the middle class, an important consumer market in the model of economic development associated with international capital and source of legitimacy of the regime military-authoritarian”. It should be pointed out that, in this period, an expansion was carried out in the great majority by the private sector, having great state support and operating a process of internalization, which, for Barreyro, represented the constitution of a dual system in which the “the great universities and isolated colleges of the interior, where the middle classes obtained the diploma that would allow them their social ascension. So the entrepreneurs of higher education emerged from private institutions of 1st and 2nd grades, transforming their associations with a new objective” (2008, p.19).

This process gains strength with the creation of Educational Foundations which, according to Dourado (2001, p. 180), “whose purpose was, in most cases, to facilitate and guarantee the creation of private higher education units, using prerogatives enjoyed by the public authorities”. In this context, these foundations made feasible the implementation of paid education, as well as the contracting of educational services and the collection of monthly fees and fees to students, despite being municipal, and thus, public. This process configures the corrosion of the boundaries between the public and the private.

The Federal Council of Education authorized the conversion of isolated faculties into universities, as well as, later, with the Federal Constitution (Brasil, 1988) and Law no. 9.394/96 (LDB) that establishes the guidelines and bases of the national education that granted autonomy to these institutions. Consequently, the private

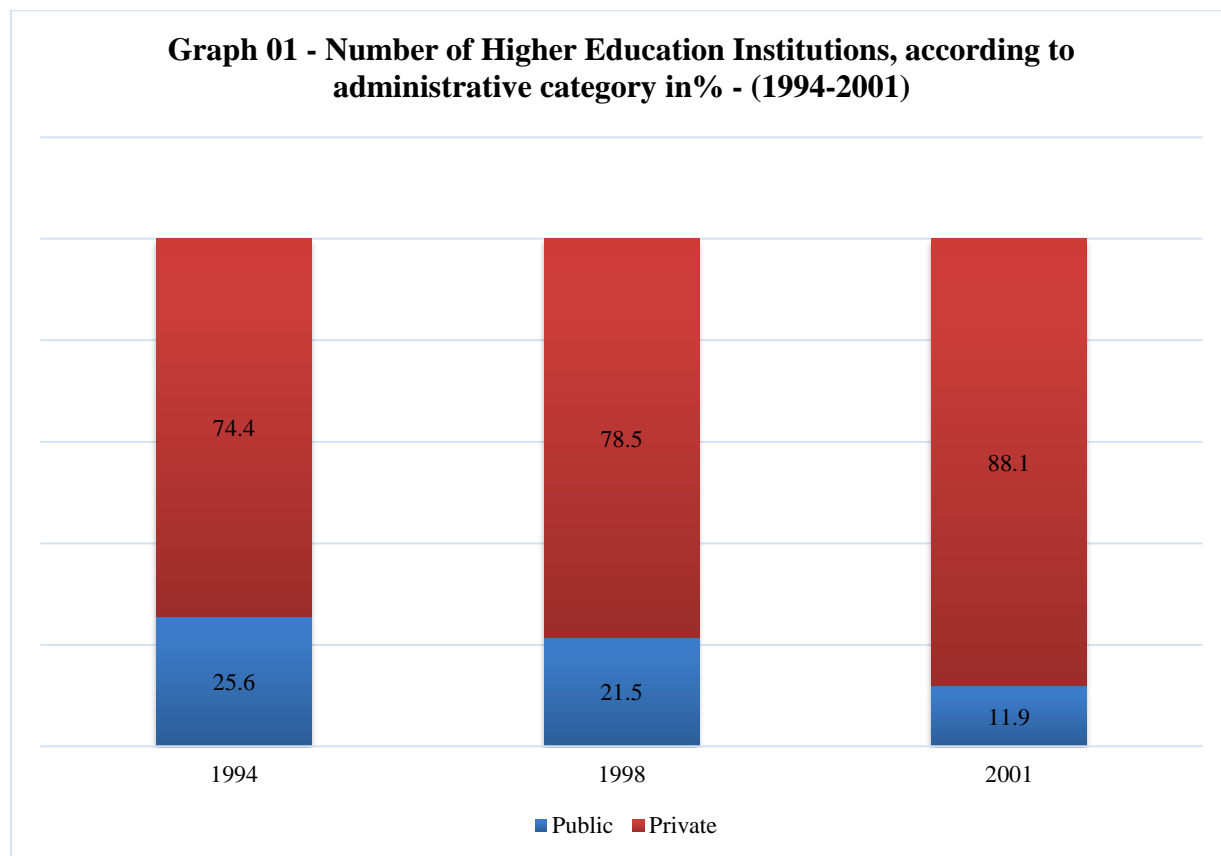
sector made use of this prerogative to change its institutions into universities. With more autonomy, the private sector could change its operationality without risks, opening and closing courses, according to the training trends and interface with the world of work.

