

Agenda of the Inter-American Development Bank for the municipal education network of Manaus (Brazil)*

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Abstract

The article is the result of a research that aimed to analyze the negotiations with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) through the Project for Education Expansion and Development in the Municipal Public Network of Manaus (PROEMEM), implemented by the Municipal Education Secretariat (SEMED). The aim was to highlight the market logic involved in such negotiations with private sector participation and the way in which this initiative has been outlined in the municipal public education scenario. In order to conclude the study, a literature review was carried out, as well as data collection and analysis of primary documents, including SEMED official documents and Annual Reports, which are available on IDB internal use links, as well as documents related to the implementation of PROEMEM and actions carried out by said project in the period from 2013 to 2017. The study points out the implications of this process for the municipal public school. In the analysis, it is identified that there is an undeniable movement in favor of the viability of the expansion of private institutions in the educational sector, where they find new niches of economic exploitation that allow the private appropriation of the public good, without, however, effectively generating improvement of the public school network. The acceptance of this logic promotes changes in the conceptions of public school, with the incorporation of private institutions in the municipal school network.

Keywords

Educational policies - Educational market - PROEMEM.

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Introduction

The incorporation of the market logic in the municipal public education of Manaus has been effected by the Expansion and Educational Improvement Project of the Municipal Public Network of Manaus (PROEMEM), object of this research. PROEMEM reveals itself in the context of the globalization of the economy, marked by the hegemony of the political thought that focuses on the neoliberal principle, added to the incorporation of science and technology into the productive forces. Such forces are advocated by the process of competitiveness in the corporate world, given the constant pressures of the economic sector for state reforms and for redefining social and educational policies.

It is in this scenario that PROEMEM, whose execution period was five years (from 2013 to 2017), originated. The Municipal Secretariat of Education of Manaus (SEMED) is the executing agency of the project, financed with funds from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and with resources provided by the SEMED budget. In this direction, the direct presence of the private sector, whether profitable or not, expands.

For these reasons, the main objective is to analyze the negotiations with the IDB, through the PROEMEM implemented by SEMED, evidencing the logic of the market with the participation of the private sector. It is also intended to discuss how this initiative has been delineated in the scenario of municipal public education, which brings us to some questions: What gave rise to the implementation of PROEMEM in the mold of the market? What is the relationship between SEMED and the IDB? How has PROEMEM been materialized in the municipal public school of Manaus? The PROEMEM is an educational public policy of the municipality of Manaus that reflects the neoliberal ideology in the logic of the restructuring of the State, in the wake of the educational market?

Beginning in 2013, a period marked by the joint between the IDB's advisors and the municipal education management, PROEMEM was created to apply for a loan from the IDB. From then on, a survey was carried out in all the departments of SEMED, together with the IDB, whose results were presented through a workshop, with the objective of presenting a diagnosis of the frailties of municipal public education in that period. At the IDB's request, the Municipal Secretariat of Education, through PROEMEM, initiated a dialogue with the Ayrton Senna Institute (IAS) in 2014, a non-profit institution that advises states and municipalities on issues related to education, especially in the treatment of Flow Correction Programs.

The research proposal is based on considering the perspective of the method of interpretation of reality, taking into account the historical and economic facts, the labor relations and the relations of production, since, "at a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production" (MARX, 1904, p. 12). For Karl Marx, the ideological forms by which society becomes aware of real life, enumerated by it as religion, philosophy, morality, law, political doctrines, etc. (LÖWY, 2015, p. 19), accompany the subject to the end. "on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations

of production” (MARX, 1904, p. 12). This is the method of dialectical materialism, which Marx was the first to adopt and employ in a coherent way (LEFEBVRE, 2016, p. 30).

In the preface to the book *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels (1998, p. 29) express: “Hitherto men have always formed wrong ideas about themselves, about what they are and what they ought to be.” As a result, the relations between individuals, which are organized, are based on representations of individual creations, and these are only abstractions taken in themselves, outside social reality.

