

## SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN DISPUTE: NEOLIBERAL RATIONALITIES AND THE SOCIO-CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE IN POLITICAL-PEDAGOGICAL PROJECTS

### GESTÃO ESCOLAR EM DISPUTA: RACIONALIDADES NEOLIBERAIS E A PERSPECTIVA SÓCIO-CRÍTICA NOS PROJETOS POLÍTICO-PEDAGÓGICOS

### GESTIÓN ESCOLAR EN DISPUTA: RACIONALIDADES NEOLIBERALES Y LA PERSPECTIVA SOCIO-CRÍTICA EN LOS PROYECTOS POLÍTICO-PEDAGÓGICOS



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#### ABSTRACT

Brazilian education has been shaped by historical, political, and economic transformations that directly affect school management. From the civil–military regime, characterized by an authoritarian, technocratic, and dualistic educational model, to the redemocratization process initiated in the 1980s, public schooling became permeated by discourses of democratization and citizenship. However, from the 1990s onward, in line with the global advance of neoliberalism, an educational rationality became hegemonic in Brazil, oriented toward the redefinition of the role of the State, the centrality of managerial efficiency, and results-based logic, significantly impacting the management of public schools and their Political-Pedagogical Projects (PPP). In this context, the study analyzes PPPs as arenas of dispute between neoliberal rationalities and the socio-critical perspective of education. The guiding research question is: how do neoliberal rationalities, hegemonized since the 1990s, and the socio-critical perspective manifest and confront each other in the construction and implementation of public school political-pedagogical projects? The general objective is to analyze this dispute based on the main legal and normative frameworks of Brazilian education. Methodologically, the research adopts a qualitative, bibliographic approach grounded in the analysis of normative documents. The results indicate that, although neoliberal rationality has gained centrality in school management, tensions, resistances, and critical reconfigurations persist. It is concluded that the PPP remains a strategic political-pedagogical instrument for defending a fair, democratic public school oriented toward comprehensive human development.

**Keywords:** Fair Public School. Democratic Management. Educational Policies. Emancipatory Education. Teacher Education.

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## RESUMO

A educação brasileira é marcada por transformações históricas, políticas e econômicas que incidem diretamente sobre a gestão escolar. Do regime civil-militar, caracterizado por um modelo autoritário, tecnocrático e dualista de educação, ao processo de redemocratização iniciado nos anos de 1980, a escola pública passa a ser atravessada por discursos de democratização e cidadania. Contudo, a partir dos anos de 1990, em consonância com o avanço do neoliberalismo em escala mundial, torna-se hegemônica no Brasil uma racionalidade educacional orientada pela redefinição da função do Estado, pela centralidade da eficiência gerencial e pela lógica dos resultados, impactando a gestão das escolas públicas e os projetos político-pedagógicos (PPP). Nesse contexto, a pesquisa analisa os PPP como espaços de disputa entre racionalidades neoliberais e a perspectiva sócio-crítica da educação. A questão de pesquisa norteadora é: como as racionalidades neoliberais, hegemônicas desde os anos de 1990, e a perspectiva sócio-crítica se manifestam e se confrontam na construção e na implementação dos projetos político-pedagógicos da escola pública? O objetivo geral consiste em analisar essa disputa com base nos principais marcos legais e normativos da educação brasileira. Metodologicamente, adota-se uma abordagem qualitativa, de natureza bibliográfica, fundamentada na análise de documentos normativos. Os resultados indicam que, embora a racionalidade neoliberal tenha adquirido centralidade na gestão escolar, persistem tensões, resistências e reconfigurações críticas. Conclui-se que o PPP permanece como instrumento político-pedagógico estratégico para a defesa de uma escola pública justa, democrática e orientada pela formação humana integral.

**Palavras-chave:** Escola Pública Justa. Gestão Democrática. Políticas Educacionais. Educação Emancipadora. Formação de Professores.

## RESUMEN

La educación brasileña está marcada por transformaciones históricas, políticas y económicas que inciden directamente en la gestión escolar. Desde el régimen cívico-militar, caracterizado por un modelo educativo autoritario, tecnocrático y dualista, hasta el proceso de redemocratización iniciado en la década de 1980, la escuela pública pasó a estar atravesada por discursos de democratización y ciudadanía. No obstante, a partir de los años noventa, en consonancia con el avance del neoliberalismo a escala mundial, se volvió hegemónica en Brasil una racionalidad educativa orientada por la redefinición del papel del Estado, la centralidad de la eficiencia gerencial y la lógica de los resultados, impactando la gestión de las escuelas públicas y los Proyectos Político-Pedagógicos (PPP). En este contexto, el estudio analiza los PPP como espacios de disputa entre racionalidades neoliberales y la perspectiva socio-crítica de la educación. La pregunta de investigación es: ¿cómo se manifiestan y se confrontan estas racionalidades en la construcción e implementación de los proyectos político-pedagógicos de la escuela pública? El objetivo general es analizar dicha disputa a partir de los principales marcos legales y normativos de la educación brasileña. Metodológicamente, se adopta un enfoque cualitativo y bibliográfico, basado en el análisis de documentos normativos. Los resultados muestran que, aunque la racionalidad neoliberal ha adquirido centralidad en la gestión escolar, persisten tensiones, resistencias y reconfiguraciones críticas. Se concluye que el PPP continúa siendo un instrumento político-pedagógico estratégico para la defensa de una escuela pública justa, democrática y orientada a la formación humana integral.

**Palabras clave:** Escuela Pública Justa. Gestión Democrática. Políticas Educativas. Educación Emancipadora. Formación Docente.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The history of Brazilian education is crossed by political and ideological disputes around the social function of the State, the public school and the meanings attributed to school management. Throughout the twentieth century, especially during the civil-military regime (1964-1985), education was submitted to an authoritarian and technocratic project, guided by the rationality of subordinate economic development and the training of functional labor to the demands of the market. In this context, LDBEN n. 5.692/1971 expressed in an emblematic way an exclusionary and dualistic educational model, by institutionalizing the separation between a vocational school aimed at the popular classes and a propaedeutic school aimed at the socially favored strata. Such a structure reinforced historical inequalities and consolidated an instrumental conception of education, dissociated from the critical, cultural and integral formation of the subjects.

