

ТЕОРИЯ И МЕТОДИКА ОБУЧЕНИЯ И ВОСПИТАНИЯ (ГЕОГРАФИЯ)

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ПОЛИТИКА УЧЕБНОЙ ПРОГРАММЫ, ГЕОПОЛИТИКА И ПРЕПОДАВАНИЕ ГЕОГРАФИИ В БРАЗИЛИИ

Аннотация. В статье анализируются связи между неолиберальными руководящими принципами школьного образования, заложенными в документы международных организаций, и руководящими принципами бразильской школьной программы, выраженными в Национальной общей программной базе (BNCC), особенно в отношении преподавания географии. Неолиберальная политика в области учебных программ, её интернационализация, отраженная в документах Всемирного банка, оказывают определенное влияние на планирование образовательной политики в развивающихся странах, в отношении учебных программ, педагогической практики и образовательного законодательства. Централизованные учебные программы ориентированы на удовлетворение основных потребностей в обучении для укрепления производственного потенциала и измерения знаний и навыков посредством стандартизированных внешних оценок. Наднациональная учебная программа единого технического языка в большей степени направлена на создание профилей обучения для производственной системы и реализацию крупномасштабных стандартизированных процессов, соответствующих образовательной политике и рекомендациям международных организаций, не в полной мере учитывает идеи учебной программы, направленной на сокращение бедности, и переориентирует ее на индивидуальное и социальное благополучие всех социальных слоев. Во введении перечислены черты неолиберализма в контексте глобализации и интернационализации образовательной политики и то, как они проявляются в учебных методических руководствах. В основной части анализируются рекомендации международных организаций, таких как Всемирный банк, ЮНЕСКО и ОЭСР (Организация экономического сотрудничества и развития), и их прогнозы по образовательным реформам, особенно в Бразилии. В заключении, учитывая действующий в стране BNCC, представлен критический анализ предложения по учебной программе по преподаванию географии, включенного в этот документ.

Ключевые слова: неолиберализм, учебная политика, геополитика, Всемирный банк, организация экономического сотрудничества и развития.

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CURRICULUM POLICIES, GEOPOLITICS AND GEOGRAPHY TEACHING IN BRAZIL

Abstract. The article discusses the connections between the neoliberal guidelines for school education inserted in documents from international organizations and the guidelines for the Brazilian school curriculum expressed in the National Common Curricular Base - BNCC, especially for the teaching of Geography. Neoliberal curriculum policies and their internationalization, as reflected in World Bank documents, have a definite impact on educational policy planning in developing countries, in relation to curricula, teaching practices and educational legislation. Centralized training programs focus on meeting basic learning needs to strengthen productive capacity and measure knowledge and skills through standardized external assessments. The supranational common technical language curriculum is more focused on creating learning profiles for the production system and implementing large-scale standardized processes, in line with educational policies and recommendations of international organizations, without fully taking into account the ideas of the curriculum aimed at poverty reduction, and refocuses it on the individual and social well-being of all social classes. Initially, the traits of neoliberalism in the context of globalization and internationalization of educational policies are shown and how they appear in curricular guidelines. Then, guidelines from international organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO and OECD are recorded, and their projection in educational reforms, especially in Brazil. Finally, considering the current BNCC being in force in the country, a critical analysis of the curricular proposal for the teaching of Geography inserted in this document is presented.

Keywords: neoliberalism, curriculum policies, geopolitics, the world bank, organization for economic cooperation and development.

Neoliberal curriculum policies and impact on Education Systems

The expansion of neoliberalism is associated with two interconnected phenomena, globalization and internationalization. Lenoir et al [7] define globalization as an ideological project driven by economic ne-

oliberalism, having as effects the submission of the population to the laws of the market, among them, the increase of interdependence between countries, convergence of economies and liberation of exchanges and markets and restructuring of Nation States. Internationalization, in turn, refers to processes and actions carried out by international organizations in the form of plans, programs, guidelines and execution procedures, to enable the global agenda of the great world powers, especially in emerging countries.

The internationalization of policies and the model of neoliberal economic rationality inscribed in documents from the World Bank and OECD have progressively intervened directly or indirectly in the planning of educational policies, especially in emerging countries. With the logic of the obligation of results, these policies aim at the establishment of purposes and objectives of education, influencing curricula, pedagogical practices and the educational legislation of the countries. It is recurrent among critics of this model the understanding that the purpose of schools is reduced to preparing the workforce for the market. This purpose, broken down into cognitive and socio-emotional skills, is monitored by large-scale assessment systems whose results lead to ways of controlling the internal functioning of schools and the work of teachers. In this way, neoliberal educational policies provoke changes in the conditions of professional exercise of teachers, such as the precariousness, devaluation and intensification of work, the imposition of curricula and standardized tests.