Obviously, these representative forms of understanding and elucidating the relations of individuals with the incorporation of the logic of the private into the public sphere must be contrasted analytically to reveal the “deformed consciousness of reality” (LÖWY, 2015, p.19) and thus to constitute thoughts that correspond to the essence of the contradictory relations that permeate the partnership between the private sector and public education.

In order to develop the study, a literature review was carried out, as well as data collection and analysis of primary documents, including official documents of the Municipal Secretariat of Education of Manaus (SEMED) and Annual Reports found on IDB internal use links encountered in documents of SEMED, in addition to documents related to the implementation of PROEMEM and the actions carried out by this project in the period from 2013 to 2017. In Brazil, researchers are increasingly interested in the issue of privatization of education. Thus, among the several studies carried out in this field, we highlight some theses and dissertations of authors such as Adrião (2006), Sarti (2005) and Peroni (2003, 2015). Research is needed to understand this process, in view of the implementation of PROEMEM in SEMED - Manaus, starting from primary data sources and showing the real conditions of the theoretical and political foundations of its proposal.

Public and private: reflections on public policies for national education

In order to understand this reality and its consequences, it is necessary to distinguish between the effects of the relationship between the public and the private on education and the effects of an *ideology* closely associated and conducive to the development of the world economy according to a certain orientation (CARNOY, 2012, p. 350, emphasis of the author). The path of the consolidation of Brazilian public education in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been determined by forces that now encourage the growth of the public sector, now the private sector, now both (CUNHA, 2007, p. 810). as a prolonged and contradictory process. From this perspective, partnership with the private sector in education conceals hegemonic interests of big capital in a disguised and camouflaged way to legitimize its projects and programs. In this way, the presence of the private in the public presents a growing sophistication of the pedagogical discourses, delineating new horizons for the work of teaching, and functioning as an organizational activity that, in Manaus, is effective in the work of professors on probationary period (kindergarten and preschool) and the early years of elementary school. In this context, a large market that

has been disputed by different institutions has been consolidated and enlarged (SARTI, 2012, p. 329). Research on this issue is carried out by Maués (2003, 2006, 2014), Sarti (2012, 2014) and Souza (2006, 2014), among others.

From the 1990s, the international educational reform movement intensified to meet the challenges of a “new world economic order” (KRAWCZYK, 2012, p. 347). These reforms began with commitments made by the governments of different countries and by the international organizations at the World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, in March 1990. Since then, education has become the central theme of political and economic reforms, which are strongly oriented, both in the definition of their priorities and in their strategies, by the guidelines of international funding agencies (KRAWCZYK, 2012, p. 347). Thus, the State’s performance has been disputed with the private sector, evidencing the participation of the business community, which became a political agent during the twentieth century, with the support of organized sectors of civil society, so that commercial interests have prevailed.

The acceptance of partnerships, contracts and agreements with the private sector in public education is part of a broader process of restructuring the economic, political, legal and cultural life of contemporary capitalist societies, while recognizing that privatization constitutes a global strategy of the current capitalist restructuring (GENTILI, 1998, p. 73). Above all, there has been a progressive process of transferring public responsibilities of educational scope to private entities, which allows us to situate the historical nature of this conflict in the Brazilian education scenario. Thus, the private appropriation of the public good is configured and materialized, as Frigotto (2010, p. 148) points out when affirming that it is a conflicting and antagonistic relationship, since it confronts on the one hand the needs of the reproduction of capital and on the other, the multiple human needs.

The triggering process of the municipal educational policy, in which the partnership with the private sector was normalized, allowing the institutionalization of private interests in the stages of municipal basic education, was first initiated with the implementation and execution of PROEMEM. Starting in 2013, its working group, composed of municipal public education professionals from Manaus together with the IDB, went on to decide the partnership with the private sector as a means to organize educational solutions for Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education. Given this, the involvement of foundations and institutes linked to financial groups that invest heavily in education, under the logic of the educational market, grows considerably. The involvement of the business sector in social issues has grown substantially, and this subject requires more attention, reflection and analysis by educators and other professionals committed to Brazilian education.