In 1990, a process of mercantiled expansion began, especially from the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government. This expansion has become feasible through legislation sanctions. Within the very notion of privatization radiated by the government in question, the notion of public funding for private non-profit institutions, namely community, faith-based or philanthropic institutions, was effective. Through LDB, Barreyro (2008) believes that the creation of *stricto sensu* postgraduate courses in private institutions was regulated.

Thus, the federal system of higher education is integrated by the Institutions of Higher Education maintained by the Union and those created and maintained by the private initiative. Public are those created or incorporated, maintained and administered by public and private power, those maintained and administered by individuals or legal entities under private law. The private ones are distinguished in with or without purpose of profit. The former are private (in the strict sense) and private non-profit are communal, confessional or philanthropic (p. 21).

In addition, with the expansion marketed through the legal apparatus of the LDB, we perceive a quantitative leap that corresponds to the expansionary logic of capital. According to data available by the National Institute of Educational Studies and bu Educational Researchs Anísio Teixeira (INEP 2003), when we compare 1995 (one year before the enactment of the LDB) with 2002 (end of the mandate of Fernando Henrique Cardoso) there was a relative increase of 97.76% in enrollment in Higher Education, that is to say, from 1.759.703 enrollments in 1995. In 2002 the amount was 3.479.913. Concerning higher education

institutions, in an analysis by administrative category, graph 01 shows the data corresponding to the period between 1994, 1998 and 2001.



Source: Mec/Inep (2003).

With data presented in Graph 01, we noticed that in the three periods under analysis there was a predominance of Private Higher Education Institutions over public ones. In 1994, 74.4% of the institutions were private, whereas only 25.6% were public institutions. In 1998, the difference increased 4.1%, that is, private institutions accounted for 78.5%, public institutions accounted for 21.5%. In 2001 the difference rose to 88.1% of the private sector and public services accounted for 11.9% of total HEIs in Brazil. These data expose the predominance of the private-commercial sector over the public-state.

From 2003 onwards, with the PT governments - Lula da Silva 2003-2010 - Dilma Rousseff 2011-2016 - continued in this process of mercantile deepening of Brazilian Higher Education. The PT governments used a myriad of policies that constituted the policy of Higher Education aligned with the logic of hegemony in reverse, that is, despite discourse of democratization, access, financing and quotas in higher education, these policies, in the complex relation of the financial capital process represented measures that were taken to ensure that this level of education continued to be a highly profitable market niche.

The various policies on Higher Education in these governments have permeated themes such as: laceration of the boundaries between the public and the private through fiscal immunity ceded to private-commercial institutions (for profit) by joining the University for All Program (ProUni⁵), Law no. 11.096/05, deepening of the Student Financing program (FIES); as well as the extension of its scope and the number of full or partial scholarships granted through the transfer of the resources of the Union; Law no. 11.079/04, which establishes Public-Private Partnerships (PPP), permitting bureaucratic processes of financing and maintenance between public establishments and private companies; public financing in private institutions; the establishment of the Open University of Brazil (UAB) through Decree no. 5.800/06, which provides for the UAB to set up courses in Distance Education (EAD); Decree 6.096/07, which establishes the Federal University Restructuring and Expansion Plans Support Program (REUNI) articulated with the Education Development Plan (PDE); besides these policies, others constituted the list of measures that intervened directly in the modus operandi of Brazilian Higher Education, culminating in the reaffirmation of these measures in the National Education Plan (PNE 2014-2024) established by Law no. 13.005/14.

