

## School Neoliberalism: Submissive Subjectivities of Brazilian Education

### Neoliberalismo escolar: Subjetivações submissas da educação brasileira

### Neoliberalismo Escolar: Subjetividades Sumisas de la Educación Brasileña

Giuliana Volfzon Mordente<sup>1</sup>

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6352-9663>

Francisco Teixeira Portugal<sup>2</sup>

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6481-6509>

**Abstract:** This article examines the effects of neoliberalism in Brazilian education, exploring its operations in public policies and its tactics of subjective control. The theoretical framework includes authors such as Laval (2019), Guattari (1992), Freitas (2014a), Leher (2022), and Motta (2013), providing a critical basis for investigating the relationship between neoliberalism and education. Using an approach grounded in Social Psychology, a literature review was conducted, configuring five explanatory categories referring to the various layers of this phenomenon. The results reveal five axes of analysis: the financialization of education, the entrepreneurial ethos, the commodification of education, the marketplace, and the production of the neoliberal subject. Emphasis is placed on measures of efficiency, competition, and privatization, at the expense of horizons of equity and inclusion. This study contributes to mapping processes present in the educational system under neoliberal attack, highlighting the need for policies that prioritize social justice.

**Keywords:** Neoliberalism. Education. Subjectivity.

**Resumo:** Este artigo tem o objetivo de analisar os efeitos do neoliberalismo escolar na educação brasileira, explorando suas operações nas políticas públicas e suas táticas de controle subjetivo. Os referenciais teóricos incluem autores como Laval (2019), Guattari (1992), Freitas (2014a), Leher (2022) e Motta (2013), fornecendo uma base crítica para investigar as relações entre neoliberalismo e educação. Utilizando uma abordagem pautada na Psicologia Social, foi realizada uma revisão bibliográfica, configurando cinco categorias explicativas referentes às diversas camadas desse fenômeno. Os resultados revelam cinco eixos de análise: a financeirização da educação, o ethos empresarial, a mercantilização da educação, o balcão de negócios e a produção do sujeito neoliberal. Destaca-se a ênfase em medidas de eficiência, competição e privatização, em detrimento de horizontes de

---

<sup>1</sup> Doctor in Psychology (UFRJ). Professor of education at the State University of Rio de Janeiro (FEBF/UERJ). E-mail: [giulianamordente@yahoo.com.br](mailto:giulianamordente@yahoo.com.br).

<sup>2</sup> Doctor in Psychology (PUC-Rio). Professor at the Department of Social Psychology and the Postgraduate Program in Psychology/ Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. E-mail: [fportugal@ufrj.br](mailto:fportugal@ufrj.br)

equidade e inclusão. Este estudo contribui para o mapeamento de processos presentes no sistema educacional sob o ataque neoliberal, destacando a necessidade de políticas que priorizem a justiça social.

**Palavras-chave:** Neoliberalismo. Educação. Subjetividade.

**Resumen:** Este artículo examina los efectos del neoliberalismo escolar en la educación brasileña, explorando sus operaciones en las políticas públicas y sus tácticas de control subjetivo. Los referentes teóricos incluyen autores como Laval (2019), Guattari (1992), Freitas (2014a), Leher (2022) y Motta (2013), proporcionando una base crítica para investigar las relaciones entre neoliberalismo y educación. Utilizando un enfoque basado en la Psicología Social, se llevó a cabo una revisión bibliográfica, configurando cinco categorías explicativas referentes a las diversas capas de este fenómeno. Los resultados revelan cinco ejes de análisis: la financiarización de la educación, el ethos empresarial, la mercantilización de la educación, el mostrador de negocios y la producción del sujeto neoliberal. Se destaca el énfasis en medidas de eficiencia, competencia y privatización, en detrimento de horizontes de equidad e inclusión. Este estudio contribuye al mapeo de procesos presentes en el sistema educativo bajo el ataque neoliberal, resaltando la necesidad de políticas que prioricen la justicia social.

**Palabras-clave:** Neoliberalismo. Educación. Subjetividad.

## **Introduction**

The contemporary educational scenario has been profoundly shaped by the operational modes of neoliberalism. It is possible to observe a significant paradigmatic transformation in the conception and execution of educational policies, ranging from the levels of public policy formulation to the scope of pedagogical practices. The increasingly intrinsic relationship between the universe of knowledge and the supply of goods and services establishes a naturalization of the fusion between the world of schools and businesses (Laval, 2019). Commercial relations and their historical processes overflow into social and interpersonal spheres, instituting new demands and specific guidelines on the educational process.

The proposed investigation will focus on the multiple forms of direct and indirect subordination of education to the interests of corporations or other business organizations (Adrião, 2018). The current business intervention in the field of education does not configure itself in opposition to the State; instead, it infiltrates the state apparatus and operates through it, contributing to the establishment of an organizational culture (Pellanda; Cara, 2020). This culture is based on market principles and is characterized by an emphasis on flexibility, innovation, and efficiency. The pursuit of capital expansion challenges the discourse of the minimal State, urging it to assume the role of "guarantor" of social policies through, among other actions, the appropriation of public resources by corporations (Brito; Marins, 2020).

Particularly highlighted are the neoliberal operations based on a mode of functioning that identifies the subjectivating neoliberal capture, a process committed to disseminating corporate sociability and the subjective modulation of the new generation. This mode of operation is manifested in the application of business management models in educational institutions, in the development of national evaluation systems and their quality criteria, in the formulation of public policies, in financing

foundations aligned with corporate interests, in the linkage to NGOs and civil society organizations, as well as business intervention in pedagogical work and curriculum reformulation, among other aspects (Guattari, 1992; Barata, 2013; Bueno; Almeida, 2015; Adrião *et al.*, 2022). Thus, this mode of market operation seeks to direct and lead educational institutions according to its rules and interests. The business sector shows interest in the educational sphere, either as an instrument for subjective control and intervention in government decisions or as an opportunity to exploit and profit from a market previously managed essentially under state control (Freitas, 2014a).

In this article, an analysis of the "capitalistic" subjectivation processes (Guattari, 1992) is proposed, encompassing both material and subjective productions, involving profit and moral conduct. Subjectivity operating is considered a materiality, similar to other forms of production. In this sense, subjective production — which we call subjectivation — involves symbolic, relational, political material components, among others. This proposal aims to escape binarisms, such as subjective-objective, individual-social, soul-corporeal/material. For Guattari and Rolnik (1986), "capitalist profit is, fundamentally, the production of subjective power" (p. 32), going beyond monetary-economic signs and expressions and being capable of operating various levels of production and stratification of powers.

Currently, Brazil is at the forefront for implementing neoliberal school policies, and the effects and modes of operation have a direct impact on the right to quality public education (Laval, 2019). In this sense, this paper analyzes the complex phenomenon of school neoliberalism, which has intensified in recent years. The disputes around its multiple facets will be problematized, with an emphasis on the educational project focused on adapting the education to a market logic, on the production of a new sociability and on neoliberal control over moral and intellectual values.

The reflections will begin with a brief historicization of the school neoliberalism phenomenon in the Brazilian context. Next, we will present five layers of school neoliberalism, resulting from the author's doctoral thesis<sup>3</sup>. The research, developed at the intersection of Social Psychology and Education, culminated in the elaboration of the following levels of analysis: the financialization of education; the entrepreneurial *ethos*; the commodification of education; the marketplace of education; and the production of the neoliberal subject (Mordente, 2023). Subsequently, we will highlight the processes of subjectivation as one of the mechanisms of this operation, evidencing their effects on basic education policies.