The transition from the civil-military regime to the process of redemocratization, intensified throughout the 1980s, inaugurated a new political and social horizon, in which education began to be claimed as a social right and a fundamental condition for the exercise of citizenship. The promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 constituted a decisive milestone in affirming education as a duty of the State and a right of all, paving the way for the defense of a democratic, inclusive and socially referenced public school. The Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, LDBEN, n. 9.394/1996 is part of this movement by reorganizing the Brazilian educational system and reaffirming principles such as the democratization of access, pedagogical autonomy and democratic management.

However, these legal and institutional advances are part of a broader international scenario, progressively marked by the rise of neoliberalism as a guiding rationality for public policies. This process has its roots in the structural crisis of capitalism in the 1970s and acquires greater political density at the end of that decade and throughout the 1980s, especially with the political-ideological convergence between the United States and the United Kingdom. Under the presidency of George H. W. Bush and the government of Margaret Thatcher, a political-economic project based on the deregulation of markets, the retraction of state intervention and the expansion of privatizations was consolidated. These principles were systematized in the Washington Consensus, formulated in 1989 with the protagonism of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which began to condition financing and international cooperation policies to the adoption of structural reforms, fiscal discipline and trade liberalization. Directed mainly at peripheral and dependent countries, these guidelines contributed to the deepening of social inequalities and to the weakening of public policies.

In the 1990s, this rearrangement of the social function of the State began to have a more direct impact on educational systems, guiding reforms in different countries, including Brazil. Education has been progressively incorporated into an international agenda that favors managerial efficiency, measurement of results and administrative rationalization. Multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, assumed a central role in this movement, whose symbolic inflection occurred with the World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, in 1990. From this framework, an educational conception based on measurable learning, curricular organization by competencies and skills, and the accountability of schools and professionals for externally measured performances was disseminated, producing structural impacts on school management and political-pedagogical projects.

In this context, the main legal and normative frameworks of Brazilian education formulated since the 1990s begin to express, explicitly or implicitly, the hegemony of neoliberal rationalities. Documents such as LDBEN No. 9,394/1996, the National Curriculum Guidelines for teacher training (Resolutions CNE/CP No. 01/2002, No. 01/2006, No. 02/2015, No. 02/2019 and No. 04/2024) and the National Common Curricular Base (Resolution CNE/CP No. 02/2017) become structuring references of contemporary educational policy, directly affecting school management, curriculum, teacher training and the elaboration of political-pedagogical projects.

In this scenario, school management is no longer conceived primarily as a collective political-pedagogical practice and is progressively associated with managerialist models guided by goals, performance indicators and administrative efficiency. The political-pedagogical project, in turn, runs the risk of being reduced to a technical-bureaucratic instrument, emptied of its critical, political and democratic potential. However, this process does not develop in a linear or consensual way. Over the last decades, different conceptions of education, management and human formation have coexisted and entered into dispute within educational policies and school practices.

The analyses and academic production in the field of educational management indicate that, although neoliberalism has become hegemonic in Brazilian educational policies since the 1990s, alternative projects committed to the democratization of public schools and integral human formation remain in dispute. The socio-critical perspective of school management affirms the centrality of collective participation, pedagogical autonomy and the social commitment of the school, understanding the political-pedagogical project as a privileged space for resistance, reflection, criticism and democratic construction.

It is in this context of historical, geopolitical and normative disputes that this research is inserted, guided by the following guiding question: how do neoliberal rationalities, which have become hegemonic in Brazilian educational policies since the 1990s, and the socio-critical perspective manifest and confront each other in the construction and implementation of political-pedagogical projects in public schools?

The general objective of the research is to analyze the dispute between neoliberal rationalities and the socio-critical perspective in the political-pedagogical projects of public schools, based on the main legal and normative frameworks of Brazilian education formulated from the 1990s onwards, considering their implications for school management and for the social function of public schools.

As specific objectives, it is sought: (a) to examine the historical origin and theoretical foundations of educational neoliberalism in Brazil, contextualizing its emergence in the post-redemocratization scenario and the influence of multilateral organizations from the Jomtien Declaration (1990); (b) to analyze the main legal and normative references of Brazilian education, with emphasis on LDBEN n. 9.394/1996, the National Curriculum Guidelines for teacher training and the National Common Curricular Base, identifying the conceptions of school management and political-pedagogical project present in them; (c) to reflect on the impacts of the dispute between neoliberal rationalities and the socio-critical perspective on the organization of pedagogical work, on school management and on the processes of human formation in public schools.

From the methodological point of view, the research adopted a qualitative approach, of bibliographic and documentary nature, based on the critical analysis of academic productions and normative documents of the Brazilian educational policy. As highlighted by authors such as Minayo (2014), Bardin (2016) and Severino (2016), qualitative research allows us to apprehend meanings, contradictions and disputes present in social processes, going beyond merely descriptive analyses. The investigation involves the systematic reading, thematic categorization and critical interpretation of laws, resolutions, guidelines and official documents, articulated with the specialized literature in the field of education and school management. This methodological option makes it possible to understand the political-pedagogical project as a historical and political construction, situated in power relations and ideological disputes.

The justification of this research lies in the need to deepen the critical understanding of the directions of school management and the political-pedagogical project in a context marked by neoliberal hegemony and the persistence of historical educational inequalities. By analyzing the political-pedagogical project as a space for confrontation between different

educational projects, the research contributes to the reflection and management of a fair<sup>3</sup>, democratic and socially referenced public school, offering theoretical subsidies to researchers, managers and teachers committed to the resistance to the commodification of education and to the strengthening of emancipatory pedagogical practices.

This article is organized into five sections, articulated in order to highlight the historicity of the disputes around school management and the political-pedagogical project in the context of Brazilian educational policies. After this introduction, the second section analyzes the educational reforms and the affirmation of neoliberal rationality in school management in the period from 1990 to 2002, placing them in the context of the restructuring of the State and the influence of multilateral organizations. The third section discusses the disputes and provisional consensuses in the field of teacher training and school management between 2003 and 2016, highlighting advances, limits and contradictions of educational policies in the governments of the Workers' Party and the political-institutional inflection of 2016. The fourth section examines the National Common Curricular Base, management by results and the political-pedagogical projects in dispute in the period from 2017 to 2024, evidencing the deepening of neoliberal rationality and the possibilities of resistance. Finally, the fifth section presents the final considerations, systematizing the main discussions, analytical contributions and implications for the defense of a democratic, fair and socially referenced public school.

