



Formulation of policy for teacher training: Education Committee of the Federal Chamber – Brazil (2000-2010)

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ABSTRACT. The article presents the results of a research that analyzed a 'documental corpus' of the Education Commission of the Federal Chamber in a historical series of ten years (2000-2010), investigating what were the proposals discussed with the purpose of formulating public policies for teacher training within the scope of this commission. A survey of the documentation, organization of documents and systematization of the content, allowing the analysis of the proposals for teacher training policies that became law. This is a qualitative research using document analysis as a technique and using the Context of Influence of the Policy Cycle as a theoretical-methodological tool for document analysis. The result of the research shows evidence of low focus in the discussions on teacher training in Brazil in the analyzed period, indicating that the aforementioned Education Commission ignored, in the dialogue about its subject-focus, the educational entities and movements, research groups and intellectual researchers. from Camp. The work also demonstrates that, in general, the work of the Commission in the highlighted period, did not aim to 'formulate' or encourage the debate on teacher training policies, directly or indirectly, for analysis in the plenary of the Federal Chamber.

Keywords: context of influence; educational public policy; permanent committee on education; teacher training.

Formulação de política para formação de professores: Comissão de Educação da Câmara Federal – Brasil (2000-2010)

RESUMO. O artigo tem como objetivo apresentar resultados de uma pesquisa que analisou um 'corpus documental' da Comissão de Educação da Câmara Federal em uma série histórica de dez anos (2000-2010), investigando quais foram as propostas discutidas com fins a formulação de políticas públicas para formação de professores no âmbito desta comissão. Realizou-se um levantamento, organização da documentação e a sistematização do conteúdo, permitindo analisar as propostas de políticas de Formação de Professores que se tornaram lei. Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa que utiliza a análise documental como técnica e usando como ferramenta teórico-metodológica o Contexto de Influência do Ciclo de Políticas (Ball, 1994). O resultado da pesquisa apresenta indícios de baixo enfoque nas discussões sobre a formação de professores no Brasil no período analisado, indicando que a referida Comissão de Educação ignorou no diálogo sobre sua matéria-foco, as entidades e movimentos educacionais, grupos de pesquisa e intelectuais pesquisadores do campo. O texto demonstra ainda que, em geral o trabalho da Comissão no período em destaque, não teve como objetivo 'formular' ou incentivar o debate sobre políticas de formação de professores, direta ou indiretamente, para análise no plenário da Câmara Federal.

Palavras-chave: contexto de influência; política públicas educacionais; comissão permanente de educação; formação de professores.

Formulación de políticas de formación docente: Comisión de Educación de la Cámara Federal – Brasil (2000-2010)

RESUMEN. El artículo tiene como objetivo presentar los resultados de una investigación que analizó un 'corpus documental' de la Comisión de Educación de la Cámara Federal en una serie histórica de diez años (2000-2010), investigando cuáles fueron las propuestas discutidas con el fin de formular políticas de formación docente en el ámbito de esta comisión. Se realizó un levantamiento de la documentación de la serie histórica disponible en el sitio web de la Cámara Federal, la organización de los documentos y sistematización del contenido, que permitió el análisis de las propuestas de políticas de formación docente que se convirtieron en ley. Se trata de una investigación cualitativa que utiliza como técnica el análisis documental y como herramienta teórico-metodológica el Contexto de Influencia del Ciclo de Política (Ball, 1994). El resultado de la investigación muestra evidencias de bajo enfoque en las discusiones sobre

formación docente en Brasil en el período analizado, indicando que la referida Comisión de Educación ignoró, en el diálogo sobre su tema-foco, a las entidades y movimientos educativos, grupos de investigación e intelectuales. investigadores del campo. El texto también demuestra que, en general, el trabajo de la Comisión en el período señalado no tuvo como objetivo 'formular' o incentivar el debate sobre políticas de formación docente, directa o indirectamente, para su análisis en el pleno de la Cámara Federal.

Palabras clave: contexto de influencia; políticas públicas educativas; comisión permanente de educación; formación de profesores.

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Introduction

Public policies can be understood as the totality of actions, goals and plans that governments (national, state or municipal) draw to achieve the well-being of society and the public interest. It is true that the actions that public leaders (governors or decision-makers) select (their priorities) are those they understand to be the demands or expectations of society. In other words, the well-being of society is always defined by the government and not by society.

In this sense, public policies can be understood as a process that obeys rules and, therefore, follows a series of steps in order to achieve a certain objective or be the resolution of a certain problem. Thus, public policy can be understood as a system of social actions that comprises an effort of society and especially of institutions.

The political-economic context of the late 1990s and early 2000s was marked by aggressive neoliberal incidences¹ in education. Notably, it is in the period between 2000 and 2010 that the policies articulated and agreed in the 1990s actually begin to be implemented, which will be references for this research (Silva Júnior, 2003; Barreto & Leher, 2003). This work is an intellectual effort to understand teacher education policies in Brazil at the beginning of a new century (21st century) from the bases of de Capital hegemony with the neoliberalizing reforms of the 1990s

The Education Committee of the Federal Chamber, within the institutional design of the Brazilian Legislative, plays an important role with regard to discussions and debates on educational policies in Brazil. So, in this way, the motivating question for this research was: what are the actors in the Legislative present in the Permanent Commission of Education of the Federal Chamber, in the referred period, who acted on the pre-decision processes of formulation of educational public policies and teacher training?