These contradictions also reveal casuistic determinations of governance programs and the implementation of policies aimed at immediate interests and objectives (BRZEZINSKI, 2014, p. 19), which so far have been unable to express the transformations of social reality in plans, programs and concrete actions. Criticisms of the role of the State in the conduct of social and economic policies in Latin America and Brazil, which are based on neoliberal policies, have come to condemn the role of the national-developmental State,

which was responsible for the economic crisis and the social problems that led to the deconstruction of the public sector. Moraes (2000, p. 17) analyzes that in the 1980s, neoliberal economic adjustment programs were imposed on Latin American countries as a result of the processes of debt renegotiation and monitoring of local economies by the World Bank and the IMF: 1985 - Bolivia; 1988 - Mexico, with Salinas de Gortari; 1989 - again Argentina, this time with Menem; 1989 - Venezuela, with Carlos Andrés Pérez; 1990 - Peru with Fujimori. And, since 1989 - in Collor and Cardoso's Brazil.

However, in this context two major requirements appear: on the one hand, the privatization of state-owned enterprises and public services; on the other hand, the "deregulation" of the interference of public authorities over private enterprises (MORAES, 2000, p. 17). In Brazil, starting in the 1990s, privatization reforms allowed the expansion of partnerships with the private sector. In this process, the role of education is fundamental to ensure the formation of student skills and abilities to meet the demands of the labor market.

Krawczyk (2000) draws attention to the educational reforms of the 1990s, which had a homogenizing character both in the reading of national realities and in their proposals, aiming to impose a standardization of actions for the region and thus nullifying the possibility of defining policies that have as their starting point its specific reality. In other words, in the face of the regressive character of social relations that seek to impose the new stage of capitalist development, we must uncover, in the new models of socioeconomic organization, the spaces of contradiction that allow the social construction of a more democratic and socially just educational project.

During this period, an international movement of adaptation of the so-called educational systems of the capitalist countries was intensified, linked to the ample process of restructuring the production of material and social life. This has redefined the content and structure of education systems and market laws have been used as a reference for the public policies developed and implemented in these countries.

The influence of international organizations on Brazilian education

In the crisis of the 1970s, international financial organizations would play a decisive role in formulating the conditions for the structural adjustment of states to the new economic order and international politics. In this way, the interference of these international financial organisms would take the form of prescriptions and conditionalities, defined not only as points of a contract, but as guidelines that would also migrate on the forms of technical assistance for the implementation of reforms as prescribed (ALGEBAILLE, 2009, p. 265). With the onset of the great crisis of the post-war economic model in 1973, the entire advanced capitalist world fell into a long and deep recession, combining, for the first time, low growth rates with high rates of inflation.

From there, neoliberal ideas began to gain ground. In England, the government of Margaret Thatcher was elected, the first regime of a country of advanced capitalism which was publicly committed to implementing the neoliberal program, followed in 1980 by Ronald Reagan in the United States; in 1982, by Kohl in Germany; and in 1983 by

Schluter in Denmark. This process, according to Anderson (2008), was a political rise of the so-called “new right,” based on Hayekian ideas and proposals - an expression referring to the Austrian economist Friedrich Von Hayek. His theses were a reference for reforms based on policies called neoliberalism, offering a new agenda of reforms of world capitalism. In this way, it strengthened the power of attraction of political neoliberalism, consolidating the predominance of the United Kingdom and the United States, between 1979 and 1987, and later of the other industrialized countries.

The capitalist world, since the late twentieth century, has undergone a profound technological revolution, accumulating more technological knowledge than in the whole history of humanity. However, there is the other side of the coin, for the truth is that the dramatic technological advance, without comparable progress in institutional terms, becomes explosive for humanity.

The world change framework was formed in 1971 when the crisis of the State and the bankruptcy of its role in the productive reorganization of capital were marked by the collapse of the monetary system of Bretton Woods - a system developed with the aim of managing the international economy, establishing rules for trade and financial relations - in which the United States did not support the dollar's position as the default currency, causing economic imbalances and trade deficits. In this regard, Oliveira (2000, p. 41) states that the Bretton Woods institutions are being pointed as a center of gravity for the main economic decisions of developing countries. Marked by their undemocratic characteristics, such as dogmatic principles, lack of transparency and pluralism in the debate of ideas, these institutions have shown a certain impotence to influence the policies of the rich countries they serve. However, on developing countries these agencies exert a much greater influence than the market, often acting as a State power.