## **2 EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND THE AFFIRMATION OF NEOLIBERAL RATIONALITY IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT (1990-2002)**

The objective of this section is to analyze the affirmation of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian school management in the period from 1990 to 2002, situating it in the global, Latin American geopolitical context and examining its implications for educational policies, teacher training and political-pedagogical projects of public schools.

At the international level, this process integrates the restructuring of contemporary capitalism and the consolidation of neoliberalism as the hegemonic rationality of public policies, marked by the reduction of state intervention, the centrality of the market, and the diffusion of control, competition, and performance mechanisms (Dardot; Laval, 2016).

In Latin America, these guidelines were incorporated through structural adjustment programs imposed on peripheral and dependent countries, with decisive action by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which began to condition financing and

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<sup>3</sup> The term "just school" is recurrent in the theoretical production of José Carlos Libâneo, although it does not appear as a single conceptual category. Since the 1990s, in different works, the author has defended a school committed to social justice, equal access to knowledge and integral human formation, as opposed to meritocratic and managerialist conceptions.

international cooperation to the adoption of structural reforms, redefining the social function of the State and subordinating social policies to the logic of economic efficiency (Frigotto, 2010).

In Brazil, the neoliberal inflection began with the government of Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-1992), who, before being impeached, inaugurated an agenda of accelerated economic opening, trade liberalization, market deregulation, and privatizations, accompanied by the weakening of social policies. With Collor's impeachment, Vice President Itamar Franco (1992-1994) assumed the presidency, whose government was characterized by a phase of political and institutional transition, marked by economic stabilization and the reorganization of the state's bases. This period created the historical and institutional conditions for the deepening of structural reforms in subsequent governments, especially in the two terms of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002).

The shock measures adopted in the early 1990s, such as the confiscation of savings and abrupt trade liberalization, produced strong economic and social instability, with direct impacts on employment, income, and living conditions of the population. Although it did not structure a systemic educational policy, the Collor government introduced in the educational field a discourse centered on administrative modernization, managerial efficiency and the reduction of the social function of the State, anticipating principles that would later be consolidated in the educational reforms of the following years. As Saviani (2008) analyzes, this period plays a decisive role in the diffusion of a conception of the minimal State and in the legitimization of policies guided by the logic of the market.

It is in this context that the neoliberal project was consolidated in a more systematic way during the governments of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), when policies of privatization, administrative decentralization, state reform and rationalization of public spending were intensified. In the educational field, such guidelines are expressed in the centrality given to large-scale evaluation, the definition of performance goals and the accountability of education networks, schools and education professionals for the results achieved. School management thus becomes guided by a managerial logic, shifting pedagogical work from a formative and collective perspective to an instrumental and performative rationality, characteristic of the so-called culture of performativity (Ball, 2014).

The 1990s are, therefore, a decisive period for understanding the structural transformations of Brazilian education, especially with regard to school management and teacher training. Inserted in an international scenario marked by the affirmation of neoliberalism as a guiding rationality for public policies, Brazil began to implement educational reforms guided by managerial efficiency, administrative rationalization and the

adaptation of education to the demands of the labor market. Such reforms are not presented as isolated initiatives, but as an expression of a broader political-economic project, which progressively redefines the social function of public schools and reorients the meaning of pedagogical work.

A central international milestone in this process is the World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien in 1990, which resulted in the World Declaration on Education for All. Although enunciated under the discourse of universalization of access to basic education, this Declaration introduces a significant inflection by prioritizing learning considered essential, useful and measurable, formulated in the language of competencies and skills. As Libâneo (2012) analyzes, it is a shift from the centrality of integral human education to learning evaluated by results, articulating education, productivity and economic efficiency.

In Brazil, these guidelines were initially materialized in the Ten-Year Plan for Education for All (1993-2003), which inaugurated a logic of educational planning based on goals, indicators and performance evaluation. The plan highlights the incorporation of the guidelines of multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, whose activities now have a direct impact on the definition of national educational priorities. As Frigotto (2010) points out, such guidelines are far from neutral, as they subordinate education to the logic of economic competitiveness and the formation of human capital adjusted to market demands.

This movement acquires greater normative density with the enactment of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, LDBEN, n. 9.394/1996, which reorganizes the Brazilian educational system in line with the new configuration of the State in the neoliberal context. Although the LDBEN incorporates relevant principles, such as the expansion of access to basic education and the autonomy of education systems, it also creates conditions for the intensification of administrative decentralization, curricular flexibility and the accountability of schools and education professionals for the results achieved. As Apple (2002) observes, such devices are part of a broader neoliberal agenda, which redefines educational management under the logic of control, efficiency and performativity.

In the context of school management, these transformations contribute to the affirmation of managerialist models, in which the principal and the management team are conceived as managers of results, responsible for meeting previously established goals and raising institutional performance indicators. Stephen Ball (2014) analyzes this phenomenon as part of a culture of performativity, in which rankings, external evaluations, and performance metrics come to regulate educational work, producing new forms of control and subjectivation of education professionals.

The reconfiguration of the social function of the teacher and of the school management itself deepens with the approval of the National Curriculum Guidelines for teacher training, instituted by Resolution CNE/CP n. 01/2002. This document explains the centrality of competencies and skills as a structuring axis of teacher training, attributing privileged emphasis to the practice and resolution of immediate problems of daily school life. The establishment of 400 hours of practice as a curricular component expresses a conception of teaching guided by operational efficiency, to the detriment of a critical, historically and socially contextualized theoretical training.

Libâneo (2013) strongly criticizes this orientation by stating that the reduction of teacher training to a set of practical skills impoverishes pedagogical work and compromises the intellectual, ethical and political dimension of teaching. For the author, "teacher training cannot be reduced to technical training", under penalty of subordinating the school to the demands of the market (Libâneo, 2013, p. 89).

This rationality has a direct impact on political-pedagogical projects, which tend to assume a formal and bureaucratic character, often designed to meet legal and administrative requirements, and not as an expression of a collective project of human formation. Apple (2002) warns that, under neoliberal logic, pedagogical documents function as instruments of symbolic control, emptying their critical and democratic potential.

