

Brazil's national education system and how it was thought

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the meanings attributed to the term “national” from the New Education Pioneers’ Manifesto (*Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova*) from 1932 until the approval of the new National Education Plan (*Plano Nacional de Educação*) in 2014. Our analysis uses history to expose how different discursive formations of political and constitutive sociability of Nation-States produced different means of regulating education systems. In Brazil, a tutelary State has been responsible for forming and recognizing the people of the nation and educational science, through a discursive construction legitimating attempts to plan an educational system under the regulation of a professional bureaucratic matrix. The use of the term *national system* refers to the voicing of actors and the territorial coverage of institutional mechanisms of educational management. In the National Education Plan 2014-2024, the term “national” refers to the proposal of regulation mechanisms and devices that evaluate the extension of distributive policies based on performance.

KEYWORDS

planning; National Education Plan; educational systems; regulation.

SISTEMA NACIONAL DE EDUCAÇÃO E PLANEJAMENTO NO BRASIL

RESUMO

O artigo aborda os significados atribuídos ao termo *nacional* desde o Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova de 1932 até a aprovação do novo Plano Nacional de Educação em 2014. A análise recorre à história para expor como formações discursivas diferenciadas de sociabilidade política, constitutivas dos Estados-nação, produziram diferentes modos de regulação dos sistemas educacionais. No Brasil, um Estado tutelar tem sido o responsável por formar e reconhecer o povo da nação e as ciências da educação por meio de uma construção discursiva legitimadora das tentativas de planejar um sistema educacional sob uma regulação de matriz burocrático-profissional. O uso do termo *sistema nacional* remete para a vocalização dos atores e à abrangência territorial de mecanismos institucionais de gestão educacional. No Plano Nacional de Educação 2014-2024, o termo nacional remete à proposição de mecanismos e dispositivos de regulação por desempenho e à ampliação de políticas distributivas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

planejamento; Plano Nacional de Educação, sistemas educacionais; regulação.

SISTEMA NACIONAL DE EDUCACIÓN Y PLANIFICACIÓN EN BRASIL

RESUMEN

El artículo aborda los sentidos asignados al término nacional desde el Manifesto de los Pioneros de la Nueva Educación Pioneros de 1932 hasta la aprobación del nuevo Plan Nacional de Educación en 2014. El análisis utiliza la historia para exponer cómo las diferentes formaciones discursivas de sociabilidad política, constitutiva de los Estados-nación produjeron diferentes modos de regulación de los sistemas de educación. En Brasil, un Estado tutelar ha sido el responsable de formar y reconocer al pueblo de la nación y las ciencias de la educación a través de una construcción discursiva legitimadora de los intentos de planear un sistema educativo bajo una regulación de matriz burocrático-profesional. El uso del sistema nacional se refiere a la vocalización de los actores y la cobertura geográfica de los mecanismos institucionales de la gestión educativa. En el Plan Nacional de Educación 2014-2024, el término nacional se refiere a los mecanismos y dispositivos de regulación de rendimiento y la expansión de las políticas distributivas.

PALABRAS CLAVE

planificación; Plan Nacional de Educación; los sistemas educativos; regulación.

A national education system is a live entity; it is the product of struggles and the forgotten difficulties of battles from a distant past. It contains some of the secret works of national life. By reflecting on the weaknesses of national character, one tries to amend them at the same time.

SADLER, 1990 *apud* SCHRIEWER, 2002, p. 22

INTRODUCTION

This paper analyzes discursive formations made about the Brazilian educational system.¹ The objective of this study was to investigate the meanings designated to the term “national” in the political history of Brazilian education *vis-à-vis* the institutionalizing process of the educational systems. By discussing the conceptions around the National Educational System with the sole intention of understanding how this term is (was) placed at the center of documents on educational planning, this study, coming from a political sociology of Brazilian education, aims to bring to light the relationship between the ideas of nation and the variety of ways of regulating (Maroy, 2006) that were projected on the educational system. This is a theoretical-conceptual study sustained by research and revised from source documents and with academic-scientific references that aim to unveil the relationship among compound elements of discursive formation present in specific historic periods. In other words, what was the guiding system of actions that conducted discursive practices that were able to gear the planning of the educational system toward the idea of the Nation-State?

In addition, by trying to demonstrate how, in different times and contexts, some discursive elements coming from different epistemic traditions, become permanent, we also question processes that produce qualifications and new meanings with regard to planning as well as the Brazilian educational system. In order to reveal and analyze these dilemmas, the study was divided into six parts. The first part discusses how, the constitutional process of a people-citizen-government, even though it is different in each country, has contributed to the dissemination of national public education systems; the second part situates the Pioneering Education Manifesto (*Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação*) from 1932 as an inaugural act from which the educational system planning of the country is seen on a national level; in the third and fourth parts, the different discursive formations concerning the planning of the educational system in the creation of the nation's people *vis-à-vis* political, economic and social changes in the country, mainly from the second half of the 20 century, were analyzed; in the fifth part, the study tries to comprehend the idea of planning present at the National Education Conference (*Conferência Nacional de Educação*) in 2010 and how this idea was geared towards the changing of

1 This term is usually associated with a public education system, especially in the Francophone literature, where historically there is an opposition toward education conducted by the State and private education, which was taught by churches and laymen.

the educational system's regulations, by considering financial policy, evaluation and formation as a means of articulating and integrating the national education system.