In this way, it is necessary to present how such a committee is organized and structured. According to information from the Chamber of Deputies' own website, in the History² and Attributions tab, the Education Committee currently has 42 members and an equal number of alternates and, after the dismemberment occurred in 2013 under Resolution 21 (Resolução nº 21, 2013), operates in the following thematic fields: issues related to education in general; education policy and system, in its institutional, structural, functional and legal aspects; education law; human and financial resources for education.

In this article, the objective is to present to the reader the first stage of a master's research developed in the Graduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP) that analyzed the documents of the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber of the Federative Republic of Brazil between the years 2000 to 2010. The research investigated what were the proposals or bills that concerning educational public policies and, specifically, the teacher training policies discussed within the scope of this committee. This research also analyzed the possible impact of International Organizations - World Bank (WB), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) - in the formulation of these policies. Therefore, this work presents the survey of the documents generated and available on the website of the Federal Chamber, the organization of these documents and the systematization of the content for analysis.

Therefore, a study that discusses the interests and influences in the construction of teacher training policies in Brazil is of paramount importance, since every education project is markedly political. There is no

¹ According to Dardot and Laval (2016), neoliberalism is not just an ideology, a type of economic policy. It is a normative system that has expanded its influence to the whole world, extending the logic of capital to all social relations and to all spheres of life.

² His record predates the first legislature of the Chamber of Deputies. It was created with permanent character, in the Session of May 15, 1823 of the Constituent Assembly, the Commission of Public Instruction, which was maintained in the Internal Regulations of the Chamber of Deputies of 1826 (Art. 37) and during all the legislatures of the Empire. In the Republic, it underwent transformations, sometimes incorporating thematic areas, sometimes reducing its scope. Thus, in 1891, the Internal Rules of the Chamber began to define it as the Committee on Education and Public Health; in 1920, the Committee on Education; in 1934, the Committee on Education and Culture; in 1989, the Committee on Education, Culture, Sport and Tourism (Res. 5/89); still in 1989, Committee on Education, Culture and Sport (Res. 17/89); in 2004, Committee on Education and Culture; and in 2013, Committee on Education (information taken from the website of the Federal Chamber). Available at: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/comissoes/comissoes-permanentes/ce/conheca>.

neutrality when establishing educational proposals and projects. The work presented here has its relevance because, by focusing on the discussions and clashes of the late twentieth century, it intends to demonstrate through a dialogic, the macro context with the project proposals discussed within the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber.

The methodological treatment of the documents was given by the technique of documentary analysis, since the study analyzed the documents generated at the meetings of the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber in the analyzed period, available in the digital collection, in an effort to obtain those in which the terms related to the formulation of teacher training policy have been treated. Thus, documentary analysis is the key technique, as it understands that the object “[...] needs historical and sociocultural contextualization [...]”, while going through its phases through the bibliographic survey, constituting a qualitative research (Sá-Silva, Almeida, & Guindani, 2009, p. 2). After the collection and organization of the documents, there are the phases of analysis and interpretation of the collected data. The theoretical-methodological tool for the analysis and interpretation of documents was Context of Influence, based on the perspective of the Policy Cycle (Ball, 1994) in the formulation of educational public policies. This methodological technique appreciates documentary investigations as historical educational research.

This article has in its first movement, a discussion on the theme of public policies (concepts) and teacher training (contextualization and reading of the field). In the second moment, it brings an approach from the role of the State in the elaboration of public policies. Then, the scope of documents and the methodology used in the survey data collection are presented. Finally, it concludes with a movement to read the discussions on teacher training policies in Brazil from the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber, followed by the final considerations of the work.

Public policies and teacher training in Brazil

In this first movement, the theme of public policies, the construction of public policies and teacher training will be discussed. Public policies consist of the materialization of public action, with the State in motion and the concrete representation of the responses that governments give to the process, which emerges from the articulation between the various groups and actors, so that their agendas and interests are processed and hierarchized (Oliveira, 2019).

According to Matias and Jardimino (2019), public policies are part of our daily lives, which obviously influences both their emergence and causes changes in existing policies. Souza (2006, p. 26) defines the concept of public policy as the “[...] field of knowledge that seeks, at the same time, to ‘put the government into action’ and/or analyze this action [...] and, when necessary, propose changes in the direction or course of these actions [...]”.

When discussing teacher education in Brazil in a reading of the field, it should be understood that public policies for teacher education gain materiality within a field of intense dispute. Still, it is necessary to observe how several actors influence and guide educational policies in countries such as Brazil. Thus, there is a sequence of neoliberal policies from the 1990s on in a process of convergence of both global and national policies.

The effort to guarantee higher education to basic education teachers has become a clash with the orientations of capital, especially in what has been called neoliberal ideology. It is known that there is, from the proposal of neoliberalism, a minimization (almost annihilation) of the role of the State and the maximization of the market. According to Amorim (2018), this ideology interferes in all governmental spheres with strong interference not only in the economy, but also in other aspects of public policies. In this sense, there is interference in the formulation of policies in order to meet market demand, directly affecting education and more, the processes of teacher training, in order to meet a standardization of social functions in line with the logic of capital.

