



## The Constitution of the Academic Field of Education Policy in Brazil: Historical Aspects<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This paper analyzes the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil. The theoretical foundation is based on the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu's theory on the notion of field. From the results of the analysis of the sources of the research, we present the historical aspects of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil divided into three moments, namely: 1) background of the academic field of education policy in Brazil (from 1820 to 1950); 2) institutionalization of the academic field of education policy (from the 1960s; and 3) expansion of the academic field of education policy (from the 1990s).

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We concluded that it is a comprehensive field and in permanent expansion and construction. Due to its nature, education policy does not constitute a monopoly of a scientific community, journals, research networks, etc., because it is something of public interest, and it can be discussed in different social and political spaces.

**Keywords:** Education policy; Academic field; Pierre Bourdieu

### **La constitución del campo académico de la política educativa en Brasil: Aspectos históricos**

**Resumen:** Este artículo analiza la constitución del campo académico de la política educativa en Brasil. La fundamentación teórica se basa en las contribuciones de la teoría de Pierre Bourdieu sobre la noción de campo. A partir de los resultados del análisis de fuentes de la investigación, se presentan los aspectos históricos de la constitución del campo académico de la política educativa en Brasil, divididos en tres momentos, a saber: 1) Antecedentes del campo académico de la política educativa en Brasil (década de 1820 a 1950); 2) La institucionalización del campo académico de la política educativa (a partir de la década de 1960); y 3) La expansión del campo académico a partir de la política educativa (a partir de la década de 1990). Se concluyó que se trata de un campo amplio y en permanente expansión y construcción. Debido a su naturaleza, la política educativa no se constituye en monopolio de una comunidad científica, de periódicos, de redes de investigación, etc., pues es algo de interés público, pudiendo ser debatida en diferentes espacios sociales y políticos.

**Palabras-clave:** Política educativa; Campo académico; Pierre Bourdieu

### **A constituição do campo acadêmico da política educacional no Brasil: Aspectos históricos**

**Resumo:** Este artigo analisa a constituição do campo acadêmico da política educacional no Brasil. A fundamentação teórica baseia-se nas contribuições da teoria de Pierre Bourdieu sobre a noção de campo. A partir dos resultados da análise das fontes da pesquisa, apresentam-se os aspectos históricos da constituição do campo acadêmico da política educacional no Brasil, divididos em três momentos, a saber: 1) Os antecedentes do campo acadêmico da política educacional no Brasil (década de 1820 a 1950); 2) A institucionalização do campo acadêmico da política educacional (a partir da década de 1960); e 3) A expansão do campo acadêmico da política educacional (a partir da década de 1990). Concluiu-se que se trata de um campo abrangente e em permanente expansão e construção. Devido a sua natureza, a política educacional não se constitui em monopólio de uma comunidade científica, de periódicos, de redes de pesquisa, etc., pois é algo de interesse público, podendo ser debatida em diferentes espaços sociais e políticos.

**Palavras-chave:** Política educacional; Campo Acadêmico; Pierre Bourdieu

## **Introduction**

This paper aims to analyze the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil. The research was based on Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical-methodological contributions on the notion of field. Based on the author's theory on the formation and functioning of the fields, the methodological course and sources of study for the understanding of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil were defined, and of which an extended discussion is presented in Stremel (2016, 2017).

In this text we present the historical aspects of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil, considering the contexts, the agents, the institutions that contributed to

the emergence and development of the field. Initially, we approach the theoretical-methodological foundations that guided the research, defining the concepts of field and academic field, and we indicate the sources that constituted the empirical corpus of the research. Subsequently, we present aspects of the emergence and development of the academic field of education policy in Brazil based on the analysis of the sources selected for the research.

### **The Research on the Constitution of the Academic Field of Education Policy in Brazil: Theoretical-Methodological Foundations**

Bourdieu's concept of field constitutes a theoretical element to understand the constitution of the academic field of education policy as "product of a historical process", drawn from the "historical and social conditions of its integration" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 17, own translation). Thus, understanding the constitution of the academic field of education policy demands taking into account Bourdieu's perspective on the necessary establishment of relations that cover the study of a field. In the analysis undertaken here, we seek to establish the possible relations between the academic field of education policy with the historical-political context, the education field, the international context and other fields of knowledge.

To Bourdieu (2004a, pp. 22-23, own translation), "every field, the scientific field, for example, is a field of forces and struggles, to conserve or transform this field of forces". He postulates the existence of many possible fields (political, religious, intellectual, artistic, scientific, etc.)<sup>2</sup>. Thus, the concept of field refers to the different spaces of social practice. These spaces have their own logic of operation. This logic of functioning structures the relations between agents within each of these spaces, insofar as agents organize themselves around specific goals and practices. Therefore, field is a space of positions and social relations. The structure of the field is characterized as a state of power relations between its occupants who have several fundamental interests in common linked to the very existence of the field (Bourdieu, 2003; Thiry-Cherques, 2006). In general, authors based on Bourdieu, understand that associations, journals, technical and scientific meetings, university chairs, etc., contribute to the structuring of the fields (Gómez Campo & Tenti Fanfani, 1989; Suasnabar & Palamidessi, 2007). As the fields become increasingly structured, they reach a high degree of autonomy. A given field builds its autonomy and legitimacy through processes of institutionalization (Gómez Campo & Tenti Fanfani, 1989; Suasnabar & Palamidessi, 2007), that is, the creation of scientific associations, journals, research networks, departments, disciplines, etc. Thus, a field needs specific agents, institutions, ideas and interests to give it support and legitimation.