---

<sup>3</sup> Research funded by *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* (CNPq) and the *Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* (FAPERJ)

Methodologically, this research is based on an extensive bibliographic survey, comprising the mapping of productions and publications concerning school neoliberalism. Simultaneously, materials available on official websites, reports, and social media platforms linked to major educational conglomerates were investigated. This process was outlined from the perspective of Social Psychology, supported by the analytical lenses of Schizoanalysis and Institutional Analysis, aiming to explore the ongoing processes of subjectivation

## **School Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism presents itself as the rationality of capital transformed into a general social law. This rationality constitutes a form of governmentality that permeates all spheres of social life (Laval, 2019). Various aspects of existence, such as education, health, and culture, are redefined as commodities and subjected to the logic of profit maximization. This is a mode of subjectivation that engenders ways of existing, being, and experiencing the world (Guattari, 1992). It is an organization that produces conforming subjectivities, strengthening mechanisms of control and submission. This subjective modulation is guided by the logics of individual responsibility, private property, competition, and entrepreneurship, looking for the pursuit of individual success and an emphasis on consumption and innovation (Laval, 2019).

Neoliberalism also operates in the field of education through the aforementioned "school neoliberalism." This process reorganizes education towards an utilitarian bias, treating it as a service provided to businesses, as an activity with costs and returns- a commodity - resulting in the direct submission of schools to economic interests. The market-focused approach permeates the school environment more intensively, adopting the private business model as a reference standard. Educational institutions are seen as businesses, students as clients/consumers, and the process of learning as a commodity to be measured and adapted to market demands (Laval, 2019).

In the Brazilian dependent-capitalism scenario, public schools do not benefit from the productive chains where technological innovations play a crucial role. With an emphasis on commodity production, a decomplexification of the productive chain it's observed and, consequently, a simplification of the educational process aimed at the working class, based on minimalist, "socioemotionally" docile education and the draining of historical, scientific, and cultural knowledge from educators (Motta; Frigotto, 2017).

The weakening of the public nature of the educational system is evident, concomitant with the promotion and intensification of private sector participation. This scenario implies the introduction of market mechanisms in the management and organization of schools, leading to consequences such as

the widening of educational disparities, unequal supply of quality education, and the reinforcement of social hierarchies. This reconfiguration of the educational landscape is guided by the actions of international organizations, such as the World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), among others (Frigotto, 2021). This wave of international entities' intervention in educational policies does not occur in isolation, being accompanied by interventions from local agents, such as the *Movimento Todos pela Educação* (TPE), companies, foundations, NGOs, and private collaborating institutes, including Ministries and the National Congress (Freitas, 2014b).

The modeling of competencies, skills, behaviors, and values required for the contemporary flexible worker grants education a fundamental character. Teaching focuses on transmitting the competencies considered essential for the alleged employability, supported by control and compliance devices. The strength of capitalistic processes in education transcends the mere capture of school content, extending to the construction of specific modes of being. The production of adapted and docile subjectivities thus forms young people adjusted to neoliberal sociability (Motta, 2013; Carvalho; Silva, 2017; Gawryszewski; Motta; Putzke, 2017; Freitas, 2018; Laval, 2019).

This phenomenon results in the homogenization of experiences and the corrosion of social, cultural, subjective, artistic, labor processes, etc., established differently throughout history and in different regions of the planet, that is, it removes collective autonomy and combats singularization (Guattari; Rolnik, 1986). Differentiated processes are affected by global neoliberal logics and inhibited by what is incomparable in their modes of operation. Collective and collectivizing singularizations, lines of escape, and the production of new forms of existence are actively combated to produce an increasingly wider hierarchy operating in various registers (Deleuze; Guattari, 2011). In this sense, the present article supports a social psychology perspective that seeks to integrate with education, focusing on the analysis of subjectivation processes as a tool of resistance, capable of denouncing and making visible the operational modes of a new neoliberal sociability.

### Financialization of Education

The focus of this first layer of school neoliberalism relates to the new format of the financialization of basic education orchestrated by the monopolies of large business conglomerates, with a significant rise starting in 2017 (Leher, 2022). One of the interests of this paper is to understand the forces that have increased corporate interest in education in recent times, investing not only aggressively in the private basic and higher education sectors, involved in investment funds, but also in agreements between the state and municipal education departments (Costa, 2020).

The central vein of the financialization of education lies in the shaping of public policies and the commodification of education in the context of neoliberal domination. This process is not limited to analyzing the financing of education and how resources are allocated and managed to support the educational system. It also encompasses the introduction of financial elements and logics into the educational sphere, impacting its practices, policies (including those related to science, technology, and research), and structures.

Based on the investigations conducted by Leher (2022), the current phase of financialized commodification of education is identified by the expansion of business through mergers and acquisitions, new business organizations, commercialization of educational systems, and work platforms, among others. Education becomes a player in the financial market, under the control of financial fractions, investment funds, private equity firms, and public limited companies.

In Brazil, this process can be historicized in three phases: the first, starting in the 1990s, with the strong consolidation of neoliberalism in the business segment and the State; the second, following the 2007 financial crisis, focusing on business activity in higher education; and the third, from 2017 to the present, marked by the prevalence of the financial market logic in basic education (Mordente, 2023). This organization follows the periodization proposed by Saad and Moraes (2018) of the neoliberal accumulation system, aiming to mark and articulate economic and psychosocial themes characterized by neoliberal logics.

Since the 1990s, public policies in Brazil have been shaped by market interests, resulting in privatizations and openings for foreign capital, especially in the educational sphere. These changes represent a neoliberal counter-reform in response to the capital crisis. This movement led the private sector to appropriate functions previously destined to the public sector, including the educational sphere (Martins, 2016). Arguments denouncing the inefficiency of state management are used to justify this transition to a corporate model in education, suggesting that the crisis in the educational system is not caused by a lack of resources but by mismanagement (Bueno; Almeida, 2015).

There have been rearrangements in the conception of "public management", highlighting the *Marco Legal do Terceiro Setor*<sup>4</sup>. The concept of "non-state public" emerged as a way to diverge the public nature of education as a social right, allowing the transfer of public resources to private initiatives (Andrade; Motta, 2022). In the field of educational management, the business interference encompasses the formulation, execution, and coordination of public policies, as well as curriculum control and teacher training (Carvalho; Silva, 2017), under the pretext of social responsibility. In practice, they seek to subordinate society to a business perspective (Pina, 2016). Such initiatives aim to appropriate public

---

<sup>4</sup> Translation by the author: Legal Framework for the Third Sector.

funds and moral control of the educational process, regulating the working class access to systematized knowledge.

In the early 2000s, the *modus operandi* of public-private partnerships was further solidified. Ties with the business sector were intensified, especially through the *Plano de Desenvolvimento da Educação* (PDE)<sup>5</sup> in 2007 and, subsequently, the *Plano Nacional de Educação* <sup>6</sup>(PNE) (Law No. 13,005/14) (Leher, 2019). Collaboration between the government and the private sector was crucial for the consolidation of the *Movimento Todos Pela Educação* (TPE), exerting an increasing influence on public educational policies (Motta; Andrade, 2020b) under an apparently "non-biased" and "apolitical" discourse (Freitas, 2016; Martins, 2016).

Since 2008, private education in Brazil has undergone significant changes due to the increased presence of the financial sector in the educational scenario. With the global financial crisis, major investors turned their attention to the Brazilian educational market, seeking alternative assets to compensate their declining profits. Therefore, different groups aiming for monopoly in higher education emerged, supported by investment funds, while companies turned their focus to basic education from 2015 onwards, especially after budget cuts in FIES<sup>7</sup> and the restrictions imposed by CADE<sup>8</sup> (*Conselho Administrativo de Defesa Econômica*) in 2017 (Leher, 2022).

Thus, the commodification of education enters a new phase of financialization, now focused on basic education, led by financial groups, investment funds, private equity firms, and public limited companies, giving education an active role in the financial market. This restructuring has resulted in greater exploitation of labor, curriculum changes, cost reductions, and the administrative centralization of acquired groups, driving business expansion through mergers, acquisitions, the development of new business organizations, commercialization of educational systems, work platforms, and other strategies (Leher, 2022).

These actions are endorsed by the state, supported by legislation and decrees that grant legality on business activities. Pellanda and Cara (2020) analyze the structural reform of the state and highlight the crucial role of business "philanthropy" manifested in two forms of action: advocacy and support for groups and movements of "political renewal". The dissemination of "new leaderships" arise from business investment in training individuals, guiding them to roles in public administration across the national territory, including candidates for politic elected positions.