Lastly, in the sixth part, it was concluded that since the publication of the 1932 Manifesto, the national and state public education systems utilized the same terms. Emphasizing this point, an amalgamation of the planning acquisitions taken from several historic moments and the ways of regulating educational systems that were omitted, were found.

IDEAS CONCERNING NATION-STATES AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

The French revolution is considered to be a founding event in the process of creating a symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989). It emerged from the assimilation of diverse groups and, they become a specific community: the Nation-State (Hobsbawm, 1990; Lefort, 2003).

There was a rupture in the principle of dynasty and the adoption of the principle of nationality from the French Revolution period, which spread throughout Europe starting in 1848. [...] The French Revolution is responsible both for the definition of citizenship and the transition from monarch sovereignty to nation. (Lefort, 2003, p. 61)

With the revolution, the modern and basically political sense of the term emerged with symbolic force. It associates people with sovereignty and citizenship, and nation to state and territory. However, this term, as mentioned by these authors, incorporated and continues to incorporate temporalities and conceptions of distinct cultures. Within the objectives of this study, the synthesis established by Anderson (2008) — imagined political community that is, at the same time, sovereign — or by Hobsbawm (1990) cultural creation from a social and economic transformation — have allowed us to introduce syntheses of processes that constitute the state system as the National Education System.

By taking the French and English creation of Nation-States as a reference, we understand that: in the beginning, the political engineering operation of disseminating suffrage supposed that the law (the norm) was the expression of general will and that every citizen had the right to dispute it. For this reason, they are defined as equal, which detaches them from economical and social purpose (Lefort, 2003). In England, for instance, the citizen is assumed to be a proprietor. The social changes involved changes in the relationship among *gentry*, *yeomen* and the sovereign power. The citizen, understood as an educated proprietor, allowed for a way to transition, without revolutionary ruptures, from the old manner of political representation to a society of individuals (Rosanvallon, 1990).

In both the French creation of equality and inequality under the law (sovereignty expression), as well the English creation of equality circumscribed to equals under sovereignty power, there was the establishment of several ways of regulating social life and its power relations, where a people–nation, as an imaginary unanimity, articulated general interest through elections, with and despite their

inequalities. Nevertheless, the symbolic rupture with the tradition of privileges is the foundation point that differentiated the French experience in relation to other countries. While the English experience expressed the emergence of the novelty, it kept some of the oldest positions of privilege. Because this happened at the same time, it promoted more mitigated experiences of equality with regard to the people-nation formation, and affected historically the expansion of the educational system in line with the rupture made by the French tradition. The French tradition operated, omitting aspects of social changes necessary for the configuration of new power relations.

Brazil, at the end of the 19th century, had a population of almost ten million inhabitants (1872, Census *apud* Chalhoub, 2012), *i.e.* 84,72% of its inhabitants were considered free and 15,2% of them were enslaved peoples: “more than in other societies, societies based on slavery from the 1800s, the freeing of enslaved people [in Brazil] occurred in conjunction with the continuity of the institution of slavery” (Chalhoub, 2012, p. 43). Specifically in Brazil, by the end of the period known as the “Revolution Eras 1789-1848”, religious instruction was the main mechanism for (re)producing the symbolic power of land-owners over the “pardos” (light-skinned black people), dark-skinned black people, Indians and women. Nevertheless, it is the central power figure as tutelage of general interest, which presented itself as a constituent vector of the State and the Nation-State.

An experience of freedom, over the conditioning of lost, spread feelings of powerlessness with regards to the the processes of social control based on slavery in Brazil. And it was the effect of living in freedom under constant menace, which has molded Brazilian political institutions. At the beginning of the 20th century, Leal (1975, p. 252) analyzes how the commitment of “coronelistas” (a name given to landowners) was made in the country. He affirms that the overlapping of the representative regime with the economic and social structure, made citizenship into a contingent of voters (workers in rural areas and cities with reduced economic vitality), that poured their votes into the gubernatorial candidates in the state and federal elections, according to the interests of local power holders. An appearance of free choice was constructed under the tutelage of these “coronels”.

Gomes (1988), however, presents the historic process of how, from the second half of the 20th century, the State increased its power. The political figure of the executive power starts to interfere in society as a mediator of corporate interests, organized by labor unions and politically represented in political parties. Brazilian political sociology (Santos, 1994) made up the term “regulated-citizenship” in order to express the paradox of the formation of this Nation-State, where there is restrictive citizenship, which is supervised by the State.

The constitutional process of a people-citizen-sovereign contributed to the dissemination of the so called public national education system throughout the 20th century. This process was different in each country. In other words, the creation of an articulated system of schools that were financially supported and coordinated by the State and reached across the whole country caused the institutionalization of school culture in the population, and the production/reproduction of new hierarchies and social inequalities (Petitat, 1994). This system actually contributed

to, little by little, the spread of imaginary unanimities and to the creation of new values (moral, social and political) among the sovereign people — the citizens who made up the nation. Additionally, it contributed to the omitting of other values (Anderson, 2008). In fact these systems were politically opposed to popular and religious education.