According to Bourdieu (2004a, 23, own translation), "the structure of objective relations between the different agents" – in the case of the academic field of education policy: researchers, research groups, working groups, scientific associations, research networks, etc. – determines and guides how the field develops. Mangez and Hilgers (2012), when approaching Bourdieu's notion of field, explain that in all fields agents are involved in a struggle for the definition of the legitimate symbolic structures of the field, which are the ways of doing, thinking, the principles of hierarchy, etc. The principles that command the field and its specific rules result from the activity of the field and the web of relations between its different agents (Mangez & Hilgers, 2012).

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<sup>2</sup> Publications translated into Portuguese, in which the author addresses specific fields: religious field (Bourdieu, 2004c), intellectual field (Bourdieu, 2002, 2004b, 2004c), economic field (Bourdieu, 2005), scientific field (Bourdieu, 1983, 2004a), bureaucratic field (Bourdieu, 1996), political field (Bourdieu, 2011a), university field (Bourdieu, 2011b).

In this paper, we approach education policy<sup>3</sup> as an academic field, based on the definition of authors whose foundations were drawn from Pierre Bourdieu's (Hey, 2008; Santos, 2009). According to Hey (2008, p. 15, own translation), "academic field is the locus of relations, having as protagonists agents that have by delegation to produce academic knowledge, that is to say, a type of social practice legitimized and recognized as such". To her, the academic field "refers to the use of an institutional apparatus, up to the present, assured by the Brazilian State, which guarantees the production and circulation of academic products" (Hey, 2008, p. 15, own translation). In Brazil, according to Hey (2008), such an apparatus covers both universities and funding agencies (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel [CAPES] and the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development [CNPq]), with the support of which it is possible to create graduate and research associations, produce scientific journals and events in the country, create centers and research groups and to make institutional arrangements for scientific exchanges with international centers. To Santos (2009), the academic field can be taken as a subfield of the scientific field. The author understands that the production of knowledge in education policy can be considered an academic field of research or subfield of the field of research in education.

Thus, we understand that education policy is a field and, within the scope of this discussion, we treat it as an academic field.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, education policy has been constituted with the creation of several institutional spaces in universities or research centers (disciplines, lines of research in graduate studies and research groups), scientific associations, specialized journals, scientific events, research networks, etc.

In view of Bourdieu's contributions to what structures the fields, which are the institutions, the agents, as well as what is generated within the fields, which are the productions of agents, their publications, we selected sources for the research. The research on the constitution of the academic field of education policy is a subject that has not yet been explored, which required the definition of

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<sup>3</sup> In this paper, the term "education policy" is employed in a broader sense, referring to the specific field or area of knowledge. In the context of education policy, "education policies" are formulated, that is, policies, programs, action projects for the various educational environments (Azevedo & Aguiar, 2001b) developed by governments, intergovernmental organizations and corporations (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The conceptualization of education policy is complex and varies from one epistemological perspective to another. From Bourdieu's theory, one can consider that the State is a multiform and complex structure, with disputes between agents and agencies in several microcosms for the establishment of specific forms of power and not a unified and totally articulated committee to the ruling class (Amar, 2018). The policies formulated by the State are shaped by disputes and influences from the political, economic and cultural spheres, as a situated construction of power. Based on Bourdieu's theory, Amar (2018, p. 4, own translation) explains that the "State also produces/reproduces a dominant cultural arbitrariness that reinforces social structures, their hierarchies and inequalities between groups and classes". Thus, education policies constitute instruments of symbolic power, whether expressed in the form of legal texts or official speeches, since they are symbolic representations of the interests of the State, although they are concealed as being of public interest. In this perspective, policies can produce or reproduce or amplify inequalities and hierarchies instead of effectively overcoming them. Mainardes (2018b) considers that the object of study of education policy is the analysis of education policies formulated by the State apparatus at its different levels and spheres (federal, state, municipal). This analysis covers studies of a theoretical nature, empirical studies and studies to overcome reality. To Souza (2016), the field of research on education policy deals with the relation between social demand for education and the State's position on this demand, with all the consequences of this movement, especially those related to the dispute over power and its relations with the universe of education.

<sup>4</sup> Other authors use this term. The term "academic field" is used by Grenfell and Bailey (2007) to deal with Bourdieu's analysis of the university field carried out in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu, 2011b).

specific methodological strategies. These strategies were based on the identification and selection of the first studies on education policy (decades of 1820 to 1950), survey of field productions (from the 1930s), as well as the collection of the following empirical data: bulletins and annals of the *Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação* (ANPEd) - National Association of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Education, publications of the *Associação Nacional de Política e Administração da Educação* (ANPAE) - National Association of Educational Policy and Administration, publications of pioneering journals in the area of education (*Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* - Brazilian Journal of Pedagogical Studies) and journals considered relevant in the area (*Educação & Sociedade* - Education & Society), publications of specific journals of education policy, data of lines and groups of research on education policy in Graduate Programs, data of the discipline Education Policy in the courses of Pedagogy<sup>5</sup>. The following table summarizes the selected sources.

Table 1  
*Sources of research*

Sources	Period
Brazilian pedagogical bibliography (organized by Inep <sup>6</sup> )	1812-1944
Publications of the <i>Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos</i>	1944-2014
ANPEd bulletins and annals	1979-2015
Publications carried out within the scope of the ANPAE	1961-2015
Publications of the <i>Revista Brasileira de Política e Administração da Educação</i>	1983-2014
Publications of the journal <i>Educação &amp; Sociedade</i>	1978-2014
Theses, dissertations and papers with the term Education Policy in the title	Decades of 1960/70/80
Relevant official books and works whose titles refer to education policy	1935-2014
CBE Collection ( <i>Conferências Brasileiras de Educação</i> ) <sup>7</sup>	1992
Capes Indicator notebooks (data on Graduate Programs in Education and lines of research)	1998-2012
Directory of Research Groups in Brazil - CNPq (data on education policy research groups)	2015
Table of areas of knowledge of CNPq	1976-2005
Curriculum of undergraduate courses in Pedagogy of Brazilian universities (data on the discipline Education Policy)	(*)
Specialized journals, specific scientific events and education policy research networks	1993-2015

Source: Organized by the authors.