It is known that the State as an institution has undergone numerous changes, especially with regard to its role as guarantor of the organization of society. It appears that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the main objective of the State was public security and foreign defense. Over the years there has been an expansion of democracy and, consequently, the responsibilities of the State have diversified. Currently, it can be understood that, still influenced by the so-called *Estado de Bem Estar Social* (State of Social Welfare)³, the function of the State is to promote the well-being of society. Therefore, it needs to

³ The concept of *Welfare State* or the Social Rule of Law is born from the conception that there are social rights inseparable from the existence of any citizen. Therefore, every individual has the right from birth to a set of goods and services that must be provided directly through the State, or indirectly through its regulatory power over civil society. Among these rights, health coverage and the provision of education at all levels of education can be highlighted. Another point that must also be protected by the State concerns the rights of workers, such

develop a series of actions and act directly in different areas, such as health, education and the environment.

As one of the ways to achieve results, since society is complex and, therefore, this factor causes a variety of problems, the State through the government produces and uses public policies to achieve results and generate the well-being of society.

For Howlett, Ramesh and Perl (2013) there are several definitions of 'public policy' and all try to capture the idea that *policy-making* is a technical-political process that aims to define and reconcile objectives and means between social actors subject to restrictions. According to the authors, these definitions postulate that policies are intentional actions of governments that contain some articulated objectives, even though these objectives have been precariously identified, justified and formulated (Howlett et al., 2013).

For this research, we opted for one of the best public policy definitions because it is a more open definition, which allows a better arrangement for the research objects. Jenkins (1978) apud Howlett et al. (2013) defines public policy as:

[...] a set of interrelated decisions, made by an actor or group of political actors, and which concern the selection of objectives and the means necessary to achieve them, within a specific situation in which the target of these decisions would be, in principle, within reach of these actors (Howlett et al., 2013, p. 8).

This definition is very useful in clarifying that the content of a policy comprises the 'selection of objectives and means'. In a way, this shows that a public policy is not something watertight, plastered. According to Jenkins' definition, *policy-making* would be a dynamic process and, therefore, public policy is, in general, the result of 'a set of interrelated decisions. Therefore, governments rarely treat problems with a single decision (Howlett et al., 2013).

The role of the State in the elaboration of public policies and interest groups

This movement presents a debate on the role of the State in the formulation of public policies and how the process of formulation takes place, the debate around a certain policy, how both private and institutional institutions act and pressure on the Brazilian legislature, specifically in the arena now researched, the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber.

Notably, it is inferred that public policies are in all areas and, in the case of teacher training policies, such policies influence positively or negatively the educational process. A management that prioritizes quality actions focused on education indicates the desire to ensure access to knowledge for all and, consequently, to build a less unequal country.

In the debate on public policies there is obviously a response in order to clarify the role of the State in its definition and implementation. The complexity of the process of discussion on a given public policy should not be given only by the pressures of interest groups, let alone the State should opt for public policies defined exclusively by those in power. According to Souza (2006), a certain autonomy is needed in the process of defining public policies according to a modern conception of the organization of the State and society. In practice, this demonstrates that the State has a certain autonomy with regard to a space of action, although this space is permeated by external and internal influences.

It is noticed that other segments, besides the government, are involved in the formulation of public policies and are called interest groups, each with greater or lesser influence depending on the type of policy formulated and the coalitions that make up the government. It is also noteworthy that Brazil, through international agreements since the 1990s, has been following the guideline proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), WB and other International Organizations, such as Unesco, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and OECD.

During the 1990s, Brazil, as well as other Latin American countries, faced a process of state restructuring that, justified by the need for structural adjustments - largely due to the external debt crisis - changed the relationship between the State and civil society. Silva Júnior (2003) points out that the reformist movement should not be pointed out as a fact of a single country, it is a world movement, with the specificities of each one, but that maintains traces of identity in all of them, according to the rationality of the transition of capitalist social metabolism.

This restructuring had as its paradigm the adoption of the criteria of the private economy in the management of public affairs. Even though Brazil has its peculiarities, in the scope of the reforms of the 1990s

as the right to a minimum wage, unemployment benefit, additional benefits such as unhealthy work, dangerous work and transport (Mota, 2012). Still, according to Morais and Streck (2004), the Social Welfare State has an interventional and promotional role and more, it can be characterized as a model of State that guarantees the types of minimum income, food, health, housing, education, guaranteed to every citizen, not as charity, but as a political right.

it submitted to the costumes of capital, designed by multilateral organizations, with special emphasis on the World Bank (Silva Júnior, 2003).

With these reforms, the emphasis changes from the provider state to the regulatory state, the one that establishes the conditions through which the various domestic markets are authorized to operate, and the auditor state, the one that evaluates the results. Therefore, there is a modernized state, a managing state focused on the reproduction of capital. Therefore, state reforms at the current stage of world capitalism tend to dismantle the interventionist state in the economy and in the social sectors, provoking and further deepening social inequalities (*op. cit.*). Thus, the reorganization of the State causes a change on the object of control, which ceases to occur on the processes to be effected, mainly, on the results (Trípodi, 2012). According to Mourão, Costa, Nogueira e Mendes (2023, p. 2), “[...] the power of the State devalues the teaching work with economic, political and ideological actions that seem to be structuring the valuation, but which in practice make the teacher's work precarious”. In this perspective, the State acts in the educational field in the sense of conforming the struggle of education professionals to simply the debate for salary increases.

It is in the sense that Sampaio (2018), it is necessary to know the meaning, purpose and functioning of the national federative system. According to Fernandes (2015), the form of State must be understood as the distribution of political power according to a territory. It can then be said that this is the way in which political power is exercised within a territory. There are several species or types of State⁴. One type is federalism, which, according to Abrucio (2010), is a form of territorial organization and, as such, has a huge impact on the organization of governments. Regarding Brazilian federalism, with the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889, it can be seen that the federation is born in another direction, from the perspective of decentralization (Oliveira & Sousa, 2010).