Educational geopolitics: the policies of multilateral organizations in Latin America. The case of Brazil

The classic links between economy and education take on peculiar configurations in neoliberalism, generating the need for a global consensus on the impact of government programs and actions in relation to economic and social problems. In relation to the countries on the periphery of capitalism, it is a matter of explaining the socializing and assistance role of school education to make the poor's capacities more productive for their insertion in the economy and alleviation of social problems that may hinder the expansion of economic globalization.

From 1990 onwards, guidelines and guidelines in relation to educational policies in emerging countries began to be formulated by multilateral organizations, led by the World Bank and UNESCO. A historic milestone was the holding of the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 [15]. This was followed by the New Delhi Summit, India (1993), Dakar World Summit on Education for All (2000). More recently, at the World Education Forum, the Declaration of Incheon (2015) was proclaimed, reaffirming the principles of the Jomtien Conference. In 2000, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - OCDE created the International Student Assessment Program - PISA, starting to occupy a prominent place in the orientation of educational policies in member countries and in partner countries, including Brazil.

In a 2011 document, the World Bank reiterates the need for social policies to improve economic policies, including social inclusion aimed at people at risk of poverty and social exclusion, in order to allow full participation in economic, social and cultural life [1]. It is reinforced that "Education for All" is intended to fight poverty and, at the same time, to increase the productive capacity of the poor for the market, degrading the concept of education as the development of all human capacities. In this way, basic education, in the documents, becomes an indispensable instrument for the changes carried out in globalized capitalism and for global economic success, especially that aimed at the most marginalized social sectors.

The OECD's activities intensified from 2007 onwards with the establishment of partnerships with countries such as South Africa, China, India, Indonesia and Brazil to influence these countries with guidelines for economic, legal and political decisions regarding public policies and programs for education. This organization recently released the project The Future of Education and Skills - Education 2030 [13], developed since 2015 with the cooperation of governments, institutions and experts, to help countries prepare their education systems for the future and outline essential curricular elements to prepare young people for work and life, that is, the skills and abilities required to respond to the socio-economic needs of 2030. It is about helping each student to "develop as a full person, fulfill their potential and help shape a future built on the well-being of people, communities and the planet" [13, p.1]. More than preparing for the world of work, education needs to provide skills for active, responsible and engaged citizenship.

The content of the Future of Education 2030 Project allows us to conclude that the OECD maintains the basic propositions of the World Declaration on Education for All formulated at the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien (Thailand) as centralized curricula, with an emphasis on meeting basic learning needs for strengthening productive capacities and measuring knowledge and skills through standardized external assessments. However, it reorients these guidelines to more explicit educational purposes and pedagogical propositions, that is, the establishment of a supranational curriculum, unified technical language, construction of desirable training profiles for the productive system, and the realization of large-scale stand-

ardized comparative evaluation processes (for example, the implementation of PISA). In this sense, the supranational curriculum seems to abandon the idea of a curriculum aimed at reducing poverty and reorient it, now, to the individual and social well-being of all social segments through cognitive and socio-emotional skills and abilities.

The guidelines of international organizations have been represented in Brazilian educational policy at least since the 1990s, permeating all governments to the present day. However, with the parliamentary coup that took place in 2016, conservative political forces led to the effective consolidation of the alignment of educational policies with the guidelines of international organizations, consolidated in what established the National Curricular Common Base - BNCC. So, there has been made an unfolding analysis of this document, specifying in one of the curricular components of basic education: Geography.

Internationalization of educational policies and BNCC: teaching geography

Brazil, in recent years, has consolidated its insertion in the global production framework as an important country in the production of commodities, a fundamental sector in the expansion of global capitalism. This geopolitical position of the country is consistent with its adherence to neoliberal policies, including educational ones, in the sense of guaranteeing the maintenance of this position and achieving, with that, economic growth. With the subordination of education to the economy and market demands in the context of economic globalization, the instrumentalist approach to the curriculum has become hegemonic throughout the world, consolidating the understanding that economic and social problems and the weaknesses of educational systems can be resolved with prescriptive curriculum changes.