Anderson (2008) makes evident that around 1840, even though in Great Britain and in France almost half of the population was illiterate, the “reading classes” were composed of people with a certain amount of wealth. In addition to the old dominant classes of aristocracy and the small rural elite of courtiers and religious, which were the consumers of newspapers, magazines, books, and musical scores in a vernacular language, there were self-employed professionals, the mercantile and industrial bourgeois. According to the author, the bourgeois was the first class to build solidarity from an essentially imagined base: people = a nation.

In France, in the middle of the 18th century, education was linked to the political perspective of affirming nationality, that is, to the idea of attributing feelings of equality and the formation of a community of citizens in the day-to-day life of people. During the revolutionary period, this perspective was amplified and pedagogic ways of sociability were put forward that were able to teach people how to obtain freedom and fortify feelings of equality (Rosanvallon, 2011). The idea of public school, forged in revolutionary France as an institution for forming citizen, presupposed and built an imaginary individual who held a specific relation to equality. A revolutionary and democratic perspective guided the reforms and transformations that contributed to the emergence of the national public education system of France, starting from the second half the 18th century: the rights to education as a means of forming a universal individual, *i.e.*, a citizen.

Regarding the United States of America during the first half of the 19th century, Rosanvallon (2011) highlights that the idea of equality and homogeneity got its support from a common moral and cultural formation. In the same vein, Arendt (1992, p. 223) observed that: “America [USA] has always been a land of immigrants; a fusion of the most diverse ethnic groups [...] can only be achieved by having instruction, education and the Americanizing of the immigrant children”. Arendt (1992) emphasizes the function of this phenomenon — the relationship between equality and education assembled in the United States by the end of the 18th century — contributed to the formation of a political conscience and a psychological structure [political collective consciousness] of the country. With the formation of this Nation-State, the rights to education as part of citizenship rights (the diverse apprehension of what is today known as social rights), structured a public educational system of compulsory attendance up to the age of 16 years old, where, according to Arendt (1992), it was unthinkable to conceive of this as a privilege of few and/or with the function of a merit-based selection of oligarchy(ies), which were common in countries like England and Germany. Contrary to the French conception, the school systems which were located across the country were responsible for educating the people of the Nation-State.

For Anderson (2008), comprehensive educational processes, alphabetization and the possibility of participating and communicating based on texts, were

responsible for both the condition and the means for creating imagined communities: nations. For this author, the singularity of Nation-State formations were endorsed by the construction of empty and homogeneous periods, which allowed States to consolidate their dominium and create unified realities. This allowed for the prediction of policies that ideally unified populations and used the educational system as a mechanism of regulation. They were capable of forging a people among individuals belonging to a nation.

SHAPING THE BRAZILIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM: THE PIONEER MANIFESTO

In Brazil, the document known as the “Pioneer Manifesto” of 1932 initiated a cognitive framework for which the federative educational system was planned. Directed toward the people as well the government, the Manifesto was written in a period with the emergence of different sociopolitical projects in the country — authoritarian, totalitarian and liberal (Rocha, 2004) — which included interventions from the State in the nation. The text of the Manifesto starts with a conclusion:

[...] always dissociated from the economical and educational reforms, all of our efforts including a plan of unity and a spirit of continuity, *have not yet succeeded in creating a system of school organization* that is in keeping with modern needs and the needs of the country (Manifesto..., 2006, p. 188, our emphasis)

Next, the document advocates for the people's access to school education, in agrees with the extension of the school system across the whole territory of the country. Almost 80 years after the publication of the Manifesto, the final document from the National Education Conference (CONAE) (Brasil, 2010a) restates the terms related to the incompleteness of the national education system, in support of an educational reform project and normative planning — The National Education Plan Law (Plano Nacional de Educação — PNE).

Reading the Pioneer Manifesto of New Education nowadays involves perceiving the Manifesto as a political piece from an educational debate situated at the beginning of the 1930s. It shows the groups in dispute and the movement, operated by the text, of re-signification of educational proposals and objects in confrontation with the explicit purpose of guiding the educational policies of the new Ministry of Education and Health. Similarly, it is also important to understand the Manifesto as a monument of Brazilian Educational Memory; [...] The Manifesto has survived as a letter of pedagogic principle, as the foundation of a renewed school, mainly to defend the responsibility of the State in the diffusion of Brazilian public education throughout the country. (Vidal, 2013, p. 586)

Considering the analytic hypothesis of this study, the 1932 document shows the terms of political commitment affirmed among the liberals and authoritarians

in defense of the responsibility of the the State to work on public education in the country. The document has guided formulations, which were made in later periods, about the planning of the national educational system. From a sociological point of view, there was no national education system which has explored the dichotomy between the exigency made for social-economic development and the institutions of the modern State, as well the inadequate cultural formation of Brazilian society. The text of the Manifesto legitimated a systematic, normative and centralized planning, based on science as the motor for reform in the country's educational system.