Note: (\*) The curricular proposals of the courses referred to different periods in the analyzed institutions. The sample involved the curricular information in force at the time of the research (2015) and, in the case of some universities that made available, the previous formulations of the curriculum.

From the empirical data it was possible to make an interpretation of what we can consider as temporal demarcations of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil. These demarcations or moments of the constitution of the field, addressed in this text, took into account

<sup>5</sup> The explanation of the collection, systematization and cataloging procedures of these sources is presented in Stremel (2016).

<sup>6</sup> Inep - Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira - National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira

<sup>7</sup> Brazilian Conferences of Education.

the creation of institutional spaces, as well as the process of development of the field in terms of production and research.

As it is a relatively recent field, there are still few studies that address this issue. Among the publications that highlight some historical aspects and the constitution of this field, as well as the knowledge production in the field, we can mention: Wittmann & Gracindo (2001), Azevedo & Aguiar (2001a), Gonçalves (2005), Sander (2007), Santos & Azevedo (2009, 2012, 2014), Santos (2009, 2014), Bittar, Bittar, & Morosini (2012), Krawczyk (2012), Weber (2012), Arosa (2013), Bello, Jacomini, & Minhoto (2014), Schneider (2014), Souza (2014), Guimarães (2016, 2018), Mainardes (2017, 2018a), among others.

The publications that deal with the production of knowledge about education policy in Brazil (Azevedo & Aguiar, 2001a; Bello, Jacomini, & Minhoto, 2014; Gonçalves, 2005; Mainardes, 2017; Sander, 2007; Santos & Azevedo, 2014; Souza, 2014; Weber, 2012; Wittmann & Gracindo, 2001) bring relevant contributions to focus on the main characteristics, what and how education policy has been researched. One common ground that can be drawn from these works is that the field of education policy is comprehensive and heterogeneous.

The productions that deal with historical aspects and the constitution of the field (Arosa, 2013; Bittar, Bittar & Morosini, 2012; Guimarães, 2016; Krawczyk, 2012; Santos, 2009, 2014; Santos & Azevedo, 2009, 2012; Schneider, 2014) highlight elements of the historical context of research development or study important instances that are part of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil, such as: the Graduate studies in Education (Santos, 2008) and ANPED (Arosa, 2013). Such research shows the complexity involved in this field, especially regarding the diversity of study objects that is articulated with education policy; to the struggles within the field in search of legitimacy and hegemony of discourses; as well as to the mutual influence between political field (State) and academic field, since, through its regulations, the State influences the configuration of this field, but it is also influenced by the political action of representatives of the field that occupy official spaces.

All of these studies focus on elements that help to understand the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil and deal with aspects related to publications and the production of knowledge, to scientific associations, to the institutionalization of Graduate Studies or to the historical context of research development in education policy. However, in a comprehensive and integrated way, the constitution of education policy in Brazil as an academic field still needs to be investigated, which is the purpose of the research that resulted in this paper.

## **Emergence and Development of the Academic Field of Policy in Brazil**

It is difficult to demarcate the point of origin of a field or a research area. Regarding education policy, some researchers have indicated elements of the emergence of education policy as a specific field in several countries such as Argentina, Spain, the United States, Portugal and the United Kingdom (Carvalho, 2014; Garcias Franco, 2014; Johnson Jr., 2003; Lingard & Ozga, 2007; Puelles Benítez, 2013; Scribner, Aleman & Maxcy, 2003; Scribner & Layton, 1995; Tello, 2012; Wong, 1995). With regard to Brazil, the studies of Azevedo (2004), Santos & Azevedo (2009), Krawczyk (2012) e Schneider (2014) can be cited.

In general, studies that deal with historical aspects (Azevedo, 2004; Cibulka, 1994; Johnson Jr., 2003; Scribner, Aleman & Maxcy, 2003; Scribner & Layton, 1995; Tello, 2015; Wong, 1995) consider that, in its initial phase, research on education policy and public policies in general were developed from political science. From their constitution as a specific and relatively autonomous academic field, in each context, these fields assume their own characteristics. In the case of Brazil, in

its initial phase, education policy arose linked to the administration of education (as it happened in the United States) and to comparative education. In the United Kingdom, education policy emerges more in line with Sociology of education. In Portugal, education policy studies are linked to both Sociology of education and Administration of education. In Argentina, the beginning of the constitution of the field occurred in a way closely related to the legislation (as in Spain) and to the comparative education.<sup>8</sup>

As in other countries (USA and UK), in Brazil, the emergence of education policy as an academic field began to gain momentum especially from the 1960s (Stremel & Mainardes, 2016). In summary, this landmark in the constitution of the field in Brazil can be related to three aspects: a) the creation of the National Association of Educational Policy and Administration - ANPAE<sup>9</sup> in 1961; b) the most frequent use of the term education policy(ies) in the titles of theses, dissertations, papers and books; and c) the implementation of the Graduate Program (1965) and the first Master's Degree in Education at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) (1966). Although it was possible to demarcate the emergence of the field from the 1960s onwards, an explicit<sup>10</sup> ground for the institutionalization of the field occurred in the 1980s with the creation of the *GT 5 - Estado e Política Educacional* - Work Group 5 - State and Education Policy - (1986/1987) within the scope of the National Association of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Education - ANPEd. From the 1990s onwards, the institutionalization of the field expanded to other academic spaces with the creation of: disciplines of/on education policy in the curricula of undergraduate courses, lines and research groups in the graduate programs, specialized journals, specific scientific events and education policy research networks.