In Brazil, over the last 30 years, successive governments have been designing and implementing curriculum reforms, culminating in the approval in 2018 of the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC). It is a normative document that establishes a set of skills and abilities considered to be basic for all students, being the reference for the construction and adaptation of the curricula of all education networks in the country. The document covers all levels of what, in Brazil, is called Basic Education: Early Childhood Education (for children up to 5 years old), Elementary Education (for students from 6 to 14 years old), divided into two phases - initial years (1st to the 5th school year) and final years (6th to 9th school years) and High School (for students aged 15 to 17).

In the presentation of the document there is a type of curricular structure based on competences (competencies, according to the document is the “mobilization of knowledge (concepts and procedures), skills (practical, cognitive and emotional), attitudes and values to solve demands” [3, P. 8], which is in line with the definition already mentioned in documents from international organizations.), from the definition of Areas of Knowledge, which articulates curricular components and for each of them lists a set of Thematic Units that, in turn, articulates Knowledge Objects (content, concepts, processes) and Skills, for each school year. In the BNCC of High School [3], in addition to the specific skills to be developed in the four areas of knowledge (Languages and their Technologies, Mathematics and their Technologies, Natural Sciences and their Technologies and Applied Human and Social Sciences), the definition flexible training itineraries, which should focus on entrepreneurship, scientific research and socio-cultural mediation and intervention.

In the part referring to the curricular component Geography, the BNCC document has the following structure for each school grade: Thematic unit, Object of knowledge (specific contents), Ability to be developed.

The critical analysis of the Geography curriculum component covers the following issues: limits of standardized curricula and the focus on competences, limits of the prescribed curriculum (rejection of other visions of curriculum) and of the conception of contents, problems of the curriculum structure.

Regarding the issue of standardization of curricular references and their structuring based on competences, the legislators' justification is the need to establish a common base of school contents for basic education, thus guaranteeing a certain equity in the formation of Brazilian citizens, regardless of social class, ethnic-racial differences, religious creed. It is an important principle to guide public policies, however, in the BNCC, the definition of content is presented in a cast of detailed skills and abilities to the point of ceasing to be a curricular “reference” to become a detailed and hierarchical description of some structured content, leaving little room for necessary contextualizations and pedagogical-didactic mediations. As a result, the instrumental approach to the curriculum leads to an overvaluation of the curriculum and to the secondary role of teachers' pedagogical work. In addition, the presentation of a closed and detailed proposal, linking competences, contents and abilities, and the connection to it of other curricular elements such as the textbook and forms of evaluation, leads to identifying the BNCC as a prescriptive document with contents, standardized methodology and forms of evaluation, leaving no room for autonomous authorial work in the curricula of the Networks, the school and the teachers.

In relation to geographic content and its objectives, an orientation centered on the space category is

perceived as the objective of its teaching. This objective is related to the understanding of the student's world, through geographic space, articulating places, processes and geographic situations. With this premise, the document states that the goal of teaching Geography is the development of spatial thinking and geographical reasoning. The statement is based on the understanding that spatial thinking is fundamental for the development of students, and can be achieved with the realization of geographic reasoning. In view of this understanding, it must be argued that spatial thinking is not the central categorical axis of Geography, since this is a capacity to be developed also by other areas of knowledge, such as mathematics, art and literature. Spatial thinking is important and basic for the construction of geographic thinking, but it is geographic thinking that translates the ability to analyze the spatiality of phenomena, articulating concepts (landscape, place, territory, region and nature), principles (analogy, connection, differentiation, distribution, extension, location, order) and proper languages [4], [5], [6]. This set of concepts, principles and languages enables people to perform geographic analysis through totalizing thinking. What matters, in fact, is to clarify that the objective of teaching Geography is that the student, when using spatial thinking (more linked to the ability to locate and represent phenomena) articulating it with other capacities (concepts and reasoning), develop the ability to analyze the geographic spatiality of the phenomena and not the spatial one. Geographic thinking (or geographic reasoning, if this expression is taken as equivalent) as a set of intellectual capacities, includes spatial thinking and not the other way around, as it is in the document when it states, for example, that geographic reasoning is a way of exercising spatial thinking.

The organization of geographic content by area causes the dispersion of subjects-specific objects of study. According to the BNCC, in Elementary School, Geography is contemplated together with History, in the Human Sciences Area, and in High School, in the Human and Applied Social Sciences area, together with History, Philosophy, Sociology. The structuring of the curriculum by area leads to a decrease in the specificity of Geography, which may compromise the analysis of objects of knowledge based on specific curricular components.