[...] it is obviously up to the State to organize the means of making it effective, by way of a general plan of education, of an organic structure, that makes school accessible to all citizens [...] and we must seek the means to carry out, throughout the Republic, a methodical and coordinated effort, according to a common plan, of complete efficiency, both in intensity and in extent. (Manifesto..., 2006, p. 193)

And this plan yet to be formulated, will articulate the institutions that form people into a new nation. The discursive construction of the Manifesto deals with the terms “national”, “nationality” and “national” plural in thirteen situations. For the educators who signed the document, the most important national problem was education, and this required reconstruction on a national level that would be driven by the national movement of educators, of which they were a part. In the document, the recognition of the diversities of regional interests is superimposed on a single organization of education under the bases and principles of the State and this, in turn, is always demonstrated by the use of the term in the singular. By employing the terms “State” and “National”, the document geared toward the people and to nation, is an *ex ante*, that is, a given and objective social fact, and not a socio-politic construction. In this plan, the way of inciting action from the states and from the nation is through retaining them as homogenic unities. For the authoritarians and liberals from that time, the intellectuals, legitimated by scientific knowledge (which came especially from sociology and psychology) predicted the destinies of the people and consequently, the nation:

They are ideas, ones that endure and that hurt, at least, the face of a “single school” problem. *The issue is opportune for us as long as we think about organizing education from the State*, and we cannot do it without examining all of these debatable problems. (Teixeira, 1924, our emphasis)

Pagni (2000), in revising the literature about the production process of the 1932 Manifesto, points out that both “modern mentality” and “traditional mentality” came from a common problem: the so called era of human and spiritual values crisis. For Brazilian educators, the signers of the Manifesto of the first half of the 1930s, the educational system under the protection of the State (central) should produce citizens who have internalized values and practices that are necessary for the development/modernization/industrialization of the nation. The educational

system that was going to be reformed was conceptualized as the institution of people's education for the development of a nation.

In inquiring about the origin of Latin American nationalism, Anderson (2008) points out the imaginary construction of the transition from an old to a new era. The Manifesto's text, by itself, contradicts the traditional school and the new school, as a necessary rupture starting from classroom practices and going until the education of elites at university. The document analyzes the Brazilian educational system from that time in order to affirm its inauthenticity and disorganization. In light of this, and under the inspiration of new educational ideals, planning in Brazil came to fruition through the movement of educational reconstruction, from the people to the nation:

But, with this campaign, by having the initiative and taking responsibility for with which it would be instilled, through all teaching means in the *new spirit*, the taste for critic and debate, and the necessary conscience for constant improvement, [...] the great reform, which will throb with the fast rhythm of a *new organism*, the backbone of the central political and social structure of the nation. [...] a better balance will be assured in this *new educational system*, which, will not put forward a specific limit for some social groups nor the tendencies or concerns of the social-classes that are subordinate to the fundamental and general limits that signal the nature of its biological functions. [...] The application of these principles in a radical transformation of public education in every degree, even in light of a *new concept* of education, as seen by the national needs. (Manifesto..., 2006, p. 189-190, our emphasis)

The organization of Brazilian education, with the commitment between liberals and authoritarians under State action, agreed in the Manifesto text therefore: "the organization of Brazilian educational is unique and based on principles of the State, in the spirit of the true popular community and in the care of the national unit" (Manifesto..., 2006, p. 195). Principles and fundamentals established by the State, or rather, which will be constructed by the social movement of educators/scientists, are legitimated by the imaginary assumption of a unit/identity with a new animation, conscience, national spirit, and educational method. As such, the Manifesto reaffirms the symbolic process of the construction of Brazilian culture in the singular (Bosi, 1992), as a unit for representing the nation that is capable of breaking away from what was once considered archaic.

It is under these principles that the 1932 document projected the necessity for single guidelines for guiding the national education system, as an exigency of the new social order that imposed itself without ruptures from the previous order. For the signers of the Manifesto, a whole plan to reconstruct the educational system, which would be common in every federate entity and enforced by the political normative mediation of the federal government, would contribute to the forging of a new nation.

THE HYBRIDIZATION OF THE MEANS OF REGULATION OF THE BRAZILIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

In a period of approximately thirty years between the 1950s and the end of the 1970s, deep social changes occurred in Brazil. A democratic interval from 1946 to 1964, followed by a dictatorial period, which ended after twenty years, caused intense migration and social disengagement in the country (Domingues, 2009), which disseminated values related to the construction of equality for the people, giving them civil, political, and social rights. According to this author, the depletion of the economic policy model centered on national developmentalist protectionism in the late 1970s, put in check the role of the state as the agent responsible for attributing individuals and collectives to their place in social life. At the end of this period, the country started to face the fact that more than half of its population was living in urban centers, where a more passive and subordinated “demos” was substituted by more free individuals (disengaged), who had several ways of organizing. The people who made up the nation had risen.

[At the end of the period], the emergence of a citizenship which could be repressed was affirmed by means of political mobilization and, as a result, this system of imperfect and limited rights gained space in the collective consciousness and some concrete and important advances were able to be made in terms of institutionalization. (Domingues, 2009, p. 36)

Domingues (2009) characterized the period between the 1940s and the 1980s as state-oriented modernization, where nationality and citizenship were the main institutions. However, in Brazil, as well as in the rest of Latin America, these institutions were made with barriers imposed by the strongly hierarchic and unequal social relations. Indeed, the increased presence of the State in Brazilian social life during this period meant that the controlled expansion of the educational system was a way of incorporating the people into the nation/State, giving them differentiated and unequal educational paths. The planning of a national educational system, which was based on knowledge and methods considered to be “scientific,” and created mainly by educators and/or technocrats, constituted the foundation of an educational reform of the people for a new nation.