The analysis of the set of sources of the research offered evidence for a periodization of the field. The attempt to elaborate a periodization is always a challenge because it demands the search of innumerable data and evidence to subsidize the fractionation of a specific whole in temporal successions. It is undoubtedly a construction process that results in a synthesis work, which can contribute significantly to the area of study. However, rigid sectioning can lead to inaccuracies and hasty analyzes (Almeida, 1988). An important point to consider is that there is no absolute temporal division, but a periodization that can be considered more adequate, from the sources and instruments used for the development of the research. As Bourdieu's own notion of field suggests, categories should not be taken for granted, they must emerge from the process of object construction (Bourdieu, 1989). In this perspective, the following presentation of the historical aspects of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil in three time periods represents an interpretation from the set of sources selected for the research. In Table 2, we present a summary of the three periods.

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<sup>8</sup> On the emergence of the academic field of education policy in different countries, see Stremel & Mainardes (2016).

<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, ANPAE changed its denomination four times: *Associação Nacional de Profissionais de Administração Escolar* - National Association of School Administration Professionals (1971); *Associação Nacional de Profissionais de Administração Educacional* - National Association of Educational Administration Professionals (1976); *Associação Nacional de Profissionais de Administração da Educação* - National Association of Education Administration Professionals (1980); and *Associação Nacional de Política e Administração da Educação* - National Association of Educational Policy and Administration (1996).

<sup>10</sup> We understand the use of the term "education policy" as explicit.

Table 2

*Temporal demarcations of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil*

Period		Aspects that contributed to the constitution of the field	Historical-political context
<b><i>The antecedents of the academic field of education policy (decade of 1820 to 1950)</i></b>			
Decades from 1820 to 1880	→	Publications related to education policies, organization and administration of teaching: memoirs, reports, speeches, non-systematic descriptions	Brazil Empire (1822-1888) ↓ Conquest of political autonomy; first attempts at school organization in the country (decentralization of education).
1920s	1924	<i>Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE)</i>	First Republic (1889-1930) ↓ Period marked by several educational reforms
1930s	From 1935	First theoretical studies on school administration, educational administration and comparative education	Revolution of 1930 ↓ Centralization of the administrative decisions of the country (creation of the Ministry of Education and Public Health) and expansion of government action in education
	1935/1937	First publications with the term “education policy” in the title (Bruno, 1935; Alves, 1937)	<i>Estado Novo</i> <sup>11</sup> (1937-1945) Marked by a dictatorial character ↓
	1937	Creation of Inep	Strengthening of the centralizing politics of the government and implementation of concrete bases of a national education
1940s	1944	Creation of RBEP ( <i>Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos</i> )	Political regime characterized by democratic governments (1946-1964) ↓
1950s	1955	Creation of CBPE ( <i>Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais</i> ) and CRPEs ( <i>Centros Regionais de Pesquisas Educacionais</i> ) <sup>12</sup>	Technical-scientific and planning optics as the focus of the country’s economic development policy; modernization of the Brazilian education

<sup>11</sup> Third Brazilian Republic - political regime established by Getúlio Vargas.<sup>12</sup> Brazilian Center for Educational Research and Regional Centers for Educational Research, respectively.

Table 2 cont.

*Temporal demarcations of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil*

<b><i>The institutionalization of the academic field of education policy (from the 1960s)</i></b>			
1960s	From 1960	More frequent use of the term “education policy” or “education policies” in titles of theses, dissertations, books, papers and official publications	Military regime (1964-1985) ↓ Planning as an instrument of governmental intervention and perspective of technical rationalization in education
	1961	Creation of ANPAE	
	1965	Implantation of the Graduate Programs in Brazil	
1970s	From 1971	Creation of journals in the area of education	
	1976	Creation of ANPEd	
	1979	Foundation of CEDES ( <i>Centro de Estudos Educação e Sociedade</i> ) and ANDE ( <i>Associação Nacional de Educação</i> ) <sup>13</sup>	
1980s	From 1980 to 1991	Realization of CBEs	Political opening, redemocratization of the country (from 1986) ↓ Intense social mobilization
	1986/1987	Creation of the work group <i>GT 5 - Estado e Política Educacional</i>	
<b><i>The expansion of the academic field of education policy (from the 1990s)</i></b>			
1990s	From 1990	Creation of education policy lines and research groups Creation of education policy disciplines Creation of educational policy journals	Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s government (1995-1998 and 1999-2002) ↓ Neoliberal educational reforms
	1996	ANPAE was renamed National Association of Education Policy and Administration	
2000s	→	Extension of specialized scientific events and creation of research networks	Lula’s government (2003-2006 and 2007-2010) Dilma’s government (2011-2014) ↓ Expansion of social policies

Source: Organized by the authors.

<sup>13</sup> Center for Education and Society Studies and National Association of Education, respectively.

## The Antecedents of the Academic Field of Education Policy in Brazil (decades from 1820 to 1950)

Since the 1820s, publications on educational themes have been found in the Brazilian pedagogical bibliography (*Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira* [Inep], 1944), as well as on topics that are currently considered as the object of study of education policy. Such publications are the result of memoirs, reports on public instruction in the provinces, speeches, letters, minutes, regulations, opinions and unsystematic descriptions. At that time, Brazil had conquered its political autonomy with the Independence (1822) and elaborated its first Constitution (1824). Thus, in the so-called Brazil Empire (1822-1888), the first attempts to organize education in the country appeared, which were characterized by a decentralizing orientation, since primary and secondary education was in charge of the provinces and higher education of the central government. (Ribeiro, 2010).