In the period from 2009 to 2016 it is possible to show a drop in municipal public institutions of 1.49%. There was a growth of 46.43% on state public institutions; the federal institutions obtained a relative growth of the order of 13.83%. In this sense, public institutions, in this period under analysis, obtained 20.82% growth. In a very different sense, private institutions obtained a minimum growth of 2.03%. However, if the analysis were limited to quantitative representations, it would limit the appearance of the data, so if we use data in another analysis, it is possible to verify the private-mercantile hegemony in Brazilian Higher Education. The number of private institutions represents 87.71% of all higher education institutions, while public institutions hold 12.29% of the total number of institutions. Table 1 exposes the data:

Table 1: Expansion of the number of Higher Education Institutions - According to administrative category (2009-2016)

Ano	Municipal	Estadual	Federal	Total de Privadas	Públicas
2009	67	84	94	245	2.069
2010	71	108	99	278	2.100
2011	71	110	103	284	2.081
2012	85	116	103	304	2.112
2013	76	119	106	301	2.090
2014	73	118	107	298	2.070
2015	68	120	107	295	2.069
2016	66	123	107	296	2.111
Δ 2009-2016	-1,49%	46,43%	13,83%	20,82%	2,03%

Source: Census of Higher Education / INEP (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016).

In 2007 a new form of commodified expansion was established in Brazil. With the insertion of investment funds, some private institutions started to open capital in the Brazilian stock market (São Paulo Stock Exchange - BOVESPA) through the Initial Public Offering (IPO), as well as mergers and acquisitions of smaller institutions by the Educational Groups. This movement represented a new form of capitalist expansion for entrepreneurs of higher education, boosting commodity education and making profits through sales of undergraduate courses, obtaining public funding, as well as shares sale.

This processality constitutes the oligopolization movement of higher education in a global context, implying in concentration and engendering true transnational corporations of Higher Education. The Kroton Group and its competitors have swung with great effervescence the Brazilian educational market.

In addition, in November 2017 the World Bank released the report entitled: *A Fair Fit: Analysis of the Efficiency and Equity of Public Expenditures in Brazil*. The justification for the elaboration of this document is made explicit in the preface, emphasizing that due to the country being in a visible economic recession it is necessary to adjust and for this the World Bank carried out this study in order to identify the possible alternatives for the fiscal adjustment of the public accounts in order to consolidate the last decades gains, but can have a sustainable economy.

The document deals with various topics, such as social security, health and education. The World Bank proclaims: 1) Public spending on higher education is inefficient and could be saved by 50%; 2) The collection of tuition fees in public institutions for the rich families and for the poor student financing; (3) Expenditure on higher education has grown rapidly over the last decade; 4) Enrollment in higher education has tripled in the last 15 years and for this private

institutions have played a fundamental role; 5) Spending on higher education is not high, but when it comes to federal universities and institutes, it has a considerable increase. 6) Students enrolled in public universities cost two to three times more than students enrolled in private universities; 7) The added value of universities is similar to that of private universities; 8) Private universities host the majority of students in higher education in Brazil. According to the 2015 data of the 8 million university students, only two million were in public universities, or the majority, about 6 million are in private institutions.

Thus, in the view of the World Bank, it is through the implementation of such notes that a “fair adjustment” would be made in Brazil. This World Bank recommendation is not current, it was already present in the 1994 document “*Higher Education: lessons derived from experience*”. And now, after more than two decades, with this new study that was developed exclusively for the Brazilian reality, it reaffirms, again, that Brazilian universities have exorbitant expenditures and waste public resources, in addition to being inefficient and have low income.