In this context there is a growing dissociation between the predominant trends within the State and the prevailing trends within the civil society. The determinations of multinational corporations, articulated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), verbalized and perpetrated in terms of “State Reform”, “Minimal State”, “Emerging Market” and other formulas created by the neoliberal discourse, are increasingly linked to the demands of globalization. In this way, neoliberal policies emphasize the perspective of strengthening the democracy and associate, contradictorily, the market forces with the defense of traditional institutions such as the family and the State. However, in the era of neoliberal policies, conservatism knew how to position itself with great strategic astuteness in the political game of democratic theses. What, for a long time, was nothing more than an irreconcilable enmity, was transformed into a peculiar union: conservatism and democracy ended up, usually against the grain, crossing their doctrinal and political boundaries (GENTILI, 1998, p. 47).

Torres (1998) summarizes notable differences between the Resolutions of the Education for All Conference held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, and the guidelines of the World Bank (one of Jomtien's signatories) for educational reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean. On that occasion, a broader view of basic education was proposed, which

also includes children, youths and adults, beginning with birth and extending throughout life, not limited to school education (TORRES, 1998, p. 133). Since the World Conference on Education for All, the reference to educational policies, especially for the poor and populous countries of the world, has become education for social equity.

According to Gajardo (2012), in the reforms of the 1990s four policy axes were defined, around which strategies, programs and projects of innovation and change were designed: management; quality and equity; the improvement of teaching and financing. Thus, there are several programs and projects oriented in this direction. A distinction is usually made between the administrative (institutional), pedagogical and financial spheres, each with its own strategies or programs of action (GAJARDO, 2012, p. 335).

In this direction, the key role of UNESCO and ECLAC in promoting regional projects is highlighted, with the aim of establishing common references for educational policies to be pursued by national school systems. One of the initiatives taken by these organizations was the creation of the Regional Education Project for Latin America and the Caribbean (PRELAC) in November 2002, in which the precepts of individuality and freedom are highlighted for the universality of education. The debate on universality has been an essential aspect of school organization for more than a century and these changes have led to actions of complete abandonment of schools under the responsibility of groups that participate and decide according to individualized criteria and judgments.

PROEMEM and external financing with the IDB

PROEMEM was established on October 30, 2014 and has global funding of US \$ 104,000,000.00 (one hundred and four million US dollars). Of these, US \$ 52,000,000.00 (fifty-two million dollars) comes from a credit operation with the IDB and the other US \$ 52 million from the budget of the SEMED and on loans from the Ministry of Education (MEC). The loan and guarantee agreements were signed on July 14, 2017, and the Federative Republic of Brazil was represented in the act by the National Treasury Attorney, who subscribes, in the use of the powers conferred upon it by Resolution no. 7, dated 2017, published in the Federal Official Gazette (DOU), no. 95, on May 19, 2017.

The justifications for the IDB loan, according to the PROEMEM document, are infrastructure, school performance, management and evaluation. The idealist logic pointed out by the actions of PROEMEM characterizes the theoretical perspectives influenced by this Multilateral Credit Organization. Political-social relations are mediated by doctrines or ideologies, in the dynamics of economic relations of exploitation.

It is important to consider that the implementation process of PROEMEM actions relies on the external credit operation, adhering to the loan with the IDB, whose goal announced in the project is to expand *coverage* and improve the quality of basic education, as shown in Table 1 beneath:

Table 1 – The consolidation of PROEMEM

JUSTIFICATION	OBJECTIVE	REGULATION	FUNDING SOURCE AND TOTAL COST		
				VALUES US\$ (million)	%
- Aiming at meeting the Goals and Guidelines of the National Education Plan and the current Educational Legislation, SEMED captained funding with the IDB for the promotion of actions aimed at improving the educational process of the Municipality.	- Expand coverage and improve quality of Basic Education (Infant Education and Elementary Education).	On October 30, 2014, Municipal Law No. 1,921 established PROEMEM within SEMED. This Law is repealed by Municipal Law No. 2,230, dated July 4, 2017, which restructures PROEMEM, to be executed for a period of five years (2017 to 2021).	IDB	52,00	45,6
			SEMED and MEC	52,00	54,4
			TOTAL	104,00	100

Source: (MANAUS, 2013). Personal collection.