With the establishment of the Republic (1889), several educational reforms began to take place and the problem of national education became increasingly a concern in the face of Brazil's economic and social development needs. It is in the 1920s that education as a field takes its first steps in terms of organization with the creation of the *Associação Brasileira de Educação* (ABE) - Brazilian Association of Education. This association brought together several educators engaged in the Brazilian education renewal movement and played a notable role in the debate and struggle of educational issues, in the dissemination of pedagogical ideas and influence in the definition of Brazilian education policy.

From 1930 onwards, Brazil experienced a period of centralization of political decisions with the Revolution of 1930 and the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945). This expansion of State performance is evidenced in education that immediately creates the *Ministério da Educação e Saúde Pública* (1930) - Ministry of Education and Public Health - and tries to reorganize the structure of education in the country in order to ensure the unification and articulation of state educational systems. The new political-economic order that is installed in the country based on the industrial expansion drives the demands of a universal school, whose claim was already being defended by the Progressive school educators engaged in the movement of renewal of the education (Aguiar, 1991). Thus, before the development needs of the country and the pedagogical ideas that defended the structuring of a national policy of education based scientifically, the first theoretical studies on policy, school administration, educational administration and compared education emerge with the works of Anísio Teixeira (1935), Isaías Alves (1937)<sup>14</sup>, José Querino Ribeiro (1938) and Antônio Carneiro Leão (1939/1945).

In the *Estado Novo*, the concrete foundations of a national education and of a process of centralization of educational information are released (Aguiar, 1991). In 1937, Inep<sup>15</sup> was created, with the purpose of coordinating studies and research on the problems of teaching in its different aspects, as well as systematizing the educational knowledge to subsidize governmental actions. The

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<sup>14</sup> In the bibliographical survey that was part of the broader research of this paper, Isaías Alves' work "*Técnica e política educacional*" was the first book located that is said to be on education policy. According to Mello (2005), the central theme of Isaías Alves's theoretical production focused on education policies, whose perspective was closely linked to political militancy as a defender of the *Estado Novo*.

<sup>15</sup> Inep was instituted through Law no. 378, of January 13, 1937, with the name National Institute of Pedagogy. However, it began its activities in 1938 with Decree-Law no. 580, dated July 30, 1938, which provides for its organization and changes the name to *Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos* - National Institute of Pedagogical Studies. Only from 1972, it was renamed *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais* - National Institute for Educational Studies and Research (Inep, 2015).

creation of Inep is considered a milestone in the more systematic development of education research in Brazil.

In view of its purpose, Inep creates, in 1944, the *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* (RBEP) - Brazilian Journal of Pedagogical Studies. RBEP was one of the pioneering scientific journals in the dissemination of knowledge in the area of education and education policies, contributing in a very peculiar way to the emergence and development of the field. In its first issue, papers on the situation of national education involving aspects of what we currently understand by education policy were published (Lourenço Filho, 1944; Bastos, 1944). Over the years, studies related to education policy have had a greater or less centrality in their publications due to historical factors, such as: the passing of new education laws; implementation of educational reforms or innovative education policies, mainly as a result of redemocratization; expansion of neoliberal policies (from the 1990s); creation of policies and programs of national scope, etc.

With the end of the *Estado Novo*, marked by a dictatorial political system, a new phase begins in Brazilian politics characterized by a democratic regime. A new stage of modernization of Brazilian society and, consequently, of education was also set up in the 1950s. According to Aguiar (1991), this phase is marked by technical-scientific thinking and the vision of planning within the State. This is due to the need for accelerated economic and social development with a view to overcoming the underdevelopment of the country. Education is perceived as a factor of development and, therefore, of economic investment (Aguiar, 1991).

In this context, the development of research in education gained more momentum and found a more specific space with the creation in 1955 of the *Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais* (CBPE) - Brazilian Center for Educational Research, headquartered in Rio de Janeiro, and the *Centros Regionais de Pesquisas Educacionais* (CRPEs) - Regional Centers for Educational Research) in the cities of Recife, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, São Paulo and Porto Alegre (Gatti, 1987). According to Rothen (2005), the new structure of Inep, through the implementation of CBPE and CRPEs, was intended to strengthen research in education, as well as to decentralize Inep's actions, establishing a position of rupture with its past, linked to the *Estado Novo*.

In this first moment of the antecedents of the academic field of education policy, the contribution of the so-called pioneers of school administration, educational administration and comparative education, as well as of ABE, Inep, RBEP, CBPE and CRPEs to the development of research in education and the emergence of the first studies related to education policy in Brazil.

It is in the decade in which research in education gains greater strength in the university field that we place the second moment of the constitution of the field, characterized by the process of institutionalization, as discussed below.

### **The Institutionalization of the Academic Field of Education Policy (from the 1960s)**

The process of institutionalization of the academic field of education policy in Brazil can be demarcated from the 1960s. A moment in which the strengthening of research in education occurs with the institutionalization of graduate studies in the mid-1960s. Implanted during the military regime (1964-1985), its valorization and the decision to institutionalize it, according to Saviani (2008a), stemmed from the perspective of modernization of the Brazilian society, where scientific and technological development was defined as a strategic area. The rise of Graduate studies in Education dates back to 1966, when the first Master's degree in Education was created at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio).