This form of organization gave the federated entities a greater organizational capacity, however, the greater decentralization also corresponds to a greater inequality.

While in the unitary state the central government is prior and superior to local instances, and power relations obey a hierarchical and pyramidal logic, in the federations the principles of autonomy of subnational governments and sharing of legitimacy and decision-making among federative entities prevail (Abrucio, 2010, p. 41).

Therefore, there is in practice more than one legitimate government agent in the definition and elaboration of public policies. According to Oliveira and Sousa (2010), this tension between centralization and decentralization and the form of collaboration between the Union and other federated entities is fundamental to understand how educational policies are unveiled.

Understanding that the right to education, as recommended by article 205 of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil, 1988), presupposes equal conditions for all, this understanding is opposed to the typical differentiation of the federative system. For Oliveira and Sousa (2010), the structure of the federative pact is particularly important for public policies, since it directly interferes with the themes of democracy and equality. It is noteworthy that the transfer of responsibilities to the states, notably induced each of these states to give different treatment to education. Therefore,

[...] what is manifested in the states of the South and Southeast that took responsibility for educational service and built, throughout the twentieth century, their own education systems, using municipalities in the alternative; that of the states of the North and Northeast in which they omitted to build a mass education system and such responsibility was precariously assumed by the municipalities (Oliveira & Sousa, 2010, p. 16).

Notably in 1996, with the creation of Fundef⁵ [*Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e de Valorização do Magistério* - Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and the Appreciation of Teaching] (Emenda Constitucional nº 14, 1996), more precise criteria for the distribution of resources were established, so that financial contributions to their respective responsibilities could be articulated. According to Oliveira and Sousa (2010), a common value of expenditure per student in each state was used as a measure of equivalence, which facilitated a process of redistribution of resources. However, this type of solution is only palliative in a universe of regional inequalities. For the authors, the simplest and most direct solution to regional inequality would be a tax reform that aligned

⁴ According to Fernandes (2015), the Unitary State is the form of State in which there is no geographical distribution of political power according to the territory. The Regional State, on the other hand, has a distribution of power to the regions, both of administrative competence and legislative competence, and currently exists in the Constitution of Italy. Autonomic State is also a form of State in which there is administrative and legislative decentralization for the entities, currently existing in Spain. The federal state is the form of state in which there is a geographical distribution of political power according to the territory. Confederation is not a form of state itself according to Fernandes (2015), presenting itself more as a junction of states, in which there is a geographical distribution of political power in which all entities participating in this confederation are endowed with sovereignty.

⁵ On 12/19/2006, Fundeb – Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica e de Valorização dos Profissionais da Educação (Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Appreciation of Education Professionals) was created by EC No. 53. Fundeb replaced Fundef.

responsibilities with social policies and the financial conditions to implement them. However, it is known that in Brazil the political barriers to the management of structural reforms, such as tax, which would obviously affect the Brazilian elites, are historical barriers.

In the context of the discussion of the new Plano Nacional de Educação (National Education Plan) (PNE) that is currently in force and which has a term between the years 2014 to 2024, the idea of a Sistema Nacional de Educação (National Education System) (SNE) resurfaced as a topic for discussion. It should be noted that during the discussion on the Law of Guidelines and Bases (LDB/1996), this theme also had some visibility. This system would consist of,

[...] in resizing the action of federated entities, ensuring common educational guidelines to be implemented throughout the national territory, with the perspective of overcoming regional inequalities. Thus, the objective is the development of universalizable national public educational policies, through the regulation of the specific attributions of each federated entity in the collaborative regime and private education by state agencies. The Sistema Nacional de Educação thus assumes the role of articulator, regulator, coordinator and, whenever necessary, financier of education systems (federal, state/DF and municipal), guaranteeing common purposes, guidelines and educational strategies, but maintaining the specificities of each one (Conferência Nacional de Educação [CONAE], 2008, p.11).

According to Oliveira and Sousa (2010), this system would approach a formulation such as the Sistema Único de Saúde (Unified Health System) (SUS). Although appropriate, the analogy has some limitations and, specifically in the case of education, the form of cooperation, in addition to the common normative, would materialize by financial means or even by technical assistance. Thus, the adoption of a SNE faces political difficulties to be made feasible, considering that it did not materialize even in the Federal Constitution of 1988 and much less in the LDB of 1996. This fact concerns its adoption by the federated entities, since its immediate adoption would imply adherence to common guidelines and the federation is one of the stone clauses of our Constitution. Therefore, given the difficulties of a broader modification that establishes a national education system or a tax reform, the relations between the federated entities occur asymmetrically and, therefore, it is necessary to establish agreed and systemic actions.

For Abrucio (2010), the decentralizing vision had positive effects in the field of public policies, with the creation of some national plans, such as the Programa Saúde da Família (Family Health Program) (PSF) and the Bolsa Escola (Scholarship) (currently Bolsa Família), which were programs that were born through the initiative of mayors and local society. However, although the positive results were revealed in concrete reality, the negative results were also produced. The heterogeneity between municipalities in financial, political and administrative terms is even more noticeable (Abrucio, 2010).

After this brief but important discussion about how the State is organized and its form of federalism, it can be observed that, due to the fragmentation and disorganization of the entities, the arena of formulation of public policies is influenced by different interest groups, whether they are linked to the federated entities themselves - such as associations and unions - as well as the business groups of education that, within the scope of the period analyzed by this work, gained prominence within the process of formulation of educational policies. Such groups are called actors and play an important role, whether presenting claims or performing actions that will later be transformed into public policies.