In this perspective of submission to international conditionalities, mainly from the structural and sectoral adjustment policies undertaken by international organizations such as the World Bank (WB), Unesco and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the SEMED-PROEMEM agreement points to a single path, in which the education system needs to undergo a reform aimed at better qualifying people to face a more competitive world, more in tune with the market (MAUÉS, 2003, p. 91).

In this context, educational policies run by international organizations change the work, training and careers of teachers, and teachers are left to consume the products of the heated and profitable market (SARTI, 2012, p. 325). In this sense, it is important to emphasize here the work of critical contextualization of educational policies and actions resulting from projects of partnerships, contracts or agreements between public and private sectors that are consolidated from the results of research, studies and analyzes on the reform proposals produced at national and international levels.

Results: current PROEMEM scenario and negotiations with the IDB

As it turns out, the US \$ 52,000,000.00 (fifty-two million US dollars) loan that the municipality of Manaus took with the IDB is supported by the municipality’s educational goal program, acting in line with public policies for sectors, both national and municipal, to raise standards of excellence in education. Thus, it is expected to improve the academic performance of students as measured by Prova Brasil. Loan proceeds will be invested in expanding the educational infrastructure of the municipal education network, improving the quality of education, as well as in the management, monitoring and evaluation of education.

These justifications presented in the PROEMEM document tend to argue that the IDB’s external financing is based on educational reforms for the municipality of Manaus. Without realizing it, this public administration of municipal education endorses pedagogical proposals that “express the bourgeois liberal conception of society and of the individual” (FACCI, 2012, p. 101). It is necessary to be vigilant in the sometimes subtle ways in which liberal and neoliberal ideologies are present in certain orientations

given to educational policies, since they express the materialization of the financial and institutional motives, as well as of the economic and ideological reasons that compose the power, benefiting from this process imposed by the pace of international financial capital.

In the PROEMEM document, it is announced as a general objective to expand coverage and improve the quality of Early Childhood and Primary Education of the municipal network, starting from the premise of including four component actions. See Table 2 below detailing the distribution of financial costs for the continuity of execution of the actions of PROEMEM components arising from the credit operation with the IDB, scheduled for full execution in five years (from 2017 to 2021):

Table 2 – Financial costs of PROEMEM

ACTION	OBJECTIVES	TOTAL
COMPONENT 1: Expansion and Improvement of Coverage of Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education	To expand access to basic education, including Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education, through the construction of basic education units.	US\$ 63,380,000.00
COMPONENT 2: Improvement of the Quality of Education	To improve the performance and school performance of municipal public school students.	US\$ 26,260,000.00
COMPONENT 3: Management, Monitoring and Evaluation	To strengthen basic education through: pedagogical projects and school reinforcement; acceleration of learning; selection and training of teacher trainers; management, monitoring and evaluation of the school performance of the students of the municipal public school system.	US\$ 8,030,000.00
COMPONENT 4: Project Management	To strengthen the institutional capacity of the SEMED to manage, monitor and evaluate the municipal education system.	US\$ 6,330,000.00
TOTAL		US\$ 104,000,000.00

Source: MANAUS, 2013. (Personal Collection).

