

Economic Law and Educational Planning in Brazil: From the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) Model to Neoliberal Reform*

Derecho económico y planificación educativa en Brasil: del modelo de la Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) a la reforma neoliberal

Direito Econômico e planejamento educacional no Brasil: do modelo da Comissão Econômica para a América Latina e o Caribe (CEPAL) à reforma neoliberal

FÁBIO SAMPAIO MASCARENHAS**

DANIEL FRANCISCO NAGAO MENEZES***

ELAINE BARBOSA****

DATE RECEIVED: DECEMBER 19, 2025. DATE APPROVED: JULY 19, 2026

Doi: <https://doi.org/10.12804/revistas.urosario.edu.co/sociojuridicos/a.16135>

Para citar este artículo: Sampaio Mascarenhas, F., Nagao Menezes, D., & Barbosa, E. (2026). Economic Law and Educational Planning in Brazil: From the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) Model to Neoliberal Reform. *Estudios Socio-Jurídicos*, 28(2), 1-29. <https://doi.org/10.12804/revistas.urosario.edu.co/sociojuridicos/a.16135>

* The article has not been presented at a conference and was not written for a presentation.
Reflection article.

** Universidade Católica de Santos, Santos, Brazil. Associate Professor in the Stricto Sensu Graduate Program (MA and Ph. D.) in Education at Universidade Católica de Santos. Head of the Legislative Center of the Santo André City Council. MA and PpD in Law with distinction (Summa Cum Laude) from Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de São Paulo (FD-USP). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3575-1643>. E-mail: f.mascarenhas@unisantos.br

*** Centro Universitário, Faculdade de Campinas (FACAMP), Campinas, Brazil. Professor of Law and International Relations and Coordinator of the MA Program in Law, Business, and Contemporary Society at FACAMP. Postdoctoral degree in Law (Universidade de São Paulo) and in Economics (Universidade Estadual Paulista). MA and PhD in Political and Economic Law (Mackenzie University). Member of CIRIEC-Colombia. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9151-5699>. E-mail: daniel.menezes@facamp.com.br

**** Universidade Católica de Santos, Santos, Brazil. MA student in Education in the Stricto Sensu Graduate Program at Universidade Católica de Santos. Specialization in Bilingual/Multilingual Teaching Methodologies and Practices from Instituto Singularidades. BA in Portuguese/English Language and Literature from Universidade Católica de Santos and in Education from Universidade Santa Cecília. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-6680-1918>. E-mail: elaine.barbosa@unisantos.br

Abstract

This article aims to evaluate, from an economic law perspective, the contrast between the integrated planning model proposed by the Three-Year Plan (1963-1965), instituted in Brazil based on Latin American structuralism inspired by ECLAC, and the model established by the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, which is linked to short- and medium-term budget plans suitable for the countercyclical proposal of the neoliberal model, specifically in terms of its impact on Brazilian educational policy. This research is qualitative and exploratory, relying primarily on a literature review. The study examines how the shift from the ECLAC planning format to the neoliberal one reverberated in the legal-economic discipline of educational planning. The hypothesis is that this change limited state investment in education, reducing educational planning to the dynamics of short- and medium-term budgeting. The article concludes that replacing a Latin American model of educational planning with a neoliberal framework—in terms of integrated planning—has subordinated long-term educational plans to short term budgetary instruments and fiscal constraints, despite significant resistance from funding policies.

Keywords: Latin American structuralism; integrated planning; National Education Plan.

Resumen

El presente artículo tiene por objeto evaluar, desde la perspectiva del derecho económico, el contraste entre el modelo de planificación integrada propuesto por el Plan Trienal (1963-1965), instaurado en Brasil sobre la base del estructuralismo latinoamericano de la CEPAL y el modelo establecido por la Constitución brasileña de 1988, vinculado a planes presupuestarios a corto y mediano plazo adecuados a la propuesta anticíclica del modelo neoliberal, concretamente, en lo que respecta a su impacto en la política educativa brasileña. Se trata de una investigación cualitativa y exploratoria, basada principalmente en una revisión bibliográfica. El estudio analiza cómo el cambio del formato de planificación de la CEPAL al modelo neoliberal repercutió en la disciplina jurídico-económica de la planificación educativa. La hipótesis es que este cambio limitó la inversión estatal en educación, reduciendo la planificación educativa a las dinámicas de la presupuestación a corto y medio plazo. El artículo concluye que la sustitución de un modelo latinoamericano de planificación educativa por un marco neoliberal —en términos de planificación integrada— ha subordinado los planes educativos a largo plazo a los instrumentos presupuestarios a corto plazo y a las restricciones fiscales, a pesar de la importante resistencia por parte de las políticas de financiación.