---

<sup>5</sup> Translation by the author: Education Development Plan

<sup>6</sup> Translation by the author: National Education Plan

<sup>7</sup> Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior (Higher Education Student Financing Fund)

<sup>8</sup> Translation by the author: Administrative Council for Economic Defense

Less than a year after the approval of the 2014-2024 *Plano Nacional de Educação*<sup>9</sup> (Law 13,005/2014), the 2016 political coup that overthrew President Dilma occurred, triggering austerity policies and disinvestments in social areas. The "PEC of the end of the world" (Constitutional Amendment 95), which freezes public spending for 20 years, further intensified Brazilian education as a target for various financial groups' businesses. In this context, the same actors who finance and support the "political renewal" movements were those responsible for educational reforms, such as the *Base Nacional Comum Curricular*<sup>10</sup>(BNCC) and the *Novo Ensino Médio*<sup>11</sup>.

Subsequently, the educational business sector had a tumultuous relationship with the federal government between 2019 and 2022, marked by ups and downs, highlighting issues such as *Escola Sem Partido*<sup>12</sup>, militarization, homeschooling, and teacher control. Today, despite the resumption of FIES under the federal government in 2023, school neoliberalism remains present with some prominence in the federal executive's registry, through the composition and procedures of the Ministry of Education.

Given the above, one of the main concerns regarding the financialization of education is the fact that the educational apparatus of financialized corporations advances in the reconfiguration of the private sector while simultaneously extending its tentacles into public networks. The state's lack of responsibility is convenient for businesses, although it does not mean a withdrawal from the educational sphere, as it is crucial for the state to assume and direct public funds. Thus, the process of financialization of education has established the foundations for the rise of large corporations and financial capital as protagonists in the management and direction of educational institutions. In this context, education, once seen as a public good, has been progressively transformed into a commodity, jeopardizing the very development of young generations, redirected towards dominant interests (Gentili, 1996; Freitas, 2012).

### Business Ethos

The orientation of educational processes follows the production of a business ethos, adopting corporate logics that establish an apparently universal criteria for "quality" education. The introduction of business administration principles in school's management is based on promises of efficiency and productivity, supported by the emphasis on quantitative indicators in standardized tests. Instead of

---

<sup>9</sup> Translation by the author: National Education Plan.

<sup>10</sup> Translation by the author: Common National Curriculum Base.

<sup>11</sup> Translation by the author: New High School Reform.

<sup>12</sup> Translation by the author: School Without Party.



recognizing the lack of resources and funding as challenges in Brazilian education, the speech emphasizes an alleged inefficiency in the state management. The salvationist approach looks into privatization as the solution to the quality of public education, favoring private sector intervention (Motta; Andrade, 2020a). The strategy is to continually degrade public education and then present privatization as the only effective alternative, capable of offering better results at lower costs (Peroni; Caetano, 2015).

Combating the naturalization of a business vision of education (Avila; Leda; Vale, 2012) is at the center of the qualified educational debate. The business community disputes the public school agenda and educational reforms, shaping a perspective aligned with the interests of universalizing competition. This occurs amid attempts to reduce and demobilize the political strength of self-organization and collective articulation of marginalized groups (Laval, 2019).

This process is anchored in seductive involvement, resulting in an apparently "spontaneous" acceptance by the population. The extensive use of media produces discourses that mix business agendas with progressive demands, such as the pursuit of educational quality, holistic education, equality of opportunity, and others (Motta; Andrade, 2020b). Several business foundations position themselves as "experts" in political discussions, producing an apparent "participation" of the governed, through the convening of selected segments of the working class for debates (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). Despite the alleged promotion of a democratic spirit, there is predominantly the presence of businesspeople in the composition of councils, forums, conferences, and public hearings, guiding the production of consensus in events such as public consultations for the BNCC, the *Plano Nacional da Educação*, and the *Conferências Nacionais de Educação*<sup>13</sup>(CONAE) (Motta; Andrade, 2020a; Martins, 2016). This makes such initiatives widely accepted despite significant tensions.

Taking the lead in policy formulations, control is refined not only over the production and dissemination of educational commodities but also over the definition of their contents and formats (Motta; Andrade, 2020b). The business sector's claim that the simple adoption of innovative methods and the setting of productivity goals would solve the persistent structural problems of Brazilian education implies the perpetuation of the challenges faced daily by contemporary public schools (Martins; Pina, 2015). This managerial rhetoric has primarily focused on teachers and students as the main responsible parties for school performance. This approach aims to conceal negligence, lack of investment in the public education sphere, social and economic issues faced by students and their families, poor infrastructure, lack of continuous training, and the professional devaluation of the teaching staff, among various other challenges (Silva, 2021).

---

<sup>13</sup> Translation by the author: National Education Conferences.

The divergence between many education professionals and businesspeople is clearly manifested in the battle for discourses that guide the definition of the concept of "quality" in education, highlighting distinct societal projects. For many educators, it is a project aimed at emancipation, education as a practice of critical and civic formation. For businesspeople, it is a project based on business and managerial logics.

For this group, it would be sufficient for the general population to have basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills, as well as to acquire some competencies. Presenting discourses related to the "right of children to learning," they advocate for an instrumental education aligned with the neoliberal agenda, focusing on new forms of work organization. This educational approach promotes meritocracy, a minimalist curriculum, technical training, and accountability of schools and teachers for student results in large-scale standardized external assessments (Freitas, 2014a; Pina, 2016).

It is naturalized that large-scale assessments are a neutral, impartial, and objective measure to evaluate the quality of teaching and student performance, omitting their selective facet as an instrument of social control. The evaluation system constitutes a coercive component of subjectivation, a mechanism that directs and organizes a coercive movement to ensure the effectiveness of the domination project in the school sphere (Mordente, 2023).

International institutions such as the WTO, OECD, World Bank, IMF, and European Commission establish universal educational evaluation criteria, promoting a global standardization of the education system, even in the face of diverse initial conditions in each country (Laval, 2019). Is it feasible to compare all human educational activity through a measurable technique of quantitative indicators? Considering that the school is intended for the transmission of socially legitimized knowledge, how can we measure critical education and the assimilation of emancipatory values, such as freedom, equity, and tolerance? What criteria are used to evaluate access to the right to education? Is it possible to analyze the right to learning in isolation, detached from the rights to food, housing, work, income, and others?

The emphasis on test results has contributed to the intensification of educational disparities. This results in the reduction of curricular knowledge of a scientific, cultural, and artistic nature, fundamental for building a critical perspective, not limited to the reproductive dimension of the structural logics of world exploitation. The excessive focus on skills and competencies directed towards a precarious, flexible, and unstable labor market walks alongside the disqualification and curtailment of teaching work (Motta; Andrade, 2020a).

An illustration is the so-called "*Novo Ensino Médio*" (NEM), which emerged as another field of dispute for businesspeople seeking hegemony in educational management. This project reflects the growing prominence of the private sector in the formulation and implementation of educational

policies, marginalizing education professionals in this process (Moraes, 2021). It is a national reform aimed at curricular narrowing and obstruction of the working class's access to complex knowledge (Frigotto, 2021). There is pressure to reduce school subjects and content that provide profound, wide, plural, and quality education, so threatening by allowing a critical look at society, so necessary in the fight for rights<sup>14</sup>.

That said, many educators seek to dispute the various meanings of the school, resisting the simplification of educational processes to business models. They consider that assessments represent a limited portion of the educational process since the quality of education transcends obtaining high scores (Freitas, 2014a). Their struggle is for the configuration of a school that does not adapt to exclusion, subordination, competition, and rivalry, but that is an agent of social transformation. They seek to promote spaces for mobilization, construction of social alternatives, development of collectivity, cooperation, and solidarity, highlighting the capacity for student self-organization and valuing cultural diversity. They share the conviction of education as a public good.