The World Bank (2017, p. 131) compares:

Between 2013 and 2015, the average annual cost per student in private non-profit and for-profit universities was approximately R\$ 12.600 and R\$ 14.850, respectively [...]. In federal universities the average was R\$ 40.900. State public universities cost less than federal ones, but are still much more expensive than private ones, costing approximately R\$ 32.200. The cost per student of the federal institutes, the majority founded since 2008, is approximately R\$ 27.850.

Comparing the federal public universities and the private universities indicates, at the least, ignorance about Brazilian reality. According to Druck, Filgueiras and Moreira (2017, p. 4), private universities occupy themselves almost exclusively

with teaching, while the federal public universities remain linked - as they can - to a number of elements that distinguishes them:

The current Public System of Federal Universities is made up of sixty-three institutions distributed throughout the country. It congregates around one million and two hundred thousand undergraduate and graduate students. The Federal Universities maintains forty-six university hospitals of high complexity, inserted in the Unified Health System (SUS) and that serve the community. It is part of the Federal Universities a set of centers and laboratories of scientific research in all areas of knowledge, producing innovations and developing a scientific work essential to the socioeconomic development of the country. In ten years, the research activities carried out at these universities led Brazil from 23rd to 13th among the nations that produce the most science. Sustained on the tripod Teaching, Research and Extension, Federal Universities form uninterrupted generations for all professions and not by chance, those professionals most recognized nationally and internationally for their scientific contribution come from it and from other Public Universities. The activities of extension to the communities, in the assistance form of services to the needy segments, through joint action with other public and private institutions, and through programs developed jointly with various segments of society, serve to socialize the knowledge produced, as well as contribute to the implementation of public policies.

The World Bank document reveals how the institution has no commitment to the defense of public institutions, on the contrary, in the name of efficiency of public spending, strongly advocates the reduction of public services or even their extinction.

Amaral (2017) states that this document has a strong economicist content and does not consider the complexity of the Brazilian educational system bringing conceptual errors, inferences without proof and absurd conclusions. In addition, the document seeks in a brazen and fraudulent way to decrypt public services. In

this sense, this process contributes to the dilution of the boundaries between public and private, and contributes to the dismantling of Brazilian public higher education.

Final considerations

Higher Education continues in the track of entrepreneurs' interests, and this is not new. The forms of privatization of public institutions reveal, in fact, that this level of education is understood as an essential market niche for capital.

Over the past two decades, we have witnessed an expansive movement of capital, inherent in its nature, which affects all sectors of human life, and, of course, education does not escape this scope. Higher Education is predominantly marked by private initiative in Brazil. Its predominance is expressed in the number of institutions and enrollments in comparison with public institutions. This movement is radiated from the understanding of the peripheral particularity of the National States, thus, the policy of higher education must serve the market, meeting the imperialist conditionality.

International institutions, with a specific emphasis on the World Bank, continue to stress higher education with its guidelines and analysis decontextualized about the Brazilian capitalist particularity. In an opposite sense to what has been proclaimed by the World Bank, it is necessary to strengthen the struggles and demands in the fight for a public university that meets the wishes of the working class, and where critical debate is the basis of the academic discussions. This position is urgent, higher education cannot be interpreted as a business to be commercialized in the market.

In addition, educational reforms in Brazil are historically conducted by two sectors: the first corresponds to the private/commercial sector, the second, in turn,

corresponds to the religious bench of the Brazilian Congress (federal deputies) and neoconservative sectors of the society that conduct their practices through censorship of the content of public education. According to Peroni, Caetano and Lima (2017, p. 43), “there is a strong restriction movement in teaching and controlling pedagogical processes in educational institutions, whether through the sale of didactic-pedagogical materials that standardize doing and the thinking of teachers” or through “legislation that draws from the educational debate the discussion of issues inherent in a democratic society, such as plurality and diversity”. In this scenario, the situation denotes something that is clear even for the most short-sighted: democracy is irreconcilable with privatization and censorship, so democracy presupposes popular participation, collective decision-making, debates of projects for society, something that opposes the logic of privatization and censorship.