Thus, in the macro-political context, private actors are constituted in non-governmental organizations, trade unions, class organizations and, with regard to educational policies for teacher training, they have as two of the main organizations: the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação (ANPED, 2021) (National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Education) and the Associação Nacional pela Formação dos Profissionais da Educação (ANFOPE, 2021) (National Association for the Training of Education Professionals).

Both Anped and Anfope are two important actors with regard to the field of research in educational policies as well as, specifically, the field of teacher training. Both agree with the same understanding that Brazilian educational thinking needs to maintain a commitment to a public, secular, free, inclusive and socially referenced school at all levels and modalities and for all Brazilian citizens.

Still within the scope of interest groups, there is the performance of the movements said to be 'collaborators', or even 'friends of education'. This profile includes groups such as Lehman Foundation, Itaú Foundation, Bradesco Foundation, Ayrton Senna Institute and, a group that articulates very well in the political arenas and with a lot of activity in the National Congress, called Todos pela Educação (All for

Education)⁶. This movement, described by the entity itself as a suprapartisan and independent group, highlights that it acts without receiving public funds and its mission is to contribute to improving basic education in Brazil. Well, we know that there is no neutrality in education so any action of movements such as this have an intention, a proposal and even more, having as supporters the foundations mentioned above.

Thus, in the process of globalization of education through the performance of International Organizations and their globalizing policies, the teacher becomes the main agent of the formation of the resilient citizen, necessary for 'peace' and social cohesion in a perspective of the good citizen conformed within the globalizing neoliberal scope. The resilient citizen is the neoliberal subject and the role of education and training in this neoliberal society is to make people more resilient and prepare them for a certain invulnerability that allows them to resist without breaking adverse, aggressive and even violent situations that life will certainly put them (Tavares, 2002 apud Coelho, 2017). This resilient citizen proposal makes the teacher gain a centrality in the process of convincing and shaping the subaltern classes, sometimes as a protagonist, sometimes as an obstacle to the implementation of neoliberal educational counter-reforms (Coelho, 2017).

Documents of the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber: data organization

This movement aims to present the scope of documents found that relate specifically to educational public policies and in them, teacher training policies in the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber. The documents of the Permanent Committee on Education of the Chamber of Deputies were chosen as the object of analysis of this research with the general objective, therefore, to verify in these documents and proposals for bills, what were the implications for the formulation of teacher training policies in the first decade of the 21st century in the Brazilian context.

According to information from the Chamber of Deputies' own website, in the History⁷ and Attributions tab, the Education Committee currently has 42 members and an equal number of alternates and, after the dismemberment occurred in 2013 under Resolution 21 (Resolução nº 21, 2013), operates in the following thematic fields: issues related to education in general; education policy and system, in its institutional, structural, functional and legal aspects; education law; human and financial resources for education.

Organizing the collected research material means processing the reading according to document analysis criteria, including some techniques, such as booking, quantitative and qualitative survey of recurring terms and subjects, creation of codes and tables to facilitate control and handling. The data for this research are available in digital collection on the website of the Chamber of Deputies (CD). On the CD website, on the initial screen it is possible to view in the upper tab the topic Legislative Activity and, in this topic, the tab unfolds in agenda, legislative proposal, plenary, committees, speeches and debates, legislative studies, Union budget, legislation, understand the legislative process and participate. In the case of this survey, the selected item was Commissions.

On the page with the Standing Committees, the Education Committee is chosen and on the left side are the topics: History and attributions; Presidency; Members; Subcommittees; Bill and other proposals in the Committee; Meetings; Public hearings; Seminars and other events; Documents; Agreements, standards and summaries; Publications; Shorthand notes; Reports; Indications; Other documents; News. The Meetings item is selected, that is redirected to the search page, in which the start and end dates of the search are defined. As a time frame of this research, we have the period between the years 2000 to 2010. Then, to fill out the field, the initial date was 01/01/2000 and the final date was 12/31/2010.

After this stage, the website of the Education Commission presents a section, where there are 811 items, of which 657 correspond to meetings, hearings, seminars and meetings, corresponding to 81.0% of the items. The 657 meetings were analyzed in order to verify which of them addressed the topic of teacher training. Of the 657 meetings analyzed, 63 of them addressed the theme or keyword "teacher training", that is, only 10% of the meetings reviewed (Figure 1).

It is noteworthy that of the 63 meetings that mentioned teacher training, teacher training was not necessarily the main theme, that is, within a context perspective, the theme of training was addressed in

⁶ According to information from the entity's own website, Todos Pela Educação is a non-profit, plural, supra-party and independent civil society organization - it does not receive public resources. Founded on September 6, 2006 at the Ipiranga Museum, in São Paulo, the day before we celebrated the Independence of Brazil and in the same place as its proclamation. It was there that we presented our historical milestone: the All for Education Commitment letter. Because an independent country is built with quality education for all. Available at: <https://www.todospelaeducacao.org.br/pag/quem-somos/>.