#### Commodification of Education

The third dimension of school neoliberalism addresses the commodification of education, which consists of organizing education as a commodity, an object of trade or service, inseparable from profit production involving the private commercial sector (Costa, 2020; Leher, 2022). This process is driven by the transactions of buying and selling educational products or services, subject to the laws of supply and demand. There is a conversion of a fundamental social right—with a common and public dimension—into a commercial object with economic value, operating in the sphere of individual consumption (Sguissardi, 2019).

Brazil has emerged as an attractive market for educational organizations, considering the size of the school-age population. This commodification manifests in various forms: commercialization of teaching systems and work platforms; transactions of institutions; acquisitions and mergers of groups and schools; public offerings in the stock market; sale of products and services by large corporations; holdings with the participation of investment funds and publicly traded companies, among others (Sguissardi, 2019; Leher, 2022).

In recent years, we have observed the significant participation of educational conglomerates in the commercialization of “private educational systems” for both public and private networks. These systems encompass a variety of products and services, including continuous training for educators,

---

<sup>14</sup> *Carta Aberta Pela Revogação Da Reforma Do Ensino Médio* (Lei 13.415/2017). Available in: <https://campanha.org.br/acervo/>

monitoring of teaching activities, production and distribution of teaching materials, creation and sale of workbooks, preparation for standardized external and internal assessments, management consultancy, among others (Adrião *et al.*, 2009).

Particularly noteworthy is the production of standardized workbooks, materials organized in notebooks or books that contain pre-defined information and activities for teachers to use in their classes. The workbook process rigidly structures and limits school practice, as it separates the organization and planning of content from those who apply it in the classroom. The idea of "transferability" (Gentili, 1996, p. 12) illusorily suggests that these workbooks can be applied regardless of territorial context and the specificities of each population.

In the corporate discourse, the supposed "valuation" of educational work is associated with removing the effort involved in planning teaching activities from the teacher, focusing their energy exclusively on executing the plan. It is argued that this approach aims to expand the teacher's autonomy, freeing them from the responsibility for the technical work procedures, in favor of educational quality. However, in practice, this arrangement is perceived as a form of expropriation of the teaching activity in its intellectual, cultural, scientific, and artistic dimensions (Leher, 2022), transforming the teacher into an executor. The standardization of educational work, present in this scenario, moves away from unique worldviews, opting for more economical and rigid approaches to dealing with educational challenges (Martins; Pina, 2015).

The "workbook process"<sup>15</sup> disregards the need for critical and complex teacher training, suggesting that it would suffice to follow the instructions indicated in the manuals (Freitas, 2014b). Teacher training policies begin to focus on pragmatism and competencies, resulting in a technical and limited work, distant from the historical-critical dimension of education (Barata, 2013). The business sector, aiming to control teacher training agencies, argues that universities are excessively theoretical and impractical (Freitas, 2014a). Financial organizations begin to offer remote training or on-site, reducing training to a simplified, short-term logic, focused on supposedly practical methodologies determined by "business experts" (Freitas, 2012; Bueno; Almeida, 2015; Martins; Pina, 2015).

These educational policies seek to adapt teachers to the corporate school management model, based on performance evaluation, efficiency, and productivity (Silva; Motta, 2017). The workbook process is considered a strategy of alienation and demobilization of teaching work, weakening active involvement in the construction of the right to education aligned with school realities (Adrião *et al.*, 2016). This results in the reconfiguration of the social role of teaching work, relegating teachers to

---

<sup>15</sup> In Portuguese, "apostilamento".

executors of pre-determined tasks, to the detriment of being constructors of educational processes (Silva; Motta, 2017).

### Marketplace of education

The fourth dimension of neoliberalism in education focuses on the operations of the educational business marketplace, a segment of the commodification of education concerning the movements of private educational institutions (Mordente, 2023). The implementation of market principles, practices, and mechanisms is identified, including competition among educational institutions and the execution of school acquisitions and mergers, transforming education into a market niche.

The significant presence of private educational institutions in the country creates a conducive environment for acquisition operations. Education is perceived as a low-risk business for investors, offering quick and safe returns. Thus, basic education is seen as a sector resilient to crises (Frigotto, 2021), particularly as a stable and reliable market niche, due to customer loyalty spanning up to 12 years, covering elementary to high school education.

Basic education has become an attractive market for companies, including those with experience in the higher education sector and others without a history in this field, linked to financial capital, industrial capital, agribusiness, the sale of agricultural implements, the beverage industry, among others (Silva; Motta, 2017).

During the pandemic, publicly traded educational groups took the opportunity to make acquisitions<sup>16</sup>. This process of capital centralization in education involves the predatory practice of acquiring smaller institutions. Private schools at various levels of basic education, especially small and medium-sized ones, faced significant challenges during the health crisis<sup>17</sup>. Closure or transfer of ownership became one of the few available paths, while educational conglomerates thrived. For example, in 2021, the Eleva Educação group (now Grupo Salta) acquired 51 schools from Cogna and incorporated 18 brands, totaling a transaction of nearly R\$ 1 billion reais. On the other hand, Cogna, through Vasta, acquired Eleva's teaching system for R\$ 580 million reais, consolidating one of the largest deals ever made in the basic education segment in Brazil<sup>18</sup>.

The symbol of neoliberal policy is freedom in demand and diversity in supply, reflected in users' choice in seeking the most attractive education for them. Besides traditional criteria such as pedagogical

---

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/opinioao/o-oportunismo-dos-grandes-conglomerados-de-educacao/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/ensino-basico-deve-ter-onda-de-fusoes-aquisicoes-no-pos-pandemia-24813306>

<sup>18</sup> <https://revistaeducacao.com.br/2021/07/26/compra-e-venda-de-escolas-movimentam/>

approach, performance in exams, and physical infrastructure, the choice of schools for the elite's children now includes a new decisive factor: "the shareholders behind the board"<sup>19</sup>. This movement comprises groups like Eleva Educação (today Grupo Salta), involving Jorge Paulo Lemann; Inspira, controlled by a fund managed by BTG Pactual; SEB, owned by businessman Chaim Zaher; Bahema, a publicly traded company, and the British group Cognita. These investors introduce new technologies<sup>20</sup>, "active methodologies", and professionalized corporate management. Schools must attract their clientele with seductive offers of "innovative" methods and content, based on families' free choice. This produces a naturalization of education as an "object of choice in a free market" (Laval, 2019, p. 110).

The "school-businesses" of these conglomerates claim to be based on innovative education, comprising technology laboratories; global citizenship classes; gaming rooms; gardens; project-based pedagogy; socio-emotional education; bilingual teaching, international curriculum, etc<sup>21</sup>. However, although these institutions have abandoned the conventional classroom format with rows of desks, they still operate to maintain social order. The objectives of social domination present in traditional education persist but assume new forms and methodologies (Benevides; Neto, 2011). They adopt new formats to meet the emerging demands of capital, being as "innovative" as Google offices (Mordente; Cunha; Portugal, 2023). Thus, concepts such as creativity, authenticity, liberation, and autonomy have been incorporated by corporate devices, resulting in educational changes aimed at neutralizing these claims (Benevides; Neto, 2011).

Many of these conglomerates buy schools of different types and price ranges, seeking to create a broad menu under the control of a single monopoly (Luciani, 2022). The strategy is to encompass constructivist schools, schools focused on university entrance exams, some luxurious and others with affordable tuition for different income segments, always aiming at consumption. They buy schools, claiming to maintain pedagogical autonomy, and establish a vast distance between communication and image and actions that produce some degree of autonomy. It is observed mass layoffs, replacement of classroom assistants with lower-paid interns, overcrowded classrooms, and the imposition of curricula and methodologies by dominant groups<sup>22</sup>, among other effects that signal the gap between the production of an attractive customer image and action in the field of work with decent conditions and emancipatory education. In summary, in the pursuit of cost reduction and profit maximization, quality,

---

<sup>19</sup> <https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/grupos-financeiros-saem-caca-de-escolas-de-educacao-basica-24986677>

<sup>20</sup> Digital platforms, design thinking methodologies, Makerspace, programming, among others

<sup>21</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of the movement of educational conglomerate schools in the Brazilian scenario, consult the thesis: "Neoliberalismo escolar e processos de subjetivação: como a educação "inovadora" opera?" (Mordente, 2023).