It is important to note, however, that the affirmation of neoliberal rationality between 1990 and 2002 did not occur in a homogeneous or consensual way. Even within these normative frameworks, tensions and resistance persist around the meaning of public education, teacher training and school management. As Frigotto (2010) observes, the Brazilian public school remains a contradictory space, in which antagonistic educational projects coexist, reflecting broader social, political and ideological disputes.

In summary, this section demonstrated that the period from 1990 to 2002 marks the progressive affirmation of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian educational policy, which began in the Collor de Mello government and was systematically deepened during the mandates of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. It was evident that documents such as the Ten-Year Plan for Education for All, LDBEN n. 9.394/1996 and the National Curriculum Guidelines of 2002 redefined school management and teacher training based on the centrality of efficiency, competencies and the logic of results. At the same time, the analysis revealed that this process established a field of disputes that is expressed, in a privileged way, in the political-pedagogical projects, understood as strategic spaces of confrontation between the neoliberal managerial rationality and perspectives committed to the democratization of the public school and to the integral human formation.

### **3 DISPUTES AND PROVISIONAL CONSENSUSES: TEACHER TRAINING AND SCHOOL MANAGEMENT (2003-2016)**

The objective of this section is to analyze the disputes and provisional consensuses that marked teacher training and school management between 2003 and 2016, highlighting advances, limits and contradictions of educational policies in the governments of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016), as well as the political-institutional inflection resulting from the 2016 impeachment, which paved the way for the advancement of liberal policies in the Michel Temer government (2016-2018) and for the context that precedes the approval of the National Common Curriculum Base.

The period from 2003 to 2016 cannot be understood as a simple continuity of the neoliberal reform cycle of the 1990s, nor as a complete break with its foundations. Rather, it is a historical time marked by disputes within the state, in which the expansion of social policies, the discursive valorization of participation and the expansion of educational access coexist with mechanisms of regulation by performance, large-scale evaluation and growing dialogue with business agendas. In analytical terms, this ambivalence is expressed as a "possible consensus", that is, an unstable arrangement in which democratic projects and market demands are tensioned, producing norms and programs that sometimes expand rights, sometimes reinforce control and standardization devices (Saviani, 2008; Frigotto, 2010). In this context, school management and teacher training become strategic fields: what is at stake is not only "how to manage" the school, but what school one wants to build? For whom? And what is the Brazilian public school for?

From the political-economic point of view, the Lula administrations (2003-2010) combine economic growth, social inclusion and expansion of public policies with structural limits resulting from the maintenance of macroeconomic pillars and management instruments inherited from the previous period. In the educational field, there is an expansion of funding and programs, strengthening of national evaluation systems and induction of federal policies that reorder management practices in the networks and schools. This hybrid conformation supports the interpretation that educational democratization advances, but without completely breaking with the rationality that measures quality by indicators, goals and performance. As Ball (2014) warns, the culture of performativity tends to convert the school into a comparable, rankable and responsive unit to external metrics, producing new forms of control of the teaching work. Thus, even when public policies expand access and permanence, they can simultaneously intensify logics of accountability and institutional competition.

In the context of school management, the period registers efforts to participate and institutionalize councils, forums and planning processes, but also the consolidation of monitoring and evaluation instruments that put pressure on the organization of pedagogical work. Paro (2016) argues that democratic management is not reduced to formal rites, as it presupposes the effective socialization of power, dialogue, and collective decision-making as the foundations of school daily life. When participation is reduced to a procedure, democratic management is emptied and the political-pedagogical project runs the risk of becoming a bureaucratic piece. The central dispute, therefore, reappears in the school under two competing projects: the project of pedagogical democracy (autonomy, participation, collective project) and the project of managerial efficiency (goals, indicators, standardization and control).

In teacher training, a milestone of the period is Resolution CNE/CP No. 01/2006, which establishes the National Curriculum Guidelines for the Pedagogy course. Unlike the strongly instrumental orientation that marked previous guidelines, the 2006 text reaffirms teaching as the basis of identity and replaces training in a broader perspective, articulating theoretical foundations, critical reflection and understanding of the educational phenomenon as a social practice. Libâneo (2013) recognizes relevant inflections, but warns that the dispute with the logic of competencies and with the demands of the educational market does not end at the normative level; it reappears, with new mediations, in the real curriculum of institutions and in the way networks and systems translate "quality" into performance.

It is also necessary to situate the period due to the advancement and complexification of Special Education policies in the inclusive perspective, whose centrality has grown in the public agenda since the mid-2000s. The National Policy on Special Education in the Perspective of Inclusive Education (2008) affirms the right of students who are the target audience of special education to enroll in regular schools and to Specialized Educational Service (AEE), reinforcing the need to reorient school management, teacher training and pedagogical organization. In the same vein, Decree No. 7,611/2011 sets out guidelines for special education and SEA, strengthening the understanding that inclusion is not reduced to access: it implies pedagogical conditions, accessibility, resources, collective planning, and accountability of the system, and not just of the individual teacher. In this sense, inclusion directly puts pressure on managerial rationality, because they demand pedagogical time, critical training and collaborative work, dimensions often compressed by agendas of results.

With Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016), part of the movement to expand policies and programs is preserved, but the scenario becomes more unstable from 2014 onwards, with worsening of political conflicts, polarization and economic pressures that result in fiscal

adjustment policies and intensification of disputes over the social function of the State. In the educational field, the National Education Plan (PNE) 2014-2024 was born from strong social mobilization and defined ambitious goals (financing, teacher appreciation, expansion of access, quality), but its implementation began to face restrictions and distributive disputes. The contradiction is radicalized: the PNE projects the expansion of rights, while the political-economic environment presses for cost containment and managerial solutions, opening space for greater protagonism of private actors and foundations in the formulation of agendas.

In the field of teacher training, this conflict appears in an exemplary way in Resolution CNE/CP No. 02/2015, resulting from broad debates and, therefore, marked by internal tensions. The DCN/2015 reaffirm principles close to the socio-critical tradition, unity between theory and practice, praxis, social commitment, democratic management, integral human formation, but dialogue with the language of competencies and with the need for articulation with the demands of basic education. Frigotto (2010) interprets this type of document as an expression of an unstable equilibrium: there is progress in formulations and principles, but the structural bases that sustain commodification and managerial control continue to operate in educational policy. The result is a normative text with formative power, but vulnerable to instrumental reinterpretations according to the correlations of forces.