⁷ His record predates the first legislature of the Chamber of Deputies. It was created with permanent character, in the Session of May 15, 1823 of the Constituent Assembly, the Commission of Public Instruction, which was maintained in the Internal Regulations of the Chamber of Deputies of 1826 (Art. 37) and during all the legislatures of the Empire. In the Republic, it underwent transformations, sometimes incorporating thematic areas, sometimes reducing its scope. Thus, in 1891, the Internal Rules of the Chamber began to define it as the Committee on Education and Public Health; in 1920, the Committee on Education; in 1934, the Committee on Education and Culture; in 1989, the Committee on Education, Culture, Sport and Tourism (Res. 5/89); still in 1989, Committee on Education, Culture and Sport (Res. 17/89); in 2004, Committee on Education and Culture; and in 2013, Committee on Education (information taken from the website of the Federal Chamber). Available at: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/comissoes/comissoes-permanentes/ce/conheca>.

speeches and/or speeches. According to a previous survey, there was only one Public Hearing whose main theme was the training of teachers, held in compliance with the request no. 254/2009 (Câmara dos Deputados, 2009) of the deputy Iran Barbosa of PT, on September 10, 2009. The specific theme of the meeting consisted of 'Discussion on the new guidelines for the training of basic education teachers'.

It can be observed that the approach to the theme of teacher training focused on Ordinary Deliberative Meetings, 52%, as shown in Figure 2.

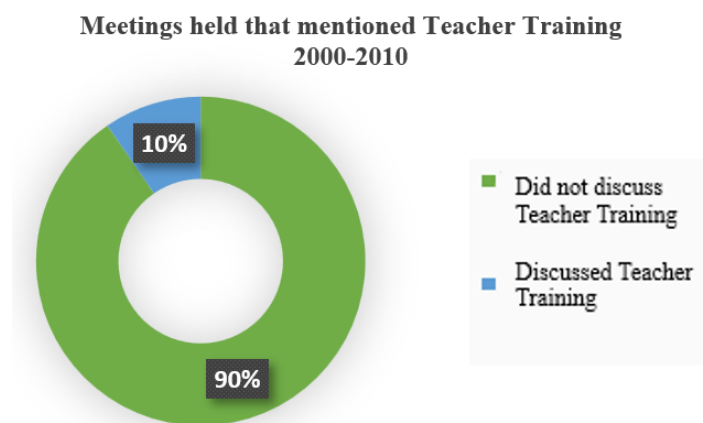


Figure 1. Meetings that mentioned teacher training in the Permanent Committee of Culture Education of the Federal Chamber between 2000-2010. There were only 63 of the 657 meetings analyzed.

Source: Prepared by the author himself from the research data.

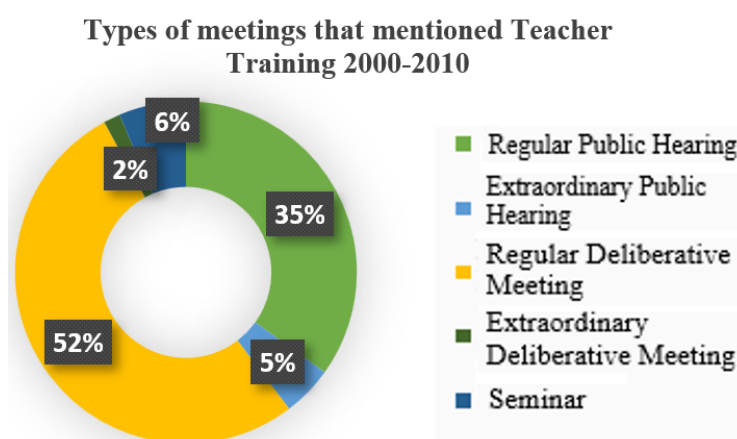


Figure 2. Meetings that mentioned teacher training in the Permanent Committee of Culture Education of the Federal Chamber between 2000-2010. The debate on the topic focused on Ordinary Deliberative Meetings (52%) and Ordinary Public Hearings (35%).

Source: Prepared by the author himself from the research data.

The 63 meetings generated 182 documents, distributed in: 34 agendas, 34 full texts, 60 abstracts/results and 54 minutes. The agendas and attendance lists did not contain elements that corroborated the research and, therefore, were discarded from the documentary analysis. In addition, the attendance lists were blank, that is, it is only possible to assess who or which parliamentarians were present at these meetings from the minutes. The minutes, in turn, only contained information identifying the deputies present, with date and time, and examining the requests and draft laws. There was no document of any kind that all 63 meetings produced equally. The distribution of the documents is shown in Figure 3.

The meetings were also analyzed according to the time frame of the research (2000 to 2010) in order to ascertain in which years there was a higher incidence of the topic or that teacher training was in evidence. The data showed that the themes were distributed as follows: 1 in 2000, 2 in 2002, 5 in 2003, 7 in 2004, 10 in 2005, 7 in 2006, 15 in 2007, 4 in 2008, 6 in 2009 and 6 in 2010. No meetings were found in which teacher training was addressed in 2001. The data are represented in Figure 4.

From the organization of the data, the objective is to deepen the analysis of the documents, taking into account the Context of Influence, the performance of the Standing Committee on Education and the proposals discussed therein that relate specifically to teacher training policies. Considering that it is in the Legislative

Branch that the first moment of constitution of public policies is realized, since it is in it that the public debate becomes the object of a proposition that may be the initiative of one of the three powers (Oliveira, 2016).