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-58324630>

training, remuneration, working conditions, and the rights of education professionals become variables to be neutralized<sup>23</sup>.

The wide range of “choices” offered to consumers hides the profound inequality underlying this arrangement of education under the neoliberal code, where the quality of education and working conditions of professionals are transformed into negotiation elements in an equation aiming at profitability. Such generalized equivalence constitutes one of the pernicious effects of the capitalist operation and presents this dynamic in education. The presence of these corporations, especially in the context of private schools, has weakened the commitment to education as a fundamental right and a foundation for the intellectual, cultural, and social development of future generations.

### Production of the Neoliberal Subject

The fifth layer of school neoliberalism concerns the production of the neoliberal subject, engaged in self-exploitation and aligned with individualistic, meritocratic, and entrepreneurial logics. Capitalism primarily operates in the field of subjectivities, penetrating infra and supra-personal levels and organizing our ways of being, thinking, and acting (Guattari, 1992). "The production of subjectivity constitutes the raw material each and any production" (Guattari; Rolnik, 1986, p.28). In this sense, business community aims to profit not only through monthly fees and product sales: subjectivities are the valuable assets of our times (Mordente, 2023). The rationality of capital overflows into various social spheres, exercising governance over the process of production and management of ways of life (Dardot; Laval, 2017). This investment in the production of subjectivity operates through micropolitical control, dominating the production of serialized and standardized individuals aligned with hegemonic societal projects (Guattari, 1992).

The commodification of existence redefines the human being as essentially economic and private, considering them as a "human resource" and/or consumer. Efficiency logics permeate schools not only as neutral techniques but as cultural and political strategies. In this context, schools assume the responsibility of forming future workers, supposedly preparing them to adapt to the demands of a precarious, continuously transforming labor market. The contemporary educational model emphasizes the "flexible individual" and the "autonomous worker" in a context where job stability and certainty have become practically nonexistent.

It is no longer expected that employees will rigidly follow rules but that they will be "self-disciplined," capable of facing uncertainties with resilience, proactivity, and initiative (Laval, 2019).

---

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.extraclasse.org.br/educacao/2021/12/a-expansao-desenfreada-do-setor-mercantilista-de-educacao/>

Control does not manifest solely through repressive measures but also in a productive way, aiming for the voluntary participation of people in processes of self-control and self-promotion (Deleuze, 1992; Hur, 2018). This creates the perception that self-exploitation is an act of freedom. Meritocracy employs immense power, leading us to feel "free" to exploit ourselves 24/7. We participate in this exploitation voluntarily and enthusiastically, proclaiming ourselves autonomous subjects reaching the peak of personal fulfillment. The "subject of performance" does not consider themselves subordinate to anyone; they are simultaneously master and subordinate, exploiter and exploited, victim and aggressor (Han, 2015). The dispute does not unfold exclusively against an identifiable external enemy or a manipulable objective but within the subjective dimension of the worker (Fisher, 2020).

This "new way of the world" is grounded in the naturalization of risk, individual responsibility, and the transformation of individuals into self-entrepreneurs, subject to continuous competition (Dardot; Laval, 2017). The concept of "employability" shifts employment from the realm of rights to that of individual culpability for unemployment. Each individual is expected to acquire the necessary skills to stand out in the market (Frigotto, 2021). In a scenario where there is no place for everyone, those with the best "merit" and "effort" stand out (Frigotto, 2015). It is advantageous for employers that "entrepreneurial" individuals do not identify themselves as mere workers but proclaim their status as small self-employed business owners. A worker presupposes the existence of labor rights, such as vacation and a thirteenth salary<sup>24</sup>, while the condition of self-entrepreneur eliminates these expectations. This approach constitutes a strategy of non-responsibility on the part of the state and companies regarding workers' rights (Chauí, 2017).

In the tragic dimension of the neoliberal scenario, the individual immerses themselves in a perspective marked by individualization. This solitary path separates the worker from their rights, their class conception, and collective narratives, relegating youth to a social void and the battle for survival. This process compromises collective strength and undermines resistance capacity (Chauí, 2017; Freitas, 2018). Individualization silences the failure of a comprehensive rights-guaranteeing system, neglects growing social inequality, structural racism, and misogyny. Its foundation rests on blame: in case of failure, responsibility is attributed to the individual. Unemployment, adverse working conditions, excessive working hours, low remuneration, lack of physical infrastructure, and particularly for women, gender disparity and the accumulation of domestic and family responsibilities are concealed. The individual fails for not being sufficiently entrepreneurial, being responsible for their successes and failures (Han, 2015).

---

<sup>24</sup> Brazilian labor benefit.



The coercive neoliberal apparatus partially embodies subjective production in the pedagogy of competencies, especially through socio-emotional competencies. The promulgation of the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases*<sup>25</sup> (LDB) in Brazil formalized the curricular structure based on competencies. This approach was assimilated into official documents of the Ministry of Education (MEC), such as the *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais*<sup>26</sup>, which highlights the importance of developing general competencies in school curricula. Additionally, the *Base Nacional Comum Curricular*<sup>27</sup> (BNCC), approved in 2017, prioritizes the integral formation of students, encompassing cognitive, socio-emotional, and ethical competencies, as also envisioned in the *Novo Ensino Médio*<sup>28</sup> (Silva, 2022).

The emphasis on practical skills in the Pedagogy of Competencies instrumentalizes education to meet market demands, redefining the role of teachers and complex knowledge. There is an intention to align the teaching of "general" competencies with a constantly transforming world, demanding generic knowledge that would enable students to perform functions, solve problems, and apply their knowledge practically (Neto, 2019). The acquisition of knowledge is proposed in an immediately useful way, prioritizing the "know-how" (Laval, 2019).

These competencies are considered personal attributes and include: adaptability, communication, teamwork, initiative, resource management, use of various technologies, creativity, problem-solving skills, and a willingness for continuous learning and updating. In this context, students are urged to be versatile, performing functions involving planning, execution, problem-solving, and decision-making, promoting a spirit of leadership, teamwork, and proactivity (OECD, 1992 *apud* Laval, 2019).

Through an "innovative," dynamic, and modern discourse, new forms of exclusion emerge (Bueno; Almeida, 2015). The emphasis on the "practical" aspect comes at the expense of formal, complex, and reflective knowledge, intellectual knowledge collectively generated by humanity and essential for transforming social order (Silva, 2022; Zandoná, 2022). It represents an expropriation of the right to access scientific, technological, philosophical, artistic, and cultural knowledge (Leher, 2022), relegating public school students to simple labor.

Socio-emotional competencies, in turn, represent a set of abilities considered "essential" for personal and social well-being, as well as for academic and professional success. Examples include: emotional intelligence, empathy, emotion management, interpersonal relationships, communication,

---

<sup>25</sup> Translation by the author: Law of Guidelines and Bases.

<sup>26</sup> Translation by the author: National Curricular Guidelines.

<sup>27</sup> Translation by the author: National Common Curricular Base.

<sup>28</sup> Translation by the author: New High School.

problem-solving and decision-making, critical thinking, resilience, collaboration, perseverance, kindness, engagement, teamwork, adaptability<sup>29</sup>, self-knowledge, willpower, courage to take risks, stress tolerance, and curiosity (Laval, 2019; Accioly; Lamosa, 2021).

Several schools and education departments acquire programs, workbooks, and materials linked to socio-emotional education designed by large corporate conglomerates. The dissemination of ideas aligned with neoliberal premises is intensified, manifesting as a central component in disputes over subjectivation processes, aiming at producing new forms of submission. Contemporary students do not fit only into the old pattern of docile bodies, characterized by passivity, obedience, and alignment, products of disciplinary society (Foucault, 2012). Today, docile bodies also manifest in ways adapted to contemporary values, bodies marked by certain ways of understanding creativity, authenticity, empathy, proactivity, and resilience (Mordente, 2023).