It could be argued that, if in the period from 1932 to 1962, different nuances were deduced, the plan was roughly understood as an instrument for introducing scientific rationality into education under the auspices of the “New School” view. (Saviani, 1999, p. 128)

In Brazil, elements from this cognitive framework (scientific rationality) were already present in the Pioneer Manifesto, which was advocated by a State action that promoted an educational system capable of forging a people fit for national development:

[...] education which, in the end, is summarized by a social reform, cannot, at least in great proportion, be carried out except by the extensive and intensive action of the school on the individual himself or from the point of view of external influences, but by a continuous evolution, favored and stimulated by every organized force of culture and education. Surprises and theater *coups are powerless to modify the psychological and moral state of a people* [...] the highest, most painful and most serious duty is, of course education that, *by giving people an awareness of themselves and their own destiny and the strength to affirm and fulfill it*, entertains, cultivates and preserves the identity of the national conscience, in its intimate communion with the human conscience. (Manifesto..., 2006, p. 190, our emphasis)

The dictatorship period reproduced, among the actors who planned the Brazilian educational system, the cognitive framework in which the regulation carried out. Those considered to be notorious bearers of knowledge were intended to make educational reforms and plan the structure and functioning of the educational system, which was the mold of people fit for the nation. However in this period, disjoined from struggles and repressed social movements, technocrats (Ianni, 1971) planned reforms/plans of the educational system for the whole nation. This was conceived as a territory devoid of social individuals that were necessary for the social and economic development intended by the groups organizing the coup.

In the educational field, the Latin American Studies Center from Michigan State University edited in 1972, *Toward a theory of education planning: the case of Brazil* (Mendes, 1972). In the article, Mendes exposes the unfolding of the planning principle set out in the 1932 Manifesto and the socio-philosophic foundations that should underpin the new proposal for educational planning during the dictatorship period. Mendes (2000), by means of a rigorous survey of the main changes that occurred in the politics and administration of education in the country, reveals the struggles between those who, because they consider themselves legitimized by knowledge, planned the educational system for the people. For the objectives of this study, it is worth emphasizing two aspects: the recognition of the strategy adopted by educators during the dictatorship, when they were dislodged from the planning by technocrats and “transformed the law into their citadel” (Mendes, 2000, p. 43) and the obliteration in the period, of the size and possible meanings attributed to the term “national” in the constitution of a federal educational system. Mendes (2000, p. 191) concludes:

The Federal Government is supposed to give a certain form to the system, which effectively, is embodied in the states and in autonomous institutions. The form is confused with the national character of educational policy and with the project that makes it dynamic. One may say that what is specific to the federal education system is the conversion of federal into national. This national form also has its content that, however, is expressed overall, as norms and guidelines.

The emphasis placed in the dictatorial period on normative and strategic planning (Vieira and Albuquerque, 2001), when associative life itself was subordinated to the State, was made simultaneously with the maintenance of the patronage way of exercising policies of the municipal/state oligarchy. In Brazil, if the so-called strategic and nominative educational system planning promoted actions that fostered the emergence of a bureaucratic-professional regulation mode (Maroy, 2011), these actions were articulated in the keeping of patronage practices. In this educational system, the nominative prescription dealing with the whole country established the necessary bases for the formation of new elites and, simultaneously defined guidelines to be observed by others actors present in the educational system. However, the logic of action based on “favors” coexisted with the proliferation of normative prescriptions about the administration of basic education and promoted formal aspects of educational management as mechanisms of distribution and control of social positions.

WHAT REMAINED, AND NEW QUESTIONS FOR THE NATION: VOICES FROM BRAZILIAN SOCIETY

The transition from dictatorship to democracy was made without ruptures within social groups who supported the previous regime, and introduced the idea of civil society’s participation. This was extended in this period as a space for struggle and conflict from collective actors, who intended to transform their demands into rights as well institutionalize new ways for the State to act on these demands. According to Shiochet (2005), civil society becomes a place of politics. From our point of view, the imprecise use of the term — participation in civil society — tends to replace the image of a people, a passive nation unit that is submissive to the elites and oligarchies, by the idea of an organized, hard-working people, who fight for their rights and common interests. The public confrontation from these actors with the state apparatus consisted in the empirical expression of this collective consciousness, because the nation was going through mobilization processes and conflicts.

In February of 1998, two proposals of the PNE 2001-2010 made it to the National Congress. The first one, consubstantiated in the document known as the Brazilian Society PNE — law n. 4.155/1998 (Brasil, 1998a), called for the strengthening of the state public school by expanding resources for the Maintenance and Development for Teaching (MDT) and the democratization of education management, as the axis of the effort to universalize basic education (Valente and Romano, 2002). A second law, called by its opponents as the “National Congress Executive’s Proposal” — law n. 4.173/1998 (Brasil, 1998b), was prepared in the same year under the aegis of the Ministry of Education (MEC). Although these two proposals are considered to be diametrically opposed formulations The process of both proposals in the National Congress was reveling of the effects produced by the democratization of the country.