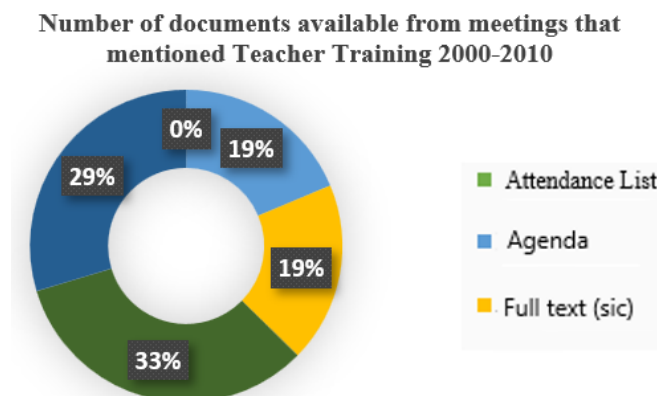


Figure 3. Documents available from the 63 meetings that mentioned teacher training at the Federal Chamber's Permanent Committee on Culture Education between 2000-2010. Most documents are summaries/results and minutes, representing 33% and 29% respectively.

Source: Prepared by the author himself from the research data.

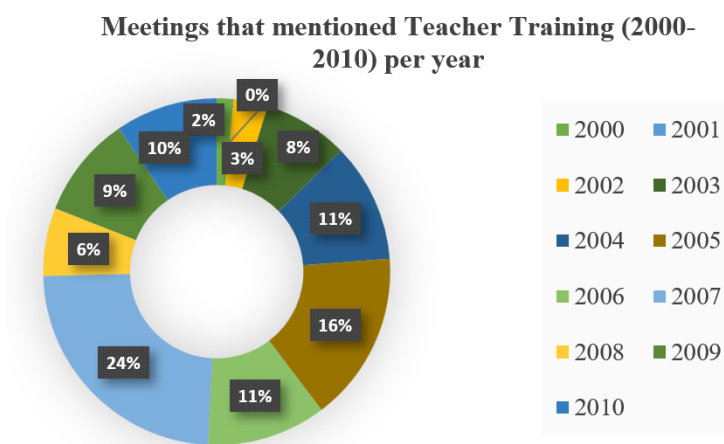


Figure 4. Proportion of meetings that mentioned teacher training in the Permanent Committee of Culture Education of the Federal Chamber per year (2000-2010).

Source: Prepared by the author himself from the research data.

The rules that establish the instruments of public policies gain the final version in the Legislative Branch (except for the possibility of vetoes, which in any case can be overturned by the Legislative itself) if edited by law or Provisional Measure. Another important point to be highlighted is that "[...] the Legislature also has the instrument of the legislative decree to stop acts of the Executive that it considers as having invaded its competence (art. 49, V, CF)" (Martins, 2014, p.16).

The documents of the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber, with regard to the proposals for the training of Basic Education teachers, revealed some categories that emerged in the analysis of the minutes and full text, namely: higher education as a locus of teacher training; specific training in the area in which it operates; continuing education; International Organizations; training and professional appreciation and teacher evaluation.

Therefore, the next step will be composed of an analytical part in an effort to understand the ongoing teacher training policies in Brazil from the organized data, revealing the contradictions, as well as pointing out challenges and perspectives in the most recent actions of the Brazilian State.

Discussions on teacher training policies in Brazil from the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber

From the 63 meetings previously identified, about 182 documents were found, distributed in: 34 agendas, 34 intact in text, 60 abstracts/results and 54 minutes. As already explained, the objective of the research was to deepen the analysis of the documents of the Standing Committee on Education and the proposals discussed therein that relate specifically to teacher training policies, in view of the Context of Influence. Therefore, an

analysis of the documents in search of the categories that guide this research, whether in speeches and discourses, proposes to investigate proposals for bills and requirements presented.

For the purpose of a more specific analysis, the Minutes (document where it is possible to assess the discussed and deliberate draft laws) and the Full Text (document that contains all the speeches of the meetings) were chosen as documentary corpus, since these are the two most relevant documents of a meeting, hearing or seminar. At the end, there are 54 minutes and 34 intact in text for analysis.

As the work focuses on the period between 2000 and 2010, we opted for a chronological analysis from 01/01/2000 to 12/31/2010. This also allows a close monitoring of the research object and a perception of which moments or periods occurred more discussions and debates around the theme.

Thus, what could be seen is that the space of an Education Committee, such as the one analyzed (Education Committee of the Federal Chamber), should be an environment in which all voices and all actors, indistinctly, in fact had space to discuss the construction and elaboration of public education policies and in it, teacher training policies. However, the analysis of the documents shows the lack of interest on the part of the Brazilian legislators, which is called the Casa do Povo (House of People), in teacher training policies.

As a way of illustrating, there are some of the few bills that, after analysis, discussion and debates within the Committee on Education of the Chamber, were processed by the National Congress and became educational laws: Bill 5.395/2009 authored by the Executive Branch transformed into Ordinary Law 12.796/2013 amending Law 9.394, of December 20, 1996, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education, to provide for the training of education professionals and provide other measures (Lei nº 9.394, 1996); Bill No. 5.418/05 of Congresswoman Luiza Erundina (PSB) transformed into Law 12.612, of April 13, 2012, declares the educator Paulo Freire Patron of Brazilian Education (Lei nº 12.612, 2012); Bill 6.514/2009 authored by Senator Cristovam Buarque (PDT) with the purpose of amending Law 9.394 (Lei nº 9.394, 1996), to establish the right of access to teacher training courses for teachers, through a differentiated selection process, transformed into Ordinary Law 13.478 (Lei nº 13.478 (2017)).