Table 2 shows the expected disbursements for the execution of PROEMEM actions in the period from 2017 to 2021. The parameters of financial costs were made available by the IDB. The table shows these flows in current dollars, calculated based on an exchange rate of 3.09930. The total cost in current values is US \$ 104,000,000.00 (BRASIL, 2017). As can be seen from the above table, costs are divided into four components. Component 1 has the purpose of *expanding coverage* and *improving* Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education; it constitutes the major part of the costs of the project, which corresponds to US \$ 63,380,000.00, and announces its objective to expand the coverage of Early Childhood and Primary Education and the expansion and improvement of school infrastructure. This component is intended for the construction of Child Education Centers (CMEI) and crèches, for the construction of Municipal Schools of Elementary Education (EMEF) and for the acquisition of durable goods and materials to equip the units.

Component 2 aims to improve the quality of education. It comprises, in total expenses, US \$ 26,260,000.00. This component aims to improve the performance of students in the Early Childhood and Elementary School network. To implement this action, the accelerated learning and school reinforcement program monitored by the Ayrton Senna Institute (IAS) is implemented in schools.

Component 3 has management, monitoring and evaluation as its actions. Comprises US \$ 8,030,000.00 in total forecasted expenses. This component aims to strengthen the management capacity of the SEMED education network. This would lead to activities related to: implementation of new processes of selection and evaluation of teachers and administrators; implementation of the Manaus Educational Performance Evaluation System (SADEM). In order to put this into action, the Student Performance Evaluation (ADE) was elaborated in the municipal education network, to be added to the external evaluation launched at the national level: the Brazil Test, applied by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP), which since 2007 has placed the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB) as an indicator of the quality of education, conceived and disseminated by the Brazilian federal government. ADE is part of SADEM and was implemented under Municipal Decree No. 3.113, dated June 15, 2015.

And, finally, Component 4 whose action is the management of the Project. It makes up a total of projected expenses of U \$ 6,330,000.00. In order to provide the execution of the Project, the following will be carried out: the creation of the Project Management Unit (PMU); the acquisition of goods for its operation; and the provision of management support and external audit. On June 12, 2017, the Municipality of Manaus (CMM) approved the Bill that regulates the loan and created the PMU, responsible for planning and coordinating the general actions of PROEMEM in all its stages.

When implementing its actions PROEMEM is based on educational reforms for the municipality of Manaus. Without realizing it, this management of municipal education endorses pedagogical proposals that “express the bourgeois liberal conception of society and individual” (FACCI, 2012, p. 101). In this perspective, the discourse presented by multilateral financial agencies sounds as if these educational reforms are sufficient for man to realize the appropriation of knowledge and to bring about changes in his social practice (FACCI, 2012, p. 101).

The conditionalities required by the multilateral financial agencies are based on a global macroeconomic diagnosis and its central conception includes the same political, economic and ideological guiding assumptions of these agencies. The multilateral financial agencies, particularly the IDB, the IMF and the World Bank, converge and articulate the required constraints to the macroeconomic policies that have been diagnosed, which should materialize in the structural and sectoral adjustments implemented in each borrowing country submitted to international lending, voraciously mobilized by capital worldwide, especially by its more globally articulated, international financial capital. In his analysis of the World Bank (WB), Maués (2014, p. 44) confirms this direction by emphasizing that education, from the WB perspective, has to be productive and that school management, content and teacher training, suggesting, in relation to the last item, a shorter education and outside the universities. The power of multilateral

agencies with governments to determine educational policies implies an adequacy of teaching to the demands of the market.

In this scenario, the loans are carried out by the multilateral financial agencies and follow a process of operationalization, implementation and systematic political and financial conditionalities. Structural and sectoral adjustments thus allow for a generic notion of part of this artifice of capital accumulation, by verifying the volume and the financial movement generated by them, and also allow observing the realization of reforms that constitute the creation of this process in financial and institutional, economic and ideological spheres.

In this way, it is now possible to discover the organization of projects under the IDB guidelines, elaborated by the private market for the public sector, encompassing the federal, state and municipal public administrations and their education departments, among others. In the Official Federal Gazette (DOU), the Federal Senate, through Resolution No. 7 of 2017, authorizes the municipality of Manaus to contract an external credit operation with the IDB, with a guarantee from the Federal Government, in the amount of up to US \$ 52,000,000.00 (fifty-two million dollars from the United States of America), with a five-year deadline for the achievement of the goals set by PROEMEM within SEMED. Table 3 below shows the amounts released annually, that is, paid in five annual installments in the total amount of US \$ 52,000,000.00.