Both plans expressed different political discursive formations for the production of changes in the educational system of the country, and were the result

of the reorganization of political parties, social movements and classes entities, previously excluded from the planning processes (Souza and Duarte, 2014). The act of planning, throughout the 1990s, began to differentiate conceptions and demands from multiple actors present in the educational system that constituted a means of expressing diversity and inequality of the peoples of the nation. In order to clarify changing objectives in the national system it would be necessary to amplify voices about the goals to be achieved by the nation. Without incorporating these new guidelines, the national education plans would be seen as authoritarian instruments lacking legitimacy: planning the educational system now required giving voice to the nation and no longer rely on common sense: to present “packages” formulated by specialists. Almost ten years after the approval of the I PNE — law n. 10.172 on January 9, 2001 (Brasil, 2001) — national mobilization took place in order to plan a new national education system.

In this period, changes occurred in the formulation and implementation of public policies. These changes, in addition to programs and government policies, designated more extensive processes: they were ways of coordinating actions by legitimate authorities articulated collectively or individually with others actors. In this way, the public policies in education demand others institutional arrangements (congresses, conferences, forums, panels), all of which start to influence specific political strategies, actor preferences and intended results. In fact, the formulation and implementation of educational public policies, which go beyond the actions of the State (Höfling, 2001), express logics and processes for the articulation and coordination of actions.

In 2009, the enactment of the constitutional amendment n. 59 (Brasil, 2009) established, among others provisions, the ten year duration of the PNE to be approved in the future by the National Congress. It redrafted the previous objectives for educational planning. The new normative wording compelled the PNE to articulate the national education system and to define guidelines, objectives, targets and strategies for its implementation, in order to ensure the maintenance and development of education through integrated actions from public institutions of different federative spheres (Brasil, 2009).

The changes that introduced the extension of the age limit for compulsory school attendance and the articulated planning of the national education system happened with influences from the MEC on the basis of government in the legislative houses. In the wording adopted from 2009 for the constitutional provision (art. 214, Brasil, 1988), the existence of a national education system started to be considered *ex ante* and the political-administrative challenge of planning would be in compliance with the general objectives set out in the constitutional text. The wording given to the constitutional text in 2009 presupposes normative planning and the means of articulating the national education system as it prescribes its format. The plan should contain guidelines, objectives, goals and implementation strategies to ensure the maintenance and development of education at its various levels, stages, and modalities, through integrated actions of the public sectors in different federative entities.

The complete reconstruction plan, common to all federate entities and, advocated in 1932, was drawn up in the constitutional text in 2009. Normative planning was the means by which a national system of education would be framed. However, the formulation of II PNE — law n. 13.005/2014 (Brasil, 2014) was preceded by “conferences” held all over the country, under the coordination of the Education Ministry, as a means of expression of diverse social actors. The territorial scope of the vocalization processes conferred the national character to the conferences. The I CONAE (Brasil, 2010b) was national for allowing vocalization throughout the whole territory by multiple actors that composed the nation, while the previous National Congresses of Education (CONEDs) expressed the voices of civil society (of those who were not acting in the government yet).

On December 20, 2010, seven months after the I CONAE and six months after the publication of the final document (Brasil, 2010a) that presented the guidelines, targets and actions for the national education policy were approved at conference. The Executive Power sent a message to the National Congress,² which included the text of the law project to be approved by the PNE (Brasil, 2010d).

The content and the processing of the law project n. 8.035/2010 (Brasil, 2010d) in two legislative houses expressed, among others changes, the new meaning attributed to the term “national education system”. In the text sent by the executive power, the term “national system” was only removed twice and it reports the systematic assessments of higher education and teacher training for basic education. In other words, the content of the legislative proposition of national education planning compelled the government to give continuity to the strategy for measuring the quality of higher education, using procedures established at the National Higher Education Assessment (Sistema Nacional de Avaliação da Educação Superior — SINAES),³ and to consolidate the National System of Teacher Training for Basic Education (Sistema Nacional de Formação de Professores para a Educação Básica). National systems involved in the normative planning reported the uniform systematics for benchmarking results and the formation of collective subjectivities through a standardized professionalization throughout the country.

The planning of the educational system nowadays, almost eighty years after the Manifesto, is confronted with an explosion of differences, with the continuation of inequalities and with the deconstruction of the collective consciousness of a uniform treatment of the whole nation. New modes of coordination and articulation of its actors emerge based on action logics that value results, for example, the idea that quality school education is expressed through the assessment of common learning outcomes measured by standardized (inter)national tests. The most diverse policies and programs attributed greater procedural autonomy to the actors situated in the middle of the contracting/agreement of results.