Another important point about teacher training, which goes beyond any discussion in the Commission, concerns the educational reforms undertaken by the Brazilian State. This reformist agenda that emerges in the late 1980s and early 1990s is an illustration of what we have come to call the neoliberal political-legal order, which demands the flexibility of the State itself, which starts both to induce this productive reorganization, and to enable the technical and ethical reorganization of the worker, who must answer for productive skills and abilities. Therefore, a State open to the announced movements of reform of its instruments of social and cultural reproduction.

In a way, this finding is consistent with what Oliveira (2016, p. 114) describes as “[...] the contradictions that characterize the policy of training teachers in Basic Education”. In her analysis of the legislative production on the 53rd⁸ and 54th⁹ Legislature of the National Congress, the author states:

1. Legislative production on teacher training in Brazil that reaches the status of law is a private and exclusive initiative of the Executive Branch in the legislatures investigated. 2. Even though it is a federated country, with practices that have decentralization as a principle, the legislation analyzed suggested that the centralization of the Federal Executive prevails in the regulation of basic education teacher training policies (Oliveira, 2016, p.113).

In this understanding, a reading of the data found reflects a type of State that is guided more by external guidelines than by a collective construction of internal actors, such as universities and entities such as Anped and Anfope. However, according to Druck (2006):

Today, upon arriving in the fourth and last year of office, the Lula da Silva Government not only did not constitute this possibility, but also chose to continue the application and defense of a neoliberal economic policy. And, consequently with the ideological and political basis of neoliberalism, it has been acting to demobilize social movements, to annul the autonomous and independent force of the trade union movement, through a permanent co-optation of its directions and a process of “nationalization” of workers’ organizations (unions and parties, especially the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers’ Party) (Druck, 2006, p. 330-331).

Observing this inference, there is a certain ‘demobilization’ on the part of actors such as public universities and unions. On the other hand, a strong presence of movements, such as Todos pela Educação (All for Education) in discussions and debates about Brazilian education. In the specific case of Todos pela Educação, it is noteworthy that it was structured, according to Martins (2013, p. 154):

⁸ 53rd Legislature – 2007 to 2011 (<https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/comissoes/grupos-de-trabalho/53a-legislatura>).

⁹ 54th Legislature – 2011 to 2015 (<https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/comissoes/grupos-de-trabalho/54a-legislatura>).

[...] from a pact between private initiative, third sector and governments – which contributes to the concealment of conflicts between classes, and class fractions, making more complex the understanding of reality, especially with regard to the thin limits between the public and the private – in order to also make the distinction between social rights and individual rights less clear.

Therefore, the finding of only one meeting, in which the central theme was teacher training, is the result of all the above of the Brazilian reality in the contexts of the FHC and Lula governments. The proposals for bills, when presented, were based only on legal indications and it was not possible to find any discussion of projects for teacher training policies in Brazil regarding initial training as a macro project. When the category 'teacher training' is identified in some speech, the occurrence has always been within contexts related to 'quality of education', 'valorization of education', 'development of the country' and/or 'professional valorization'. This shows that [...] "[...] the teaching profession is not valued, nor is it interesting in the social and political scenario, and these scenarios intertwine and interfere with the conditions of supply of all educational activities" (Martins Neto & Pereira, 2021, p. 11).

It was not possible to find in the discussions presented by the documents, the policies of initial training of teachers of initiative of the Legislative. In a way, this corroborates the findings of Oliveira (2016), who, when analyzing the legal references of teacher training in the period 2007-2014, states:

Few legislative proposals advance in the conception of basic education teacher training policy, such as the proposal for pedagogical residency and some even distance themselves from what is proposed by academia and scientific associations, such as the proposition that defends initial training in distance learning (Oliveira, 2016, p. 115).

Thus, although a popular-based government has ascended to power, analyzing a 10-year hiatus, it can be concluded that there have been few concrete advances from the point of view of state policies on initial teacher training, and this is mainly due to the government's choice to implement its educational policies through programs. There are several initiatives of the governments on duty, operating mainly via Provisional Measure, Decrees and Ordinances, in an attempt to solve a serious problem that is teacher training. Therefore, with this kind of maneuver, the government of the moment somehow manages to "touch" the problem without generating some wear and tear in Parliament. On the other hand, there are several other initiatives to improve continuing education, also with isolated and dispersed measures, which demonstrates the use of palliative measures for such a complex and chronic problem.

Final considerations

The presentation of the documents of the Education Committee of the Federal Chamber, as a mechanism for analyzing and understanding the process of formulating public educational policies, and in them, the policies for the training of teachers of Basic Education in Brazil, indicated the contradictions that operate in Brazilian education notably contributed to a logic of the market and the neoliberal agenda.

From the data collection, it was possible to understand how the process of formulation and elaboration of public policies occurs within the scope of the Brazilian Legislative from the Education Committee, its nuances, discussions and debates. The lack of a more in-depth discussion about teacher education in Brazil was evidenced, a discussion that encompassed entities, research groups and intellectual researchers in the area and materialized in a project built from the plurality of actors.

It was observed that none of the meetings held by the Committee aimed to 'formulate' teacher training policies, directly or indirectly. At most, as shown, there are draft laws that, for example, amend provisions of the LDB 1996 or intend to provide an update of said law. Therefore, it is considered urgent to recognize the need for actions and proposals that seek to consolidate the national system of training and appreciation of education professionals, "[...] understanding that training policies are inseparable from the policies of appreciation of basic education professionals and that the desirable impacts can only be achieved from the strengthening of this articulation" (Oliveira & Leiro, 2019, p. 21).

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