Table 3 – Release of external credit operation

YEAR	RELEASE
2017	US\$ 460,000.00 (four hundred and sixty thousand United States dollars)
2018	US\$ 17,930,000.00 (seventeen million, nine hundred and thirty thousand United States dollars)
2019	US\$ 13,060,000.00 (thirteen million and sixty thousand United States dollars)
2020	US\$ 14,570,000.00 fourteen million, five hundred and seventy thousand United States dollars)
2021	US\$ 5,980,000.00 (five million, nine hundred and eighty thousand United States dollars)
Subtotal	US\$ 52,000,000.00

Source: (BRASIL, 2017). Personal collection.

The loan and guarantee agreements were signed on May 18, 2017, and the Federative Republic of Brazil was represented in the act by the Attorney of the National Treasury, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon it by Resolution No. 7 of 2017, which authorizes the municipality of Manaus to contract an external credit operation, guaranteed by the Federal Government, with the IDB. Nevertheless, it emphasizes the privatizing approach present in the processes of the relationship with the private sector and induces to question the constitution of national education, whose pole of private initiative has an active role in its offer and maintenance, directly, indirectly and in a diversified manner.

What is intended to demonstrate with this is the organicity that the Municipal Secretary of Education has with the assumptions of the Bank for the education and to the model of State that it defends. First, it would be necessary to consider the context where the definition of education occurred as a national policy that was configured with the development of capitalism as a mode of economic production in Brazil. One can, however, also refer to state policies, guided by the industrial and business bourgeoisie, which have guaranteed the private initiative the conditions to take an active role in the political, economic, social and educational organization of the country. It is also possible, from a maximum of historical specificity, to analyze the policies that guide and stimulate the effectiveness of education derived from the revolutionary heritage of defense of the public school. These are, in principle, relations in long-term processes, quite diffuse in time and space, such as those mentioned by Ribeiro (1998), implicated in the relationship between the State and private initiative, in the consolidation of Brazilian education, resulting in a conflicting process that gave materiality to the public and private facets of education.

Final considerations

The present work aimed to show the implementation process of PROEMEM in the Municipal Secretariat of Manaus, showing the entire conflicting process materialized in the official documents that support and guide the PROEMEM, reproduced in the guidelines of the IDB, as well as noting the insertion of the market logic in Manaus' municipal public education. In this context, in Manaus there is a growing volume of contracts, agreements and accords between SEMED and the private sectors, finding new niches of economic exploitation that allow the private appropriation of the public good, fetishized by its products and its services, in the stages of the basic education of the municipal public education of Manaus.

Without pretending to exhaust the subject, it seems to be the case to question the implications of these services for schools, since this educational market has stood out by linking the acquisition and the use of its products and services to the supposed advantages to reach a certain quality of education. Therefore, it is urgent to intensify the debate on the financing of education, understood here as a new phase of reproduction of capital, characterized by the preponderance of finance.

Finally, the analysis carried out based on the data from the PROEMEM implementation in the Manaus SEMED demonstrates that the relationship between PROEMEM and the IDB is aligned with the broad and complex process that gives visibility to a project of society and to a contradictory, unequal educational project and privatizing, centered on the relationship between State, market, society and education. It is verified that, in the municipal education of Manaus, an intricate process of privatization has materialized that composes the public and private faces in Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education. In these stages of schooling analyzed, educational policy remains guided by the logic of the IDB, in view of the great current objective of the forces of capital that, at a world level, long to consecrate the small politics and pseudo-ethics of unbridled corporatism as fundamental elements of a common sense that underlies its hegemony.

Thus, reality has revealed the practice of the application of neoliberal policy in SEMED, and it is possible to substantiate how the application of neoliberalism in the municipal education of Manaus is organized and instrumented. In this way, after the execution of PROEMEM's actions in the municipal public school system, the very rapid expansion of private sector activity in the environment of SEMED in Manaus was evident.

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