The institutionalization of the academic field of education policy in Brazil, beginning in the 1960s, is also marked by the creation of scientific associations. One of them was ANPAE in 1961. Considering the relation between education policy and the administration of education, the creation of ANPAE (1961) can be considered as a first milestone in the process of institutionalizing the field. This relation between the fields is evidenced later, when ANPAE changes its denomination. In the course of its trajectory, ANPAE had four other denominations. In 1971, the association expanded its associative framework, changing its name to *Associação Nacional de Profissionais de Administração Escolar* (National Association of School Administration Professionals). In 1976, it was named *Associação Nacional de Profissionais de Administração Educacional* (National Association of Educational Administration Professionals). In 1980, it was changed to *Associação Nacional de Profissionais de Administração da Educação* (National Association of Education Administration Professionals), and finally in 1996, its focus was expanded with the denomination *Associação Nacional de Política e Administração da Educação* (National Association of Education Policy and Administration) (Sander, 2011).

In addition to contributions to the debates in the academic field of education policy through its Brazilian Symposia and International Congresses, ANPAE has been publishing several specialized works on policy and educational management issues. Another important contribution of the ANPAE to the field was the creation of the *Revista Brasileira de Administração da Educação* (RBAE) - Brazilian Journal of Education Administration - in 1983, which, from 1997 onwards, expanded its focus and scope when started being denominated *Revista Brasileira de Política e Administração da Educação* (RBPAE) - Brazilian Journal of Education Policy and Administration.

The creation of the National Association of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Education (ANPEd) in 1976 and the Working Groups (called *GTs*) was another important factor for the institutionalization of the academic field of education policy. In fact, the first explicit moment to legitimize the field was the creation of the Working Group *Estado e Política Educacional no Brasil* - State and Education Policy in Brazil, which began its activities with the 13 *GTs* of ANPEd in 1987, on the occasion of the 10th Annual Meeting. The *GT* was effectively established in 1986 during the 9th Annual Meeting. However, the discussion on the creation of a *GT* on “Education Policy, Administration and Planning” (ANPEd, 1986, p. 3) since 1984 (7th Annual Meeting) was already under discussion. As a *GT* “in formation”, it initially received the denomination *Administração e Planejamento da Educação* - Administration and Planning of Education - (ANPEd, 1985, p. 19). From 1995 onwards, the *GT Estado e Política Educacional* in Brazil began to form the *GTs* of the 18th Annual Meeting with the denomination *GT 5 - Estado e Política Educacional*, expanding its scope beyond the national level. Concomitant to the creation of the *GT Estado e Política Educacional* in Brazil, there was also a change in the denomination of some working groups, which included the term “policy”. From 1987 onwards, the *GT Ensino de 1º Grau* - 1st Grade Teaching - was renamed *Política do Ensino de 1º Grau* - 1st Grade Education Policy, and the *GT Ensino Superior* - Higher Education - was renamed *Política de Ensino Superior*<sup>16</sup> - Higher Education Policy (ANPEd, 1987). These changes gathered more evidence that it is possible to infer that the period of 1986/1987 can be understood as an explicit milestone in the institutionalization of the academic field of education policy in Brazil.

The moment of the creation of *GT 5* and the changes in the denominations of the working groups mentioned above reveal the struggles in the process of building the field according to the conceptions of its agents and the capital at play (Bourdieu, 2003, 2004a). In the case of the

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<sup>16</sup> From 1995 onwards, these working groups have been called respectively *GT 13 - Ensino Fundamental* - Elementary School -, and *GT 11 - Política da Educação Superior* - Higher Education Policy.

formation process of *GT 5*, there were clashes between researchers with a conception based on education planning and administration, and others with a more education policy perspective<sup>17</sup>. In the political-social context of the 1980s when it was formed, democratic yearnings mobilized society because of the country's political openness. In this sense, the education policy perspective was favored and the *GT* was constituted. In its formation proposal, the “macro-structural approaches of education policy” (Azevedo & Aguiar, 2001a, p. 55) were favored, a focus that is defined in the name of the *GT* by means of the word “State”.

It is important to note that *GT 5* is aimed at discussing specific issues of education policies, which are also discussed in other *GTs*, such as: Teacher education, Work and Education, Higher Education Policy, Curriculum, Fundamental Education, Special Education, Education of young and adult people, Education of Children from 0 to 6 years old, among others. This expresses that it is a comprehensive and multidisciplinary topic, which concerns different fields and areas of research.

Thus, although the creation of the ANPAE can be considered a first milestone in the institutionalization of the field, because of the relation between the field of education administration and education policy studies, it is with the creation of *GT 5 - Estado e Política Educacional* that in the most explicit way, education policy is defined within an institutional space.

The enactment and contribution of ANPEd to the constitution of the academic field of education policy are not only restricted to the creation of *GT 5 - Estado e Política Educacional*. The engagement with the discussions on the Brazilian education policy is also present in the themes of the national meetings. In addition, its articulation with other entities promoted broad debates on Brazilian education policy.

The organization of the education field from the end of the 1970s is characterized by the foundation of several entities. In addition to ANPEd (1976), two other important entities were created: *Centro de Estudos Educação e Sociedade* (CEDES) - Center for Education and Society Studies, and *Associação Nacional de Educação* (ANDE) - National Association of Education, both founded in 1979. These three entities mobilized together in the organization of the *Conferências Brasileiras de Educação* (CBEs) - Brazilian Conferences of Education - that occurred between 1980 and 1991. The main concern that characterized the events of the CBEs turned not only to criticism, but especially to the search for proposals and referrals to the problems of Brazilian education (Saviani, 2008b).

Thus, these scientific associations made an important contribution since they participated in the movements of the education field for the reorganization of Brazilian education and promoted events that added several researchers and educators to discuss broadly themes related to the Brazilian education policy. In the context of these events, it can be considered that the knowledge produced contributed to advances in the process of maturation of the discussions in the academic field of education policy. The VI CBE held in 1991, for example, organized a series consisting of six volumes with the texts of the symposia and round tables. One of the volumes of the series (*Coletânea CBE*, 1992) was devoted to examining the trajectory and contradictions of the relation between State and education.