The "management of emotions" shapes affects according to corporate values and beliefs (Batista *et al.*, 2022). This modulation of sociability, aligned with the flexibilization and precarization of labor relations, produces a scenario of passivity in the face of experienced social inequalities. It involves subjective and coercive control of students, aiming to suppress the expression of problematizing affects and appease social conflicts (Accioly; Lamosa, 2021). The goal is to produce an obedient worker, capable of controlling their emotions, withstanding pressures, overcoming obstacles, and demonstrating resilience, avoiding confrontations. Emotional control technologies, through fine-tuning behaviors and feelings, generate new forms of conformism (Neto; Borges, 2022).

Socio-emotional "development" should not be treated as a marketable product across Brazil, operating our affections as commodities. The expression of our affections is always contextualized and mediated by broader educational and social projects. It involves a constant exercise in producing a perspective capable of transcending an individual outlook that neglects the analysis of institutional, cultural, and socio-economic conditions of ongoing exploitation (Ciervo; Silva, 2019; Zandoná, 2022). Precisely because it is a fundamental dimension of the educational process, it becomes essential to deeply tune in with the demands and realities of the specific school community.

## **Final Considerations**

Neoliberal educational policies operate on the curriculum, teaching materials, evaluation processes, quality criteria, teacher training models, pedagogical projects, private education systems, and other elements, further accentuating educational disparities (Alencar; Barros, 2021). After

---

<sup>29</sup> Adaptation in the sense of changing to keep everything under the sign of exploration.

analytically distinguishing different layers of school neoliberalism, it becomes evident that education, when analyzed from the perspective of human formation, as a comprehensive public good and an integral part of a national project dedicated to youth, should not be guided by business interests that reinforce processes of inequality and exclusion (Freitas, 2013).

Denaturalizing the presence of business interests in the education sector and making their devastating effects visible contributes both to highlighting the socially disintegrative horizon of the process and its profoundly antagonistic character to education as the transmission of science and philosophy, aiming for autonomy and solidarity. In this sense, confronting school neoliberalism requires engaging in the struggle for the decommodification of education, removing it, as reiterated, from the commercial domain, reaffirming its value as a fundamental human right and as a crucial element for the democratic development of society. Breaking away from the mercantilist perspective that conceives knowledge as property and, instead, sharing it widely and profoundly, is a condition for knowledge to produce supportive cultural and human environments. This struggle adopts an anti-capitalist stance, aligned with the construction of a new social order free from exploitation.

In light of the neoliberal paradigm centered on deintellectualization and moral conformity, it becomes imperative to reclaim the educational and pedagogical dimension based on access to critical and systematic knowledge, aiming at creating an educational environment directed towards the promotion of equity, inclusion, and the transmission of critical knowledge (Saviani, 1991). This journey is guided by the production of autonomy processes as a collective practice carried out by and in schools, marked by the real capacity to make decisions about the school community through participation, accountability, and the establishment of a distinct educational territory.

Regarding the processes of subjectivation, there is always an alternative. If we assume, as the protagonists of the neoliberalization of the world do, that the "critical and rational subject" - once considered a pillar of social transformation - was produced under other conditions and at another time, if we assume that the production of subjects - subjectivation - occurs similarly to the production of commodities and allows values to be conferred upon marketable products, we have an alternative: to dispute the production of subjectivity. For Uber to exist, uberization is necessary, forming a cycle that involves a series of material devices, labor relations, a life and social horizon ordered by new subjective configurations: extreme individualization, a daily experience based on competition, and submission to severe conditions of exploitation. Education, a complex historical formation aimed at subjective construction, becomes a privileged field of this dispute. In the face of neoliberal equations, how do we form submissive subjects by affirming resilience and adaptation? How do we form controlled subjects focused on the individualized solution of problems conceived as essentially theirs, as if their problems were not connected to social, political, and economic relations, as if the self-

entrepreneur himself did not presuppose the famous phrase "there is no alternative" uttered by an agent of neoliberalization in defense of the universalization of the capitalist order?

It is up to care and education professionals, and not only them, to act in this dispute. It is time to dispute the production of subjectivity and to highlight its productive dimension, product and producer, instead of relegating it to the silencing of seemingly apolitical educational techniques, associated with techniques of psychological pathologization and a world in which there are no alternatives.

An education conceived as a right for all, characterized by freedom of thought, providing equality in concrete conditions for teaching and shared intellectual objectives. This vision of education represents a public and common good, ensuring universal access to the domains of written culture and intellectual activity while recognizing the essential role of teachers. It proposes public education funded by the State, characterized by socially referenced quality, secularity, equity, and orientation towards the common good as a means of emancipation from the collective sphere (Dardot; Laval, 2017).

## References

ACCIOLY, I.; LAMOSA, R. A. C. As Competências Socioemocionais na Formação da Juventude: Mecanismos de Coerção e Consenso frente às Transformações no Mundo do Trabalho e os Conflitos Sociais no Brasil. **Revista Vértices**, [S. l.], v. 23, n. 3, p. 706–733, set-dez. 2021. DOI: 10.19180/1809-2667.v23n32021p706-733. Available in: <https://editoraessentia.iff.edu.br/index.php/vertices/article/view/15976>. Accessed on: 07 ago. 2023.

ADRIÃO, T. M. F. Dimensões e formas da privatização da educação no Brasil: caracterização a partir de mapeamento de produções nacionais e internacionais. **Currículo sem Fronteiras**, v. 18, n. 1, p. 8-28, jan./abr. 2018. ISSN 1645-1384. Available in: [www.curriculosemfronteiras.org](http://www.curriculosemfronteiras.org). Accessed on: 21 may 2024.

ADRIÃO, T. M. F. *et al.* **Sistemas privados de ensino na educação pública brasileira: consequências da mercantilização para o direito à educação**. São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2022.

ADRIÃO, T. M. F. *et al.* Grupos empresariais na educação básica pública brasileira: limites à efetivação do direito à educação. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 37, p. 113–131, jan-mar. 2016. DOI: 10.1590/ES0101-73302016157605. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/XvqBzgdTPyJRdkZHw4dKRfD/abstract/?lang=pt#>. Accessed on 05 jul 2023.

ADRIÃO, T. M. F. *et al.* Uma modalidade peculiar de privatização da educação pública: a aquisição de “sistemas de ensino” por municípios paulistas. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 30, p. 799–818, out. 2009. DOI: 10.1590/S0101-73302009000300009. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/TqddFL8VP9yMhBghcLpkXGg/abstract/?lang=pt#>. Accessed on 06 jul. 2023.

ALENCAR, F. R.; BARROS, V. S. Ensino Remoto Emergencial e Reforma Neoliberal da Educação Brasileira: Tecendo Relações. **EaD em Foco**, v. 11, n. 1, p. 1596, set. 2021. DOI:

Olhar de professor, Ponta Grossa, v. 27, p. 1-25, e-23175.036, 2024.  
Disponível em <<https://revistas.uepg.br/index.php/olhardeprofessor>>

10.18264/eadf.v1i1.1596. Available in:  
<https://eademfoco.cecierj.edu.br/index.php/Revista/article/view/1596>. Accessed on 21 jun. 2023.

ANDRADE, M. C. P.; MOTTA, V. C. O empresariamento da educação de novo tipo e seus agentes: o empresariado educacional do tempo presente. **Revista Trabalho Necessário**, v. 20, n. 42, p. 01–27, jul. 2022. DOI: 10.22409/tn.v20i42.54290. Available in:  
<https://periodicos.uff.br/trabalhonecessario/article/view/54290>. Accessed on: 19 jun. 2023.

AVILA, S.; LÉDA, D. B.; VALE, A. A. Configurações do setor privado-mercantil na expansão da educação superior privada: notas para a análise do trabalho docente. In: MANCEBO, D.; SILVA JÚNIOR, J. R. (Eds.). **Trabalho docente e expansão da educação superior brasileira**. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2012. p. 145-182.