It is in this context of growing conquests of social rights, with political, economic and institutional instability, that the 2016 impeachment process, which took place during the second term of President Dilma Rousseff (2015-2016), must be understood. From a formal-institutional point of view, the trial in the Federal Senate is concluded on August 31, 2016, resulting in his definitive removal. However, in the field of critical analysis and academic production, a significant portion of the literature interprets this process as a parliamentary coup, insofar as it was not based on the unequivocal proof of a crime of responsibility, but was made possible by a broad articulation between conservative forces in the National Congress, business sectors, the financial system and large media groups (Saviani, 2017; Singer, 2018).

Saviani (2017) states that impeachment configures a political-institutional rupture that interrupts a cycle, albeit contradictory, of policies aimed at expanding social rights, allowing the recomposition of a regressive liberal agenda. For the author, it is a parliamentary coup because it operates within formal legality, but subverts the democratic content of the political process. In the same vein, Frigotto (2017) argues that the removal of Dilma Rousseff expresses the reaction of the economic elites to the limitations imposed, albeit partial, on the advance of neoliberalism during the governments of the Workers' Party.

Singer (2018) adds that Dilma's second term was marked by a strong conservative offensive, intensified by the international economic crisis, the policy of fiscal austerity, and the exhaustion of the political pact that sustained governability. In the educational field, this rupture creates the political conditions for the dismantling of inclusive policies, for the weakening of social participation and for the acceleration of structural reforms aligned with the logic of the market (Apple, 2002; Ball, 2014). Thus, the parliamentary coup of 2016 inaugurated a new cycle of democratic regression, whose effects are directly projected on public education, school management and the subsequent approval of the National Common Curriculum Base.

With the inauguration of Michel Temer (2016-2018), a liberal and fiscal orientation intensified in the country that began to have a structural impact on social policies, including education. A decisive milestone of this period is the approval of Constitutional Amendment No. 95/2016, which institutes the ceiling on public spending and compromises, for two decades, the State's ability to finance and induce social policies. Several authors point out that this measure produces regressive effects on educational planning, the valorization of education professionals and the expansion of historically conquered rights, by subordinating public investment to the logic of fiscal austerity (Saviani, 2017; Frigotto, 2017).

In this context of budget restriction and redefinition of the social function of the State, educational reforms are gaining strength guided by processes of curriculum standardization, institutional flexibility and accountability for results. The Secondary Education Reform, instituted by Law No. 13,415/2017, sanctioned in February 2017, is an emblematic expression of this inflection by reorganizing the school curriculum based on training itineraries, competencies and skills, bringing basic education closer to models aligned with the demands of the labor market. For Ball (2014), such reforms are part of the logic of performativity, in which educational quality is measured by measurable indicators and results, displacing the formative meaning of teaching.

Apple (2002) adds that this type of reform contributes to the expansion of educational inequalities, by weakening common education and deepening school segmentation processes. Thus, the Temer government consolidates a political-institutional environment favorable to the expansion of neoliberal rationality in education, creating the normative and discursive bases that make it possible, in the subsequent period, to approve the National Common Curricular Base and deepen management by results.

This set of movements helps to explain why the BNCC, approved in 2017, does not emerge as an isolated event, but as the outcome of a political and normative trajectory: (a) the coexistence, in the 2000s and early 2010s, of the expansion of rights and the

strengthening of evaluations; (b) the presence of teaching guidelines with hybrid language; (c) the intensification of disputes after 2014; and (d) the inflection of 2016, which reorders priorities and accelerates reforms with a liberal profile. In the school, the consequences are concrete: the pressure on managers and teachers to "deliver results" intensifies, standardized materials and strategies for controlling pedagogical work are expanded, and the PPP begins to suffer the risk of bureaucratic alignment with external requirements.

Even so, the essential mark of the 2003-2016 period is the contradiction: real advances coexist with mechanisms that re-actualize neoliberal rationality. In inclusive education, for example, the normative recognition of the right and the institutionalization of SEA are expanded, but inequalities in infrastructure, continuing education, working conditions, and effective participation of school collectives in the design of policies persist. In school management, democratic discourses are strengthened, but daily life is crossed by goals, evaluations and accountability. Freire (1996) synthesizes the critical core necessary to understand these tensions by stating that education is inevitably political and that teaching should be guided by the emancipation of the subjects, with no neutrality in educational practice. This warning underlies the central problem of this section: when the possible consensus gives way to managerial predominance, what is called "quality" tends to be reduced to measurement; When the socio-critical perspective is affirmed, quality once again means human formation, participation and social justice.

However, the period between 2003 and 2016 shows that teacher training and school management were crossed by a contradictory movement. On the one hand, important advances can be observed, such as the expansion of access to education, the strengthening of inclusive policies, the discursive valorization of democratic management, and the affirmation of the political-pedagogical project as a space for collective participation, especially in the governments of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and in the first term of Dilma Rousseff (Frigotto, 2010; Paro, 2016). On the other hand, there are still mechanisms of control, large-scale evaluation, and performativity, intensified in Dilma's second term, marked by austerity policies and retraction of social investment, which weaken the State's capacity to induce (Saviani, 2017). The 2016 impeachment deepened this process by inaugurating a liberal inflection in the Michel Temer government, with the adoption of restrictive fiscal measures and curricular reforms that created the political and institutional conditions for the approval of the BNCC in 2017 (Frigotto, 2017; Ball, 2014). In this context, the political-pedagogical project consolidates itself as a central arena of dispute between managerial compliance and the defense of a democratic, inclusive, equitable and socially referenced public school.

#### **4 BNCC, MANAGEMENT BY RESULTS AND THE POLITICAL-PEDAGOGICAL PROJECTS IN DISPUTE (2017-2024)**

The objective of this section is to analyze the deepening of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian educational policy between 2017 and 2024, focusing on the National Common Curriculum Base, the consolidation of management by results, the normative changes in teacher training and their impacts on school management, political-pedagogical projects and disputes for critical perspectives.