Another aspect that makes the demarcation of the institutionalization of the academic field of education policy since the 1960s possible is the more frequent use of the term “education policy(ies)” in the titles of publications. The term education policy appeared in the titles of some theses and dissertations, as is the case of Rivadávia Marques Júnior's dissertation, for a PhD competition, in the area of History and Philosophy of Education, at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Literature Studies of Araraquara (Marques Júnior, 1967); of the Master's thesis of Luiz

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<sup>17</sup> The research involved an interview with two researchers (Márcia Ângela Aguiar and Janete Lins de Azevedo) who participated in its creation and acted as the first coordinators of the *GT 5*.

Antônio Cunha, for the Master's in Educational Planning - PUC-Rio (Cunha, 1972); of Miguel Arroyo, in the Master's in Political Science - UFMG (Arroyo, 1974). It also appeared in titles of papers (e.g. Cunha, 1974; Lima, 1970; Martins, 1969; Silva, 1969), books (e.g. Cunha, 1973) and official publications (e.g. Santos, 1960; Porto Alegre, 1966; Sodré, Cintra, & Azanha, 1969).

During this period, the country was led by the military regime (1964-1985) whose logic of state intervention in education was based on the perspective of planning and technical rationalization. In fact, studies on education policy at that time emerged linked to discussions about educational planning. Thus, until the mid-1970s, a significant portion of the work, which is currently considered education policy studies, was considered as research and discussions of educational administration or school/educational administration or educational planning. This is the case, for example, of Cunha's master's thesis (1972) that was in the area of educational planning. Subsequently, it was published in a book format (Cunha, 1973).

Therefore, in the process of institutionalization of the field throughout the 1960s and 1970s, education policy was approached as a study of educational planning or administration of education. Education policy began to gain greater legitimacy in the 1980s. In detriment to intense social mobilization, in the face of the country's re-democratization, education policy began to acquire specific space for debate in institutional spaces with the creation of *GT 5 - Estado e Política Educacional* within ANPEd and, later, from the 1990s, with the creation of lines and research groups in the Graduate Studies, disciplines, journals, events and research networks of education policy, aspects to be discussed in the next temporal demarcation.

### **The Expansion of the Academic Field of Education Policy (since the 1990s)**

In the context of the expansion of the academic field of education policy since the 1990s, several educational reforms of a neoliberal nature are situated, formulated and implemented in the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-1998 and 1999-2002), in which several researchers began to dedicate themselves to the analysis of the actions of the State in this new political-economic conjuncture. Therefore, there is a significant increase in education policy studies. In particular, from the 2000s, with Lula's Government (2003-2006 and 2007-2010) and Dilma's Government (2011-2014), there is an expansion of social policies and the implementation of a set of programs at all levels and teaching modalities. In this way, new research objects become a concern of researchers in the academic field of education policy.

One issue that has marked the expansion of the academic field of education policy since the 1990s is the set of proposals presented by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes) for the organization of Graduate Programs in lines of research (Stremel, 2016). It was in this context that lines of research began to emerge from/on education policy, as well as research groups that dealt with the study of issues related to education policy. The creation of lines and research groups brought important contributions to the structuring of the field of research in education policy<sup>18</sup>.

The moment of the creation of the discipline Education Policy in the curricula of undergraduate courses can also be considered a milestone in the process of institutionalization of the academic field of education policy (Stremel, 2016). With this denomination, the discipline Education

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<sup>18</sup> In the survey, of the 121 Graduate Programs in Education evaluated in 2012, 88 programs had lines of research related to education policy. Of a total of 412 lines of research in the area of education, 93 referred to lines of research on/about education policy. In relation to the research groups, from the consultation in the Directory of Groups of Research of CNPq, in 2015, 255 research groups of/about education policy were identified (Stremel, 2016).

Policy begins to be part of the curricula of the courses of Pedagogy from the decade of 1990 onwards. In addition to this denomination, the disciplines of/about education policy present in the curricula of the Pedagogy courses assume different designations, such as: Structure and Functioning of Basic Education, Public Policies and Education, Education Policy and Organization, Education Policy and Legislation, Policy and Educational Planning, Education Policy and Management, among others. Despite this diversity of denominations, the terms “education policy(ies)” and “policy(ies) and management of education” have been more commonly used to refer to the field, either to designate disciplines in undergraduate and graduate studies, or even groups and research lines in Graduate Programs in Education, working groups in scientific associations and events, etc. (Stremel & Mainardes, 2015).

Besides discipline, another aspect that can be understood as part of the institutionalization process of the academic field of education policy is the creation of journals, scientific events and research networks.

Since the 1990s, several specialized scientific journals on education policy have been created: *Revista Brasileira de Política e Administração da Educação* (1983)<sup>19</sup>, *Ensaio: Avaliação e Políticas Públicas em Educação* (1993)<sup>20</sup>, *Revista Eletrônica de Política e Gestão Educacional* (2001)<sup>21</sup>, *Jornal de Políticas Educacionais* (2007)<sup>22</sup>, *Políticas Educativas* (2007)<sup>23</sup>, *FINEDUCA - Revista de Financiamento da Educação* (2011)<sup>24</sup>, *Educação e Políticas em Debate* (2012)<sup>25</sup>, *Laplage em Revista* (2015)<sup>26</sup>, *Revista de Estudos Teóricos y Epistemológicos en Política Educativa* (2015)<sup>27</sup>.