2 Message n. 701 of December 15, 2010 (Brasil, 2010e).

3 Instituted by law n. 10.861 on April 14, 2004 (Brasil, 2004).

CONAE AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM REGULATORY MECHANISM

In the internal regulations that guided CONAE's organization (Brasil, 2010b), financial evaluation and professional training policies were considered one of the means to articulate and integrate the national educational system:

The National Education Conference has as objectives: [...] to integrate all levels, stages and modalities of education in a systemic approach, with the intention of assembling the National Articulated System of Education [*Sistema Nacional Articulado de Educação*], especially in relation to planning and *management, assessment, financing, initial and continued* training of workers on education, as well as the offer of teaching conditions with social quality. (Brasil, 2010b, art. 2º, inc. IV, our emphasis)

For the planning and management of the articulated national education system, policies for the evaluation, financing, initial and continued training, consisted of means for systematic integration and building. The guiding arguments for the propositions on financing planning as the articulator of the national system are:

One of the demonstrations of disrespect toward the national education can be found in the financing structure that has permeated its entire history: education financing has never been effectively conceived from the real necessities of children, teenagers, youth and adults. On the contrary, a possible quantum of resources was established, and from it, which sectors, levels, modalities and social segments identified would be prioritized. This situation did not favor the National System. (Brasil, 2010a, p. 20)

The diagnostic formulated in 1932 is reiterated in 2010: "Brazil has not yet implemented its national education system" (Brasil, 2010a, p. 20). And the solution in construction calls for the regulation of the collaboration regime in order to anticipate ways of overcoming regional inequalities, especially through the "construction of a financial policy, based on the perspective of "Student Cost Quality" (Brasil, 2010a, p. 23).

The recent approval of law n. 13.005 on June 25, 2014 (Brasil, 2014), containing the PNE 2014-2024, presents normative mechanisms, which establish mechanisms for regulation by performance of the national system, with a uniform territorial scope and functioning. The law established the following planning mechanisms:

- The National Assessment System of Basic Education coordinated by the Government (art. 11);
- The national standardization of quality (Strategy 1.1, toward the universalization of Early Childhood Education);
- A national examination in high school as criteria for access to college (Strategy 3.6 to provide universal services in high school);

- To deepen and improve the Superior Education Assessment for Higher Education (Strategy 13.1 to raise the quality of higher education);
- To associate the financial and technical assistance support with the establishment of intermediated targets, in the terms and conditions established in line with the voluntary accordance among partners, prioritizing the systems and networks of teaching with a IDEB (Basic Education Development Index) below the national average (Strategy 7.3, to achieve average values of educational performance);
- To extend the coverage of the National Student Performance Examination — (*Exame Nacional de Desempenho de Estudantes* — ENADE), in order to increase the number of students and areas evaluated (Strategy 13.2, to improve the quality of higher education) (Brasil, 2014).

The assessment of results, for both levels of Brazilian education, was the mechanism that articulated the meaning attributed to the national term in the law approved in 2014, that is, the objective of achieving uniform results, whether in accordance or not, would unify the national education system. On the other hand, the signaling put in the constitutional text of 2009, the construction of a national education system in a regime of collaboration, received its own translation in the creation law PNE 2014–2024 (Brasil, 2014). This bill signaled the different areas of specific intervention of the government for giving technical and financial assistance to other federated entities.

- National Program for the reconstruction and acquisition of equipment:
 - For the public school network of early childhood education (Strategy 1.2, to universalize early childhood attendance);
 - For public schools in the countryside (Strategy 2.5, to universalize elementary school);
 - For public schools [in general] (Strategy 7.10 to achieve average values for national performance);
 - For the public schools that offer Adult and Youth Education (*Educação de Jovens e Adultos*, EJA) (Strategy 10.4 to integrate EJA with professional education).
- National program for the acquisition of vehicles:
 - For transportation to schools located in the countryside (Strategy 2.4, to universalize elementary school).
- National program to diversify the curriculum in high school (Strategy 3.1 to universalize high school attendance).
- National program of public school accessibility (Strategy 4.4 to universalize the attendance of students with special needs).
- National program for an increase in the duration of the school period (Strategy 6.1 to offer full time education).
- National program for the increasing and restructuring of public schools (Strategy 6.2 to offer full time education).

- National program of initial and continuous training for technical personnel of the educational secretaries (Strategy 7.13, to achieve average values of educational performance).
- National program for ophthalmology assistance (Strategy 9.5 to increase the level of population literacy).
- National program for adult and youth education (Strategy 10.1, to integrate EJA as a professional education).
- National program for student assistance (Strategy 10.7 to integrate EJA with professional education).
- Programs and actions incentivizing students and teachers' mobility in undergraduate and master's degree courses all over the country (Brasil, 2014).

Several governmental programs were introduced to state policies and started to base the collaboration regime for the federative national system. These programs can be characterized as: distributive policies through technical and financial assistance from the government to other federation entities or to student assistance. Even curricular diversification programs, extension of the school day or adults and youth education, among others, contain the transfer of financial and material resources to others federated entities or to private entities. In this sense, the term “national” is re-signified in two directions: as the set of actors that contribute to school education and as the expression of the government's activity throughout the Brazilian territory. The planning of the national system of education now includes specific actions of the federal government for the distribution of resources as a means of systemic approach to school education throughout the country.

NATION EDUCATION SYSTEM: FROM THE FORMATION OF PEOPLE TO INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS OF MANAGEMENT

Cury (2008), in the context of the preparation of the I Education National Conference of 2010 — with repercussions among Brazilian educators and researches — also reiterated a theme in the Pioneer Manifesto of New Education, by questioning the reasons why the country has never succeeded in instituting a national education system, as several other countries have. In this article we find two answers to this question, which guide a a new cognitive framework for the planning of propositions for the national education system. Initially Cury (2008) exposes that the extreme socio-economic inequalities impacted the organization and the functioning of the educational system in the country. In a second moment, when analyzing the federative pact, it demonstrated, via political juridical regulation, how a duplicity was constructed in the Brazilian educational system, without the constitution of a national system.