The period between 2017 and 2024 constitutes a decisive milestone in the consolidation of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian education, by articulating profound normative changes, institutional rearrangements and broader political reconfigurations of the State. The approval of the National Common Curriculum Base in 2017 occurred in the context of the Michel Temer government (2016-2018), characterized by explicit alignment with the guidelines of international neoliberalism, the adoption of fiscal austerity policies, and the expansion of the influence of multilateral organizations and business foundations in the formulation of educational policies (Apple, 2002; Frigotto, 2017).

In this same movement, the Secondary Education Reform is inserted, instituted by Law No. 13,415/2017, which restructures the final stage of basic education based on curricular flexibility, the centrality of training itineraries, and the reduction of common training, shifting the curriculum from a historical-critical perspective to a utilitarian and adaptive logic. The BNCC of High School, approved in the same year, consolidates this displacement by organizing school knowledge primarily in the language of competencies and skills, narrowing the relationship between curriculum, external evaluation and management by results.

In this scenario, education is regulated by parameters of efficiency, curriculum standardization, and institutional accountability, reinforcing the culture of performativity described by Ball (2014), in which educational quality is reduced to measurable indicators and pedagogical work is progressively subordinated to market demands and the logic of productivity, to the detriment of critical training. of teacher autonomy and the emancipatory social function of the public school.

This movement of educational regression is significantly deepened during the government of Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), whose political-ideological agenda articulates radical economic neoliberalism, moral conservatism, and the deliberate emptying of democratic instances of social participation. In the educational field, this project is expressed through the intensification of management by results, the systematic attack on the autonomy of public schools and universities, and the delegitimization of critical thinking and scientific production. As Saviani (2021) analyzes, this is a period marked by an ideological offensive

against public education, guided by the denial of science, anti-intellectualism, and the submission of educational policies to the logic of the market.

The consolidation of the BNCC and the implementation of the 2019 National Curriculum Guidelines for teacher training reinforce an instrumental conception of curriculum and teaching, aligned with the requirements of performativity and standardization, as Libâneo (2018) criticizes. In the same direction, Frigotto (2017) points out that the Bolsonaro government deepens the commodification of education by reducing teaching to the formation of functional skills, emptying its ethical, political, and emancipatory dimension. Ball's (2014) analysis contributes to understanding this process as an expression of the culture of performativity, while Apple (2002) warns that such policies widen inequalities and weaken educational democracy.

Thus, the period from 2019 to 2022 consolidates a scenario marked by the intensification of authoritarianism, institutional setbacks, and a profound democratic regression, in which public education is no longer conceived as a social right and is progressively reconfigured as an instrument of fiscal adjustment, ideological control, and subordination to the demands of the neoliberal market. In this context, the public school is pressured to abandon its critical, formative and emancipatory function, being reduced to a space for technical training, moral conformation and individual accountability for results, which deepens inequalities, weakens pedagogical autonomy and compromises the very possibility of building a democratic, plural and socially referenced education in Brazil.

The return of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to the Presidency, as of 2023, puts education as a social right and strategic public policy at the center of the official discourse; However, until 2024, the normative architecture of the educational reforms approved in 2017 remains unchanged, revealing the persistence of structural devices inherited from the previous neoliberal cycle. The permanence of the normative frameworks approved in the previous cycle, notably the Secondary Education Reform (Law No. 13,415/2017) and the National Common Curricular Base, signals the government's difficulty in facing, in a substantive way, the neoliberal legacy consolidated since 2016. As Saviani (2021; 2023) observes, democratic reconstruction requires more than discursive inflections; it demands a critical review of the reforms that subordinated education to the logic of fiscal austerity, curriculum standardization and management by results.

Frigotto (2023) adds that the non-repeal of these reforms keeps the rationality of the market active within the public school, limiting the State's ability to reorient educational policy towards integral human formation and the reduction of inequalities. Libâneo (2023; 2024), in turn, argues that the continuity of the BNCC and the teaching guidelines aligned with

competencies reinforces a conservative and technicist model of curriculum, incompatible with an effectively democratic education project. In this way, the Lula government, by preserving such provisions, reveals the tensions between political intention and the capacity for rupture, showing that the overcoming of the neoliberal paradigm in Brazilian education remains an open and historically conditioned challenge.

In the interval between 2017 and 2024, there is a continuity of devices and guidelines associated with neoliberal rationality in Brazilian educational policy, which cross different governments and begin to systematically affect school management, political-pedagogical projects, and the very definition of the social function of public education. This is a period marked by the consolidation of normative and managerial devices that reinforce curricular standardization, the measurement of results and institutional accountability, while maintaining, in a tense and contradictory way, spaces for dispute for critical and democratic perspectives within schools and education systems.

It is in this context that the institutionalization of the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC) is inserted, formalized by Resolution CNE/CP No. 02/2017, which represents a decisive turning point in the curricular organization of basic education. Although presented in the official discourse as an instrument to guarantee the right to learning and to promote educational equity, the BNCC consolidates a national curriculum model that subordinates school knowledge to previously defined performance descriptors, organized according to the language of competencies and skills. As Libâneo (2018) analyzes, this movement shifts the curriculum conceived as cultural, historical, and critical mediation to a functional curriculum, guided by criteria of utility, effectiveness, and measurability, closely articulated with external evaluation policies and management by results.

This curricular displacement is neither neutral nor merely technical. By prioritizing learning considered essential and measurable, the BNCC reconfigures pedagogical work and redefines the criteria of educational quality itself. Contents historically linked to critical education, philosophical reflection, the understanding of social contradictions and the expansion of the cultural repertoire tend to lose centrality, being replaced by operational, adaptive and pragmatic skills. Libâneo (2024) observes that this process implies an impoverishment of the school curriculum and a reduction in the formative function of the public school, bringing it closer to the immediate demands of the labor market and the demands of capital.

The BNCC is thus articulated with a broader logic of management by results, in which the quality of education is measured primarily by the performance of students in standardized external assessments. Stephen Ball (2014) interprets this phenomenon as an expression of

the culture of performativity, characterized by the intensification of mechanisms of control, comparison, and institutional accountability. For the author, performativity produces new forms of regulation of the teaching work, based on goals, rankings and indicators, redefining professional identities, pedagogical practices and meanings attributed to the educational practice.