In this moment of development of the field, characterized by a certain accumulation of knowledge produced, evidenced by research on the production of knowledge in the field, there is also the growth of specialized scientific events and the creation of research networks that integrate researchers interested in the advancement of knowledge of education policy. As an example of research networks and scientific entity can be cited: *Red de Estudios Teóricos y Epistemológicos en Política Educativa - ReLePe* (created in 2010)<sup>28</sup>, *Rede Latino-Americana de Estudos Sobre Trabalho Docente - Rede ESTRADO* (founded in 1999)<sup>29</sup>, *Red de Investigadores de América Latina y Europa en Políticas Educativas - RLAIPE* (started in 2007)<sup>30</sup>, *Associação Nacional de Pesquisa em Financiamento da Educação - FINEDUCA* (founded in 2011)<sup>31</sup> and *Rede de Estudos sobre Implementação de Políticas Públicas Educacionais - REIPPE* (created in 2014)<sup>32</sup>.

Research networks and scientific entities, each with its objectives, demonstrate the growing organization that the academic field of education policy has been acquiring. According to González Hernández (2015), the academic or scientific networks add people linked to teaching and research in educational institutions. These people compose study and work teams with the purpose of achieving

<sup>19</sup> It expanded its focus from 1997 onwards. Until 1996, it was denominated *Revista Brasileira de Administração da Educação - Brazilian Journal of Education Administration*. Site: <<http://seer.ufrgs.br/rbpae>>.

<sup>20</sup> Site: <<http://www.scielo.br/ensaio>>.

<sup>21</sup> Site: <<https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/rpge>>.

<sup>22</sup> Site: <<https://revistas.ufpr.br/jpe>>.

<sup>23</sup> Site: <<http://seer.ufrgs.br/Poled>>.

<sup>24</sup> Site: <<http://seer.ufrgs.br/fineduca>>.

<sup>25</sup> Site: <<http://www.seer.ufu.br/index.php/revistaeducaopoliticas>>.

<sup>26</sup> Site: <<http://www.laplageemrevista.ufscar.br/index.php/lpg>>.

<sup>27</sup> Site: <<http://www.revistas2.uepg.br/index.php/retepe/index>>.

<sup>28</sup> Site: <<http://www.relepe.org>>.

<sup>29</sup> Site: <<http://redeestrado.org>>.

<sup>30</sup> Site: <<http://riaipe.org>>.

<sup>31</sup> Site: <<http://www.fineduca.org.br>>.

<sup>32</sup> Site: <<https://www.reippe.com>>.

specific objectives in a certain area of knowledge (González Hernández, 2015). In this way, an academic network can potentially advance the constitution of academic teams to face, increase and apply new knowledge, as well as to promote dialogues, the generation of academic spaces of cooperation and the establishment of joint projects (Chavoya Peña & González Hernández, 2012). Hence, research networks have made collaborative actions and collective effort possible, which potentially contribute to the process of consolidation of the academic field of education policy in Brazil.

## **Final Considerations**

In this paper, we have presented the historical aspects of the constitution of the academic field of education policy in Brazil from three periods. It is noteworthy that this field has been developed in articulation with the historical context of each period. Based on Bourdieu's (1989) ideas, we understand that in research on the constitution of a particular field, of a relatively autonomous space, its essence can only be apprehended by historical analysis. Still according to this author, a field is structured by institutions, agents and by what is generated in its interior (ideas, productions of agents). In this sense, although the role of institutions in the process of establishing the academic field of education policy has been emphasized, the role of the subjects (researchers, authors) in the field has not been disregarded, since institutions are formed by subjects and these are represented by their contributions to the field through their research, publications and political participation.

Based on the historical aspects presented, it is possible to affirm that education policy is an academic field that is specific and institutionally legitimized in Brazil and in other countries. In the case of Brazil, it is a field in expansion and in permanent construction. Like the field of comparative education, the field of education policy lacks "strict gate-keeping rules and is rather inclusive, as seen in its world congresses and other academic forums, where few of its participants have only a vague notion of the field or are weakly identified with it" (Manzon, 2011, p. 2).

In our perspective, the process of building the field, in view of its continuous strengthening, involves some challenges, such as: a) the necessary relation and interlocution of the field of education policy with other fields, such as the field of social sciences, political science, economics, and the development of social theory; b) the internationalization of education policy studies; and c) the need to develop studies of a theoretical and epistemological nature. Based on Susen (2011), we consider that the field of education policy is a scientific project and a political project. As a scientific project, it needs to offer consistent analyzes and conclusions, based on scientific criteria, such as: objectivity, adequacy and verifiability. As a political project, research on education policy is always committed to offering socially referenced and politically engaged analyzes and conclusions, based on criteria of political normativity, such as: legitimacy, effectiveness in terms of social justice and equality and criticality. Thus, the issue of education policy does not constitute a monopoly of a scientific community, journals, research networks, etc., because it is something of public interest and can be debated in different social and political spaces.

Finally, we emphasize that this paper focuses on the constitution of education policy in Brazil as an autonomous and specific field. It should be noted that there is no consensus on the validity and relevance of developing education policy studies as an autonomous and specific field. Stephen J. Ball, for example, in an interview with Mainardes (2015), questions the importance of the existence of clear distinctions and demarcations between the research areas. He believes that it would be more productive to minimize such demarcations and to think in a "post-disciplinary, post-philosophical way about theory and analysis, drawing from the insights and possibilities of different

theories and disciplines, uniting them – a more pluralistic and diverse theorization” (Mainardes, 2015, p. 164, own translation). In spite of this, we argue that it is relevant to develop studies in a double dimension, that is, to explore aspects of the constitution of Education Policy as an autonomous and specific field, as well as studies that analyze the relations of Education Policy research with other areas (Social Sciences, Political Science, Economics, Anthropology, Social Theory, etc.), as well as expanding the debate on the contributions of these areas to the theoretical development of Education Policy.

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