BARATA, J. P. B. Educação em disputa: tensão entre o suposto universalismo das políticas públicas em educação e a prática. In: **VI Jornada Internacional de Políticas Públicas: O desenvolvimento da crise capitalista e a atualização das lutas contra a exploração, a dominação e a humilhação**. UFMA, São Luis: 2013.

BATISTA, R. L. *et al.* A ideologia neoliberal na educação brasileira: considerações a partir Christian Laval. **Perspectivas em Diálogo: Revista de Educação e Sociedade**, v. 9, n. 21, p. 453–469, nov. 2022. DOI: doi.org/10.55028/pdres.v9i21.15357. Available in:  
<https://periodicos.ufms.br/index.php/persdia/article/view/15357>. Accessed on: 18 jun. 2023.

BENEVIDES, P. S.; NETO, J. M. Educação, subjetivação e resistência nas sociedades de controle. **ECOS - Estudos Contemporâneos da Subjetividade**, v. 1, n. 1, p. 27–40, 2011. ISSN: 2237-941X. Available in: <http://www.periodicoshumanas.uff.br/ecos/article/view/673>. Accessed on: 17 jun 2023.

BRITO, S. H. A.; MARINS, G. A. M. B. Fundação Lemann e o Programa de Inovação Educação Conectada: em pauta as relações entre público e privado no campo das políticas educacionais. **Educar em Revista**, v. 36, p. e77558, dez. 2020. DOI: 10.1590/0104-4060.77558. Available in:  
<https://www.scielo.br/j/er/a/vgVG6Hk63XFCVvH5Sxk7QLv#>. Accessed on: 15 jun. 2023.

BUENO, E. R. A.; ALMEIDA, K. V. S. Um Olhar Para Além do Capital: a possibilidade de superação do modelo neoliberal em educação. **Porto das Letras**, v. 1, n. 2, p. 128–142, 2015. ISSN - 2448-0819. Available in: <https://sistemas.uft.edu.br/periodicos/index.php/portodasletras/article/view/1782>. Accessed on: 14 jun. 2023.

CARVALHO, R. S.; SILVA, R. R. D. Currículos socioemocionais, habilidades do século XXI e o investimento econômico na educação: as novas políticas curriculares em exame. **Educar em Revista**, p. 173–190, jan-mar. 2017. DOI: 10.1590/0104-4060.44451. Available in:  
<https://www.scielo.br/j/er/a/Zmk59Kk7hhDBbfQdYm4X7Gv/abstract/?lang=pt#>. Accessed on: 13 jun. 2023.

CHAUÍ, M. **O retrato de uma catástrofe**. Entrevista cedida a Jornalistas Livres, 2017. Disponível em: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UCyVT2HLQOI> Accessed on: 1 ago. 2023.

CIERVO, T. J. R.; SILVA, R. R. D. A centralidade das competências socioemocionais nas políticas curriculares contemporâneas no Brasil. **Revista e-Curriculum**, v. 17, n. 2, p. 382–401, abr. 2019. DOI: 10.23925/1809-3876.2019v17i2p382-401. Available in:  
<https://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/curriculum/article/view/38834>. Accessed on: 12 jun. 2023.

Olhar de professor, Ponta Grossa, v. 27, p. 1-25, e-23175.036, 2024.  
Disponível em <<https://revistas.uepg.br/index.php/olhardeprofessor>>

- COSTA, H. B. **Financeirização da Educação Básica**: tendências no período 2010-2019. Dissertação. (Mestrado em Educação) – Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2020.
- DARDOT, P.; LAVAL, C. **Comum**: Ensaio Sobre a Revolução no Século XXI. Tradução: Mariana Echalar. Boitempo Editorial, 2017.
- DELEUZE, G. Post-scriptum sobre as sociedades de controle. In: **Conversações**. São Paulo: Editora 34, 1992. p. 219–226.
- DELEUZE, G.; GUATTARI, F. **Mil Platôs** I. São Paulo: Ed.34, 2011.
- FISHER, M. **Realismo Capitalista**. É mais fácil imaginar o fim do mundo do que o fim do capitalismo? São Paulo: Autonomia Literária, 2020.
- FOUCAULT, M. **Vigiar e Punir**: nascimento da prisão. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 2012.
- FREITAS, L. C. D. Escolas aprisionadas em uma democracia aprisionada: anotações para uma resistência propositiva. **Revista HISTEDBR On-line**, v. 18, n. 4, p. 906–926, 21 dez. 2018. DOI: 10.20396/rho.v18i4.8654333. Available in: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/histedbr/article/view/865>. Accessed on: 11 jun. 2023.
- FREITAS, L. C. Prefácio. In: MARTINS, E. M. (Ed.). **Todos pela educação?** Como os empresários estão determinando a política educacional brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Lamparina, 2016.
- FREITAS, L. C. Os empresários e a política educacional: como o proclamado direito à educação de qualidade é negado na prática pelos reformadores empresariais. **Germinal: marxismo e educação em debate**, v. 6, n. 1, p. 48–59, 24 ago. 2014a. DOI: [doi.org/10.9771/gmed.v6i1.12594](https://doi.org/10.9771/gmed.v6i1.12594). Available in: <https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/revistagerminal/article/view/12594>. Accessed on: 21 may 2023.
- FREITAS, L. C. Os reformadores empresariais da educação e a disputa pelo controle do processo pedagógico na escola. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 35, p. 1085–1114, dez. 2014b. DOI: 10.1590/ES0101-73302014143817. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/xm7bSyCfyKm64zWGNbdy4Gx/abstract/?lang=pt>. Accessed on: 21 may 2023.
- FREITAS, L. C. Responsabilização, meritocracia e privatização: conseguiremos escapar ao neotecnicismo? In: PINO, I.; ZAN, D. (Eds.). **Plano Nacional da Educação (PNE)**: questões desafiadoras e embates emblemáticos. Brasília: INEP, 2013.
- FREITAS, L. C. Os reformadores empresariais da educação: da desmoralização do magistério à destruição do sistema público de educação. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 33, p. 379–404, jun. 2012. DOI: 10.1590/S0101-73302012000200004. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/PMP4Lw4BRRX4k8q9W7xKxVy/abstract/?lang=pt>. Accessed on: 09 may 2023.
- FRIGOTTO, G. Pandemia, mercantilização da educação e resistências populares. **Germinal: marxismo e educação em debate**, v. 13, n. 1, p. 636–652, 4 maio 2021. DOI: 10.9771/gmed.v13i1.44442. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/revistagerminal/article/view/44442>. Accessed on: 21 may. 2023.
- Olhar de professor, Ponta Grossa, v. 27, p. 1-25, e-23175.036, 2024. Disponível em <<https://revistas.uepg.br/index.php/olhardeprofessor>>

FRIGOTTO, G. A produtividade da escola improdutiva 30 anos depois: regressão social e hegemonia às avessas. **Revista Trabalho Necessário**, v. 13, n. 20, 30 jun. 2015. DOI: 10.22409/tn.13i20.p8619. Available in: <https://periodicos.uff.br/trabalhonecessario/article/view/8619>. Accessed on: 15 may 2023.

GAWRYSZEWSKI, B.; MOTTA, V. C.; PUTZKE, C. K. Gestão privada de escolas públicas da Educação Básica: um novo mercado sob a tutela do Estado. **Práxis Educativa**, v. 12, n. 3, p. 728–748, 16 fev. 2017. DOI: 10.5212/PraxEduc.v.12i3.003. Available in: <https://revistas.uepg.br/index.php/praxiseducativa/article/view/9413>. Accessed on: 21 may 2023.

GENTILLI, P. Neoliberalismo e educação: manual do usuário. In: SILVA, T. T.; GENTILLI, P. (Eds.). **Escola S.A.**: quem ganha e quem perde no mercado educacional do neoliberalismo. Brasília, DF: CNTE, 1996.

GUATTARI, F. **Caosmose**: um novo paradigma estético. São Paulo: Editora 34, 1992.

GUATTARI, F.; ROLNIK, S. **Micropolítica**: Cartografias do Desejo. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1986.

HAN, B.C. **Sociedade do cansaço**. Trad: Enio Paulo Giachini. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2015.