The educational notes directed by the bourgeois fractions are directly linked to the theory of dependent capitalism and, in fact, are articulated with the forms of socialization of children and young people as a mode of production in the panorama historically marked by the structural crisis of capital. This is why the agendas of international organizations such as the World Bank, the UNESCO, the International Monetary Fund, as well as programs No Child Left Behind.

The education, for the bourgeois sectors, must be under their control, especially with regard to the formation of the workforce. In this process of formation the new generations are composed - considering productivity and passivity as inseparable elements of the same process - with perception of itself as a work force, that is, as a commodity in constant search of capacity building for its productive abilities and its employability, therefore, perceive themselves as human capital. An ideal irradiated by the bourgeois fractions considers that economic growth is due to the increase of the productivity of the work force.

Motta, Leher, and Gawryszewki (2018, p. 313) consider that this process, in the Marxist perspective, is the extension of the extraction of surplus value. In addition, BM understands that labor productivity is determined as “the value of the outputs produced, or divided by the number of workers. It is, therefore, the measure of the amount of wealth generated by each worker”.

This scenario generates the need, for capital, to build – through its private devices of hegemony – actions that seek: control, repression and social conformation. The authors supra understand that this block of actions will accentuate the particularist character of the State, directing, even more, public fund for the rentier capital. In this sense, the need to constitute adequate subjects to the demands of the market, besides the conditions of precarization and overexploitation of the labor force, seems to be a consensus among the bourgeois fractions. Thus, in order to validate intellectual direction in the process of education reform, “intellectuals of various kinds systematize and disseminate their actions, ideas, political formulations and justifications that, supported by the great media, seek to form public opinion and legitimize his pedagogy” (Motta, Leher and Gawryszewki, 2018, p, 314).

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Notes

¹ To illustrate in a more didactic way, we allude to the work of Lima (2012, p. 443) which develops a synthetic and precise analysis of the structural adjustment policy that triggered the counterreformation of the Brazilian State, understanding in three moments: (i) refers to the period in which the government Fernando Collor / Itamar Franco with the defense that the fiscal crisis of the State is the result of his intervention in the regulation of social relations; (ii) the second stage of the counterreformation of the Brazilian State, gives the first moment of this process a new rationality with the Master Plan of State Reform / PDRE in the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government ...; (iii) the third phase of the counterreformation took place during the period of Lula da Silva's administration (2003-2010), since new acts were implemented, categorically coinciding with (i) dilution of the boundaries between public and private; (ii) the reconfiguration of the work of federal public servants and (iii) the establishment of management contracts, such as the Program for Support to Restructuring and Expansion Plans of Federal Universities / REUNI, Decree 6.096 / 07.

² Dependent capitalism is a concept developed by Florestan Fernandes, and such a concept, as understood by Paula and Lima (2015, p.4), "is a crucial instrument of analysis for apprehending Brazil's way of inclusion in the world economy and of the development of the class struggle in the economic and social formation of the country, yet a dependent inclusion of the political and economic imperatives of the imperialist countries and, in parallel, combined with the ambitions of the national bourgeoisie to reproduce interrelations of economic exploitation and ideological domination".

³ Amaral (2010) lists several concepts about international organizations, which denote different understandings of their objectives, capacity for action and agency. Three forms are better aligned with the perspective of our research: "(i) international organizations as a political instrument of State diplomacy, that is, as an extension of the state apparatus; (ii) as arenas in which intergovernmental coordination and negotiation systems are formed; and (iii) as a corporate agent with its own political agenda. Parallel to these uses, one can also point to international organizations as bureaucracies". (p. 46).

⁴ The All for Education movement is a movement created in São Paulo in 2006. It is made up of entrepreneurs, presidents of NGOs, intellectuals at the service of the interests of capital, among others.

⁵ Through voluntary adhesion, it was possible to exempt the Income Tax of Legal Entities (IRPJ) and three contributions: Social Contribution on Net Income (CSLL), Social Contribution for Social Security Financing (CONFINS) and Contribution to the Social Security Program. Social Integration (PIS).