In this scenario, school management undergoes a progressive shift from its political-pedagogical dimension to a predominantly technical-administrative function, guided by the fulfillment of performance indicators and external goals. The school principal starts to assume the social function of results manager, responsible for aligning the school with the normative and evaluative requirements, while teachers are pressured to adjust their pedagogical practices to the demands of the evaluation systems. This process contributes to the intensification of teaching work, the reduction of professional autonomy and the weakening of collective decision-making spaces, compromising the democratic construction of school daily life.

The institutionalization of the BNCC cannot be understood without considering the decisive action of business foundations, private institutes and movements articulated with the economic sector, such as the Movement All for Education. These actors play a central role in the formulation, legitimation, and dissemination of the BNCC, acting in the production of discursive consensus, in the training of managers and teachers, and in the provision of pedagogical materials in line with national curriculum prescriptions. Apple (2002) warns that the growing influence of private actors in the educational field redefines democratic decision-making processes, shifting the control of public policies from the public space to private instances guided by market interests.

In the Brazilian case, this dynamic configures what Frigotto (2010) calls indirect privatization of public education, to the extent that the school remains formally public, but its practices are organized according to business logics of efficiency, productivity and competition. It is a sophisticated strategy for the commodification of education, which operates through curriculum standardization, external evaluation and individual accountability, without the need for direct privatization of school institutions.

The deepening of this rationality becomes even more evident with the approval of the National Curriculum Guidelines for teacher training, instituted by Resolution CNE/CP No. 02/2019. This document establishes an explicit link between teacher training and the competencies and skills prescribed by the BNCC, significantly reducing the autonomy of training institutions. Teacher training is now guided by the logic of effectiveness, adaptation

and adequacy to previously defined curricular demands, reinforcing an instrumental conception of teaching.

Libâneo (2024) strongly criticizes this orientation by stating that the 2019 Resolution resumes, under a new guise, the discourse of the efficient, effective and performative teacher already present in the 2002 Guidelines. For the author, the centrality of practical competencies and the emphasis on solving immediate problems impoverish teacher training by disregarding its intellectual, ethical and political dimension, transforming the teacher into the executor of curricular and evaluative prescriptions.

Laval and Dardot (2016) contribute to the understanding of this process by analyzing neoliberalism as a normative rationality that goes beyond the economic sphere and constitutes a form of governance of conducts. In the educational field, this rationality institutes competition, permanent evaluation and individual accountability as structuring principles of school organization, redefining the meaning of management, curriculum and pedagogical work.

The consequences of this model have a direct impact on the political-pedagogical projects (PPP). Historically conceived as a space for collective reflection, for the affirmation of the school's identity and for the articulation between the educational project and the social context, the PPP tends to be reconfigured as an instrument of institutional alignment with the prescriptions of the BNCC and external evaluation policies.

Ball (2014) observes that this process produces an effect of depoliticization of school management, since pedagogical decisions are guided by technical criteria and external metrics, to the detriment of collective debate and professional autonomy. The school is no longer recognized as a space for the production of meaning and is now treated as a unit for the execution of centralized policies, subject to permanent monitoring and control mechanisms.

However, the deepening of neoliberal rationality between 2017 and 2024 does not occur without criticism and resistance. Researchers, scientific associations, unions, and social movements denounce the impacts of the BNCC and the 2019 Resolution on pedagogical autonomy, curricular diversity, and critical teacher training. These resistances show that neoliberal hegemony is not established in a linear or consensual way, but through permanent disputes within the State and civil society.

These disputes gain a new contour with the enactment of Resolution CNE/CP No. 04/2024, which redefines the National Curriculum Guidelines for teacher training. The normative emerges as a response to the criticisms directed at the 2019 Resolution and incorporates, more explicitly, concepts from the socio-critical tradition of education, such as

the unity between theory and practice, pedagogical praxis, democratic management, inclusive, equitable education, and the development of critical thinking.

Libâneo (2024) warns that the presence of these concepts in normative documents should not be interpreted in a naïve way, but neither can it be disregarded. For the author, its incorporation reveals the permanence of disputes within the State and indicates that neoliberal hegemony encounters limits and contradictions. Although it does not represent a structural rupture, the 2024 Resolution reopens possibilities for critical appropriation by educational institutions and schools.

From the point of view of school management, the 2024 regulation reaffirms democratic management as a structuring principle for the organization of pedagogical work, recognizing the school as a collective space for decisions and the construction of meanings. Paro (2016) emphasizes that democratic management is not reduced to formal mechanisms of participation, but implies the effective socialization of power, co-responsibility, and permanent dialogue among school subjects.

The explicit resumption of the notion of pedagogical praxis is another central element. Saviani (2008; 2023) points out that praxis is not to be confused with immediate or instrumental practice, but refers to conscious educational action, historically situated and guided by emancipatory ends. By valuing this dimension, the 2024 regulation reopens the possibility of teacher training that articulates theoretical reflection, social commitment, and critical intervention in the school reality.

In this scenario, the political-pedagogical project reassumes centrality as a strategic space of dispute. Veiga (2019) defines the PPP as a collective construction that expresses the school's identity, its values, objectives, and social commitments, inseparably articulating the political and pedagogical dimensions of educational practice. When elaborated in a participatory and contextualized manner, the PPP can constitute an instrument of resistance to the logic of performativity and education by results.

Frigotto (2023) reinforces that resistance to the commodification of education does not occur only at the normative level, but above all in the concrete practices developed in everyday school life. For the author, the public school remains a contradictory space, in which different societal projects are confronted, and the PPP can function as a fundamental mediation in the construction of pedagogical alternatives committed to integral human formation.

Libâneo (2024) adds that the defense of a fair and socially referenced public school requires the articulation between educational policies, teacher training and critical pedagogical projects. The PPP, in this sense, should be understood as a space of synthesis

between theory and practice, in which the ethical, political and pedagogical choices of the school are materialized.

In short, the analysis of the period from 2017 to 2024 demonstrates the deepening of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian education, especially in the governments of Michel Temer and Jair Bolsonaro, when policies of fiscal austerity, curriculum standardization, and management by results that weaken the social function of public schools are consolidated. The institutionalization of the BNCC represents a milestone in this setback by reaffirming a conservative and technicist conception of curriculum, aligned with the demands of the neoliberal market, centered on competencies, skills and performance indicators, to the detriment of the critical, cultural and integral education of students.