HUR, D. U. Deleuze e a constituição do diagrama de controle. **Fractal: Revista de Psicologia**, v. 30, p. 173–179, ago. 2018. DOI: 10.22409/1984-0292/v30i2/5507. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/fractal/a/YSZGX6DwRz4MDYfvJrDm7Cf/#>. Accessed on: 10 may 2023.

LAVAL, C. **A escola não é uma empresa**: neoliberalismo em ataque ao ensino público. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2019.

LEHER, R. Mercantilização da educação, precarização do trabalho docente e o sentido histórico da pandemia Covid 19. **Revista de Políticas Públicas**, v. 26, n. Especial, p. 78–102, 30 dez. 2022. DOI: 10.18764/2178-2865.v26nEp78-102. Available in: <https://periodicoelectronicos.ufma.br/index.php/rppublica/article/view/20262>. Accessed on: 05 may 2023.

LEHER, R. Apontamentos para análise da correlação de forças na educação brasileira: em prol da frente democrática. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 40, p. e0219831, 9 dez. 2019. DOI: 10.1590/ES0101-73302019219831. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/ZZSL6ddgp5mDHz9S4kjkjYC/>. Accessed on: 08 april. 2023.

LUCIANI, F. T. **Formar para quê?** Reformas curriculares em escolas de elite de São Paulo no século 21. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) - Faculdade de Educação, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2022.

MARTINS, A. S.; PINA, L. D. Crítica à concepção empresarial de educação: uma contribuição da Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica. **Germinal: marxismo e educação em debate**, v. 7, n. 1, p. 100–109, 2015. DOI: 10.9771/gmed.v7i1.12410. Available in: <https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/revistagerminal/article/view/12410>. Accessed on: 03 may 2023.

MARTINS, E. M. **Todos pela educação?** Como os empresários estão determinando a política educacional brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Lamparina, 2016.

MORAES, J. C. DE. **A Reforma do Ensino Médio e a educação libertadora de Paulo Freire: do assujeitamento à libertação.** Tese (Doutorado em Psicologia)—Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Psicologia, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2021.

MORDENTE, G. V. **Neoliberalismo escolar e processos de subjetivação: como a educação “inovadora” opera?** Tese (Doutorado em Psicologia) - Instituto de Psicologia, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2023.

MORDENTE, G. V.; CUNHA, T. C.; PORTUGAL, F. T. Capturas neoliberais e educação democrática: o mito da educação “inovadora”. In: LEMOS, F. (Ed.). **Psicologia Social, Educação e Análise Institucional: Diálogos entre Paulo Freire, Gregório Barenblitt, Bell Hooks, Gilles Deleuze e Félix Guattari.** Curitiba: CRV, 2023. p. 289–304.

MOTTA, V. C.; ANDRADE, M. C. P. O empresariamento da educação de novo tipo e suas dimensões. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 41, p. e224423, 14 set. 2020a. DOI: 10.1590/ES.224423. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/3DnTFnDYxsY9crTsnxFzQBB/>. Accessed on: 13 april. 2023.

MOTTA, V. C.; ANDRADE, M. C. P. Empresariamento da educação de novo tipo: mercantilização, mercadorização e subsunção da educação ao empresariado. **Revista Desenvolvimento e Civilização**. jan. 2020b. DOI: 10.12957/rdciv.2020.54751. Available in: <https://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/rdciv/article/view/54751>. Accessed on: 03. feb. 2023.

MOTTA, V. C.; FRIGOTTO, G. Por que a urgência da Reforma Do Ensino Médio? Medida provisória nº 746/2016 (LEI Nº 13.415/2017). **Educ. Soc.**, Campinas, v. 38, nº. 139, p.355-372, abr.-jun., 2017. DOI: 10.1590/ES0101-73302017176606. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/8hBKtMRjC9mBJYjPwbNDkkt/abstract/?lang=pt>. Accessed on: 02 jul. 2022

MOTTA, V. C. Empresários Como Conduttori Da “Reforma” Da Educação Básica Pública Brasileira. In: **VI Jornada Internacional de Políticas Públicas: O desenvolvimento da crise capitalista e a atualização das lutas contra a exploração, a dominação e a humilhação.** UFMA, São Luis: 2013.

NETO, A. C. M. **Crítica da educação centrada nas competências socioemocionais.** Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação: História, Política, Sociedade). Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em Educação: História, Política, Sociedade—São Paulo: Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2019.

NETO, V.; BORGES, A. **Inteligência emocional e controle das emoções: contribuições a partir da Teoria Crítica da Sociedade.** Dissertação (Mestrado – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Escolar e do Desenvolvimento Humano) – Instituto de Psicologia, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2022.

PELLANDA, A.; CARA, D. From the Right to Education to the Right to Learn: Impacts From the New Philanthropy in the Education Policy Making in Brazil, In: AVELAR, M.; PATIL, L. (Orgs). **New Philanthropy and the Disruption of Global Education.** Norrag: 2020, p. 80-92. ISSN: 2571-8010.

PERONI, V. M. V.; CAETENO, M. R. O público e o privado na educação - Projetos em disputa? **Retratos da Escola**, v. 9, n. 17, 2015. DOI: 10.22420/rde.v9i17.584. Available in: <https://retratosdaescola.emnuvens.com.br/rde/article/view/584>. Accessed on: 02. feb. 2023.



PINA, L. D. “**Responsabilidade social**” e **educação escolar**: o projeto de educação básica da “direita para o social” e suas repercussões na política educacional do Brasil contemporâneo. 2016. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação da Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, Juiz de Fora, 2016.

SAAD, A. F.; MORAIS, L. **Brasil**: Neoliberalismo versus Democracia. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2018

SAVIANI, D. **Pedagogia histórico-crítica**: primeiras aproximações. Campinas: Autores Associados, 1991.

SGUISSARDI, V. As missões da universidade, entre as quais a extensão universitária ou a terceira missão, em face dos desafios da mercadização/mercantilização. **Teoria e Prática da Educação**, v. 22, n.3, p. 38-56, set./dez. 2019. DOI: 10.4025/tpe.v22i3.51381. Available in: <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/TeorPratEduc/article/view/51381>. Accessed on 11 ago. 2023.

SILVA, A. M.; MOTTA, V. C. A presença do empresariado na educação pública brasileira e a precarização de novo tipo do trabalho docente. **Educação em Revista**, v. 18, n. 2, p. 27–42, 6 nov. 2017. DOI: 10.36311/2236-5192.2017.v18n2.03.p27. Available in: <https://revistas.marilia.unesp.br/index.php/educacaoemrevista/article/view/7412>. Accessed on: 21 sep. 2023.

SILVA, J. R. Escola pública e iniciativa privada: uma análise da relação governo e empresários em torno do ensino público brasileiro. **Revista Educação, Cultura e Sociedade**, v. 11, n. 2, 10 set. 2021.

SILVA, M. M. Crítica à formação de competências socioemocionais na escola. **Revista HISTEDBR On-line**, v. 22, p. e022013–e022013, 4 maio 2022. DOI: 10.20396/rho.v22i00.8659871. Available in: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/histedbr/article/view/8659871>. Accessed on: 21 oct. 2023.

TARLAU, R.; MOELLER, K. O consenso por filantropia: Como uma fundação privada estabeleceu a BNCC no Brasil. **Currículo sem Fronteiras**, v. 20, n. 2, p. 553–603, ago. 2020. DOI: 10.35786/1645-1384.v20.n2.11. Available in: [www.curriculosemfronteiras.org](http://www.curriculosemfronteiras.org). Accessed on: 15 jan. 2022.

ZANDONÁ, A. A. **A conformação de uma nova sociabilidade**: competências socioemocionais nas orientações do Banco Interamericano do Desenvolvimento. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) — Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Centro de Ciências da Educação, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis: 2022.

Recebido: 21/03/2024

Aceito: 28/06/2024

Received: 03/21/2024

Accepted: 06/28/2024

Recibido: 21/03/2024

Aceptado: 28/06/2024