Cury (2008) supports the permanence of the exposed diagnostic since the Manifesto in the persistence of contradictory movements of the Nation-State: The divorce between federation entities and the capitalist structure of social classes.

[...] the concept of a single education system or even that of a unified education system has as its greatest challenge the horizon of equality, whose main driving force lies not in school, but in the social system itself. [...] A national education system must be promoted by the government role with a stronger presence in basic education and within private networks of the teaching system. (Cury, 2008, p. 1.189 and 1.199)

In this article of reference for debates that have discussed the National Education Conference in 2010, Cury (2008) adds the idea of a unified organization that includes the whole territory to the term “national system”: a territorially unique/unified system in opposition to persistent inequalities is important. Cury’s (2008) position in this sense, is not totally cohesive with the terms proposed at the Manifesto, because it states:

Unity does not mean uniformity. Unity presupposes multiplicity. Unless it seems at first sight, it is not, thus, in centralization, but in the application of the federative and decentralized doctrine, which we must seek the means of carrying out, throughout the Republic, a methodical and coordinated action [...]. (Manifesto..., 2006, p. 195)

Nevertheless, the importance of the position reiterated by Cury (2008) lies in the implementation of the guiding principles of the French matrix for the constitution of educational systems, as a single/uniform system for all the people of the national territory. However, Cury (2008) inquired about the foundations of what would be an authentic federalism, promoting a system of collaboration among federated entities, and suggested that the affirmation of a national education system of quality, would have as its pillar a financing policy, under the government’s coordination and would be capable of improving results related to learning and the socialization of values. The conclusion of the Brazilian educator suggests that we have a project of federative educational system that moves the national/unitary term, as a process of construction through homogeneous procedures of the people’s education, to a second plan. Even though his questioning points to the possibilities of a national education system capable of providing better results to the learning and socialization of values, which involve national common basis and uniform teaching procedures, which would articulate and unify the national education system 80 years after the Manifesto, would be a federal system of financing school education.

The proposals underlying CONAE’s final documentat (Brasil, 2010a) and the PNE law 2014-2024 (Brasil, 2014) express ongoing changes in the modes of regulation of educational systems, in this new political cycle of regular elections, where some of the collective values and interests of people/actors that comprise the nation today, are vocalized. As reiterated in CONAE’s dinal document, prepared under the coordination of the MEC

The result of this stimulating process of mobilization and debate on Brazilian education is consolidated in this Final Document [...] The Final Document resulted from a rich process of collective construction, initiated by the political

decision to submit the ideas and propositions surrounding the National Education System construction to the social debate. (Brasil, 2010a, p. 7)

Nonetheless, in this same context, Cury (2008) warned of the importance of the parameter of equality put in place by the results of learning and socialization of common values. Comprehensive planning, supported by common principles and procedures, and based on science, as outlined in the Manifesto, is, in this new period, confronted with the participation of multiple actors, and their interests, propositions and values. In this context, it would be less pertinent to deal with the reality through meticulous norms rather than by the definition of individuals, groups and organizations as capable of initiative and adaptation, in order to respond to part of conflict management and tensions present in the educational system (Duarte, 2012). The act of planning shifts its foundation from knowledge to the capacity of actors to vocalize who comprises the people of the nation. Cury's (2008) text indicates, however, that a pillar of authentic federalism (a term equivalent to its work in the regime of collaboration between the federated entities) is a national system of financing. If the format of the plan should contain elements to ensure the maintenance and development of education, its structuring axis should involve a national financing policy that is able to articulate the federated entities around results of learning and socialization of knowledge. The meaning attributed to an articulated national system acquires in these analyzed documents the construction of national financing mechanisms, professional training of teachers and the evaluation of basic education.

We can conclude that from the 1932 Manifesto to the CONAE reference document (Brasil, 2010c), the terms national and state public educational systems are cognitively used as interchangeable terms. Underlying this framework is an amalgamation of appropriations made during different historic moments and omissions on how these differences expressed the emergence of different modes of regulation of educational systems.

The different propositions, currently present in Brazil in defense of a single/unified national system of education refer to the French experience, where the denial of local/regional/ethnic particularities has produced and disseminated a way of regulating educational policies based on the bureaucratic-professional matrix. However, the Brazilian educational system was made without symbolic or social ruptures with previous politic contexts. The more mitigated forms of transformation of capitalist societies promoted conceptions around the growth of an educational system geared to the formation/education of the people for the nation. Under this cognitive reference, this article exposes the emergence of several logics of coordination of actions through mechanisms of performance regulation and/or distributives policies, where decisions taken by decision-makers have disregarded the issue of limited resources, generating more individual rather than universal impacts. More specifically, it has been questioned in Brazil, under the discursive auspices of participative planning, that we do not seek to legitimate specific types of institutional mechanisms of control and coordination of actions among diverse and unequal actors.

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