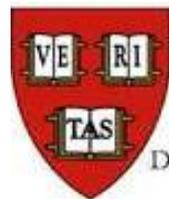


# Education and Democracy in Brazil: A Broken Link of Accountability?

Frances Hagopian



HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
Brazil Studies Program  
David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies



# Is there an accountability gap?



**Left:** In June, 2012, Brazil's National Congress set the percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to be spent on public education at 10 per cent. **Below:** A scene from the June 2013 protests.



# Where does public opinion stand? Issue Salience

<b>“In your opinion, what is the most urgent program facing the country?”</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Aggregate Percentage</b>
Lack of health care (1)	21.3	
Corruption (3)	10.9	
Violence (2)	9.7	18.3
Unemployment (4)	8.1	
Lack of education, poor quality of education (5)	5.8	
Lack of security	4.5	18.3
Inequality (6)	4.3	
Crime, violence	4.1	18.3

**Note:** N=1,496

**Source:** LAPOP, Brasil 2012.

# Where does public opinion stand? Issue priority

Q: "Please tell me in which area should the government invest more resources?"	Top priority	Second-place priority	Total
Education (2)	35.7	32.8	34.3
Infrastructure (public works, roads, streets, basic sanitation)	2.7	4.3	3.5
Housing	2.5	4.7	3.7
Pensions	3.3	2.6	3.0
Aid to the poor	5.3	6.2	5.8
The environment	.9	1.9	1.4
Health (1)	42.9	32.9	37.9
Security	6.6	14.5	10.6

**Source:** LAPOP, Brasil 2012.

# Where does public opinion stand? How bad are Brazil's schools and what should be done about it?

How would you rate the quality of public primary and secondary education in Brazil?	Percent
Good	12.0
Fair	49.4
Bad	38.6
In your opinion, what should the government do to improve the quality of primary and secondary education in Brazil?	
Make better use of the resources it is currently spending on education	71.5
Allocate more resources for education, even if it means raising taxes	13.9
Both	14.6
Would you be willing to pay more taxes than you currently pay in order for the government to be able to spend more on primary and secondary education?	
Yes	20.1
No	79.9

# Is there a consensus on *how* education should be provided?

“With which statement do you agree more?”	28-29 November, 2013 (%)	1-3 September, 2014 (%)
It is preferable to pay fewer taxes to the government and contract private services for education and health	49	49
It is preferable to pay higher taxes to the government and receive free education and health services	43	40
Don't know	8	11

**Note:** National sample; respondents asked, “Now I am going to read some statements and I would like to know with which you agree more.”

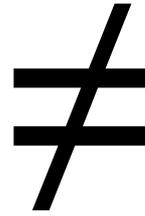
**Source:** [datafolha.com.br](http://datafolha.com.br)

# So much the same ...



<b>Social Programs</b>	Make <i>Bolsa Família</i> a state program and expand the number of beneficiaries; also maintain <i>Minha Casa, Minha Vida</i>	Expand existing social programs like <i>Bolsa Família</i> , and build more than 3,000,000 homes under <i>Minha Casa, Minha Vida</i>
<b>Central Bank</b>	Central Bank should have operational autonomy but not formal independence. Its president should be able to be fired.	The Central Bank will have autonomy, but not independence by law or by means of fixed terms of its leaders.
<b>Specialized Health Care</b>	Organize and expand access to office visits with specialists, exams, and tests, with the construction of regional centers of specialization and encourage the opening of popular doctor's offices.	Create more specialties, a network of public and private clinics and charitable institutions that will make possible office visits, exam, treatments, and surgeries that can be done rapidly.
<b>Urban Transportation</b>	Incentivize public transport, especially by rail; target resources for projects in major urban centers; work toward sustainable mobility via the integration of various forms of transportation.	Expand mobility via rails and invest in the integration of all forms of transportation in large residential cities; incentivize the construction of bike paths in the municipalities.
<b>Infrastructure</b>	Open bidding for concessions and the PPPs (public-private partnerships) for infrastructural works. The difference is that Aécio defends more participation of banks and private investors in financing public works.	Government launched a program for private sector concessions to build roads, ports, and airports, which should be expanded. BNDES and other public banks have a key role in financing these investments.
<b>Simplifying the Tax Structure</b>	Reform taxes to simplify the payment of taxes. End such taxes as the ICMS, PIS, Cofins, and IPI and create a single tax.	Government has already tried and should insist on a gradual tax reform that will simplify the rules of the ICMS and the PIS/Cofins.

# ...and yet so different



<b>Security</b>	Occupy violent areas with units that integrate social services and policing, similar to Rio's UPPs. Reduce the age of majority to 16 for violent crimes.	Make permanent the model adopted in 12 capitals that hosted the World Cup, with the integration of federal and state police, coordinated by centers of command and control.
<b>Inflation</b>	Reduce the annual inflation rate target to 4.5% within two to three years, then lower it to 3% per year.	Inflation is under control, but can be reduced "even more." No commitment to bringing the rate into the center of the band (4.5% per year)
<b>Secondary Education</b>	Create the "Promédio," a scholarship program similar to the PROUNI, which makes it possible for poor youth to study in private schools	Create a national plan to improve the quality of public secondary education to 2016 – the program does not have specific proposals
<b>Foreign Trade</b>	Give priority to developed countries, like those in the European Union and the United States. Reverse the model of integration with Mercosur in order to create more freedom to negotiate trade pacts outside the region.	Priority to South America, Latin America and the Caribbean, strengthening Mercosur and UNASUL. Also give emphasis to Africa, Asian countries, the Arab world, and the BRICS (Brazil, India, Russia, China, And South Africa).
<b>Political Reform</b>	Proposes reform to end reelection beginning in 2022, with fixed mandates of five years for the Executive. Unify the electoral calendar. Create a mixed-member district system (some deputies would be elected in districts and the rest through a party list). Stipulate a threshold for a party to gain access to TV time and campaign finance.	Popular participation via plebiscites on important subjects. Create standing councils with popular representatives for ongoing discussions. Propose political reform to end the private financing of public campaigns and end proportional electoral alliances. Propose a system of closed-list proportional representation for deputy elections.
<b>"More Doctors" Program</b>	Equalize the salaries of Cuban professionals and those of other nationalities and require the reaccreditation of foreign diplomas for the program. Propose to target 10% of federal gross revenues to health and institute a national SUS career.	Expand the program, maintaining the waiver of reaccreditation of foreign diplomas and the agreement with the Pan-American Health Organization to contract Cuban doctors who receive R\$3,000 a month, three time more than other nationalities.

Source: *Folha de São Paulo*, October 12, 2014; my translation.



## Strong Performers and Successful Reformers in Education

# Lessons from PISA for the United States



### CHAPTER 8 BRAZIL: ENCOURAGING LESSONS FROM A LARGE FEDERAL SYSTEM.....

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#### Brazil's education system: A brief history.....

- Four hundred years of slavery and dictatorship.....
- The beginnings of an education system: 1930s to 1980s.....
- The foundations of a democratic system: 1980s to the present day.....
- The context for reform: Poverty, poor quality teaching and an irrelevant curriculum....

#### Reform takes shape.....

- Increasing school funding.....
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- Setting curriculum standards.....
- Increasing high school completion.....
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- Creating accountability and setting targets.....

#### Industry perspectives on education in Brazil.....

#### Case studies of state education reform.....

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