Another aspect that should be criticized is the direct alignment of curriculum policies, the production of teaching material, procedures and evaluation instruments to evaluation actions in large schools, as recommended by the BNCC. This determination reinforces the imposition of a single way of working with school Geography and other disciplines, leading to the impoverishment of critical analysis and reflection. For example, in the document Common National Base for Teacher Training – BNC/Formação [2], it is clear that teachers should be trained based on the competencies and skills proposed by the BNCC. In our view, teacher training should be broad, based on pedagogical foundations and reference science, contemplating the knowledge and analysis of various possibilities for approaching geographic knowledge in teaching, including the proposal by the BNCC. This is how the teacher will be able to assess the limits and possibilities of curricular and pedagogical proposals to be implemented. There is a clear limit to this approach, which subordinates the general education for teaching to a specific and unique interpretation of the teaching practice with this school subject and its demands. It is considered that the process of teacher training implies autonomy of the Training Courses in the sense of elaborating its curricular structure according to the articulated dimensions of geographical science, educational sciences and school geography. In summary, the excessive alignment of curriculum policies, the production of didactic material, evaluation procedures and instruments to evaluation actions in large schools, as recommended by the BNCC, reinforces the imposition of a single way of working with school Geography and the other disciplines, leading to the impoverishment of critical analysis and reflection on curricular issues, in addition to assigning teachers the role of applicators of prescribed curriculum packages.

Finally, it is important to consider that the curriculum practiced in schools is not a mere reproduction of the guidelines of the curriculum developed by external instances [14]. This finding makes room for researchers and professors willing to resist the imposition of the BNCC, enabling practices that are more coherent with their convictions. In these practices, the conscious definition of content approach is highlighted, based on secure convictions about the relevance of Geography for the intellectual development of students and for their citizen practice, articulated to a teaching method that allows this development, in concrete situations experienced by teachers.

Final considerations

The purpose of this paper was to present connections between neoliberal educational policies emanating from international organizations and curricular proposals for Latin American countries, bringing as a particular case the BNCC guidelines for the teaching of Geography. Initially, traces of neoliberalism were shown in the context of globalization and internationalization and how these traits appear in educational proposals. Then, it was shown how guidelines from international organizations are projected in educational reforms in emerging countries, especially in Brazil. Finally, considering the current BNCC in force in Brazil

as a condensation of the policies and proposals of the aforementioned international organizations, an analysis was made of the curricular proposal for the teaching of Geography included in this document.

The internationalization of policies and guidelines for education and the global processes of governance within the neoliberal model produce deliberate forms of intervention in the planning of educational policies in countries, affecting the purposes, curriculum, legislation, forms of organization and management of schools, in the pedagogical-didactic procedures. The neoliberal vision for education projects a curriculum of results aimed at the formation of general competences with a view to developing productive capacities for the market, aimed mainly at serving the poor population of emerging countries and as a strong appeal to the reduction of poverty and social inequalities [8], [9], [10]. Since 1990, this vision has been projected in educational reforms with the argument of adapting curricula to the context of globalization, forming human capital for the demands and demands of the labor market, constituting subjectivities that condition individuals to the current economic order. In this way, the results curriculum is infiltrated and absorbed into the programs and plans of education systems and educational legislation. In the Brazilian case, the BNCC follows the logic of the instrumental curriculum inscribed in the documents of the World Bank, UNESCO and the OECD, supported by a standardized and centralized curriculum focused on results, in the search for quantifiable goals based on prescribing competences, measuring the student performance through external standardized tests, in the introduction of forms of control and accountability of the school and teachers for the success or failure of students.

Thus, there is an instrumental teaching subordinated to competence objectives measured by tests, in which scientific and cultural knowledge are excluded and in which the teaching-learning processes that can promote and expand the higher psychic processes disappear, that is, personality development. In this way, curriculum policies promoted by international organizations lead to the reification of evaluation as a promoter of teaching quality, putting aside the real quality and meaning of education, that is, the promotion of global human development as a requirement to face school and social inequalities [9].

Finally, it should be noted that no educational proposal is neutral, it is entangled in power relations and in conflicting relations between groups and social classes where social inequalities are constituted. Thus, the challenge of building a curriculum and a school oriented towards the democratization of society and the fulfillment of human and social rights remains posed in this respect. Perhaps the path lies in the involvement of educators in the conceptualization of the meaning of a just social school [11], [12], that is, the school that ensures access for all to cultural and scientific content as a means of promoting and expanding intellectual, social, affective development, aesthetic, taking into account the sociocultural diversity and linked to the social, cultural and material conditions of the students' lives.

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