At the political-institutional level, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's new term, which began in 2023, reopens spaces for public debate and resumes the defense of education as a social right; However, the subsequent period exposes the limits and tensions of a process of democratic reconstruction that did not face, in a substantive way, the structural bases of the current educational reforms.

The non-repeal of the Secondary Education Reform and the National Common Curriculum Base keeps in force an educational model aligned with neoliberal rationality. This continuity reveals the political limits of educational reconstruction in a context marked by institutional constraints, unfavorable correlations of forces within the State and economic pressures of fiscal orientation, restricting the effective overcoming of the managerial paradigm established in recent decades.

Thus, the recent period is particularly challenging for the management of Brazilian public education, as the school remains tensioned between the mercantile logic, reinforced by policies of standardization and control, and the defense of its democratic, critical and emancipatory function. In this adverse scenario, political-pedagogical projects reaffirm themselves as strategic spaces of resistance, even if weakened, by enabling the collective construction of pedagogical alternatives committed to social justice, inclusion, equity and integral human formation, keeping alive the dispute for a fair, democratic and socially referenced public school.

## **5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The central issue of this research was to investigate how neoliberal rationalities, which have been a dominant reference in Brazilian educational policies since the 1990s, and the socio-critical perspective are manifested and confronted in the construction and implementation of political-pedagogical projects in public schools. The analysis developed

throughout the article allowed us to demonstrate that this dispute not only persists, but is reconfigured historically, assuming different intensities and strategies according to the political, normative and geopolitical contexts examined.

The second section showed that the period from 1990 to 2002 constitutes the inaugural milestone of the structured affirmation of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian education, which began in the government of Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-1992), crossed by the transition administration of Itamar Franco (1992-1994) and consolidated in the two terms of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002). Under the direct influence of multilateral organizations and the reconfiguration of the social function of the State, policies guided by managerial efficiency, performativity and accountability for results have been consolidated. Instruments such as the Ten-Year Plan for Education for All, LDBEN No. 9,394/1996 and the National Curriculum Guidelines of 2002 materialized a conception of school management aligned with business logic, shifting education from the field of social rights to that of economic competitiveness and the formation of human capital.

In the third section, when analyzing the period from 2003 to 2016, corresponding to the governments of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016), it was found a scenario marked by relevant institutional advances, especially in strengthening the discourse of education as a social right, in the expansion of inclusive policies and in the normative valorization of democratic management and critical teacher training. However, such advances occurred without a structural break with the foundations of the neoliberal model inherited from the previous decade. This arrangement was characterized as a possible consensus, in which socio-critical policies coexisted with mechanisms of external regulation, large-scale evaluation, and performance control. The 2016 impeachment process, widely interpreted by a significant part of the critical literature as a parliamentary coup, represented a decisive inflection, creating the political conditions for the deepening of liberal reforms in the subsequent period.

The fourth section showed that, from 2017 onwards, the most systematic deepening of neoliberal rationality in Brazilian education occurred. The institutionalization of the National Common Curricular Base, the consolidation of management by results and the linking of teacher training to nationally prescribed competencies reinforced curricular standardization, teacher performativity and the reduction of pedagogical autonomy. This process was intensified during the governments of Michel Temer (2016-2018) and Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), marked by explicit alignment with international neoliberalism, political conservatism, and the weakening of democratic bodies. The inauguration of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in 2023, put the centrality of education as a social right back into the public debate; However,

throughout 2023 and 2024, there were no structural changes capable of breaking with the inherited educational reforms. The permanence of the BNCC and the Secondary Education Reform indicates the continuity of the managerial paradigm in public education, evidencing the political limits of confronting a neoliberal model institutionally implemented and consolidated in the previous period.

Based on these analyses, it is possible to answer the research question by showing that the dispute between neoliberal rationalities and the socio-critical perspective manifests itself in a permanent, contradictory and unequal way in political-pedagogical projects. In certain contexts, the PPP is captured as a technical-bureaucratic instrument of compliance with managerial requirements; in others, it constitutes a space for resistance, collective reflection and affirmation of an educational project committed to integral human formation. The political-pedagogical project emerges, therefore, as a strategic arena for confrontation between antagonistic conceptions of education: on the one hand, education conceived as a commodity and performance; on the other, education understood as a social right, an emancipatory practice and the foundation of democracy.

The conclusions of this research reinforce the criticism of the conservative neoliberal model, which reduces the public school to a business organization, submits the teaching work to external metrics and empties the political meaning of school management. In contrast, the socio-critical perspective reaffirms democratic management, pedagogical praxis and ethical commitment to social justice as indispensable foundations for the defense of fair public schools.

Finally, it is essential to situate these conclusions in a broader geopolitical scenario. In the recent international context, there has been an intensification of discourses and practices linked to neoliberal authoritarianism of North American origin, particularly in governments aligned with ultraliberal and neoconservative agendas, such as that of Donald Trump. Public statements, economic sanctions, threats of intervention, and allegations widely disseminated by the international press in early January 2026, according to which the U.S. government had announced a military operation in Venezuelan territory, with actions in Caracas, other regions, and the capture of President Nicolás Maduro and his wife, were interpreted by critical analyses as an expression of an imperial logic, interventionist and destabilizing.

Regardless of the narrative disputes, the episode, as publicized, contributes to the intensification of geopolitical instability in Latin America, reinforcing external pressures on regional sovereignty and creating political conditions favorable to the legitimization of austerity, securitization, and deepening neoliberalism agendas, with indirect but concrete impacts on social and educational policies. These movements can feed the advance of the

neoliberal extreme right in the subcontinent and intending national states to adopt policies of privatization, social control and restriction of social rights.

In this adverse geopolitical scenario, public education tends to be treated again as a variable of fiscal adjustment and an instrument of authoritarian governability, emptying its democratic and emancipatory meaning. For Brazil, new challenges are posed: sustaining democratic management, preserving pedagogical autonomy, and strengthening critical political-pedagogical projects in the midst of geopolitical instabilities, economic constraints, and conservative ideological offensives. It is thus reaffirmed that the defense of a fair, democratic and socially referenced public school goes beyond the strict field of educational policy, integrating a broader dispute for the meaning of democracy, sovereignty and human dignity in Brazil, Latin America and the Global South.

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