Palabras clave: estructuralismo latinoamericano; planificación integrada; Plan Nacional de Educación.

Resumo

Este artigo tem por objetivo avaliar, sob a perspectiva do Direito Econômico, o contraste entre o modelo de planejamento integrado proposto pelo Plano Trienal (1963-1965), instituído no Brasil com base no estruturalismo latino-americano da Comissão Econômica para a América Latina e o Caribe (CEPAL), e o modelo estabelecido pela Constituição Federal de 1988, vinculado a planos orçamentários de curto e médio prazo compatíveis com a proposta anticíclica do modelo neoliberal, especificamente no que se refere aos seus impactos sobre a política educacional brasileira. Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa, de caráter exploratório, fundamentada principalmente em

revisão da literatura. Analisa-se como a transição do modelo de planejamento da CEPAL para o modelo neoliberal repercutiu na disciplina jurídico-econômica do planejamento educacional. Levanta-se a hipótese de que essa mudança limitou o investimento estatal em educação, reduzindo o planejamento educacional às dinâmicas do orçamento de curto e médio prazo. Conclui-se que a substituição do modelo latino-americano de planejamento educacional por um paradigma neoliberal —em termos de planejamento integrado— subordinou os planos educacionais de longo prazo aos instrumentos orçamentários de curto prazo e às restrições fiscais, apesar da significativa resistência das políticas de financiamento.

Palavras-chave: estruturalismo latino-americano; planejamento integrado; Plano Nacional de Educação.

Introduction

Economic law comprises the techniques used by the state to implement its economic policy. It thus constitutes a discipline of state action regarding economic structures. Moving away from economic models that presuppose a minimal state, economic law links economic dynamics to constitutional foundations (Comparato, 1978).

In line with this premise and in accordance with the dictates of Article 3, item II, of the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 (Presidência da República, 1988), Bercovici (2009) states that economic law presupposes the recognition that both the state and society are responsible for pursuing national development. It therefore links Brazilian economic policy to the objectives enshrined in the Constitution. This submission of the area to a national structural project aimed at development links the analysis of economic law to macroeconomic rationality. Its object is the appropriation of economic surplus, legally ordering the spaces of accumulation and directly addressing issues related to social stratification. Hence the connection between economic law and planning.

The latter—planning—within a given economic reality can take three interconnected forms: global, regional, and sectoral.

The first sets the goals the state aims to achieve and establishes quantitative targets for the economic variables associated with those goals, coordinating the stages of the other plans (regional and sectoral) to avoid overlap or lack of integration. The second applies planning techniques to the country's regions, especially those with greater social

or economic inequality than others. In countries with very large territories, this approach is essential, provided it is integrated into a global plan. The third should be used for strategic purposes in the economic development of a given sector. In this sense, agriculture, transportation, and education can be included (Mello, 1975).

Educational planning is, therefore, essentially sectoral. This sectoral planning is carried out within the framework of norms advocating a new National Education Plan (PNE, for its Portuguese initials) for Brazil. At the center of this discussion, on July 25, 2024, through Law No. 14.934, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and his Minister of Education, Camilo Santana, extended the validity of Law No. 13.005, of June 25, 2014, which instituted the National Education Plan 2014-2024, until December 31, 2025. The new PNE was approved by Law No. 15.388, of April 14, 2026, and it aims to establish new guidelines, objectives, goals, and priorities for Brazilian education, to be implemented by 2036. While we recognize the relevance of the PNE and the need for a thorough debate on the direction of national education, we highlight the timely relevance of discussing another aspect of the issue: the disconnect between sectoral planning and global (integrated) planning.

In the history of Brazilian education, four national education plans have been advocated and approved. The 1962 PNE was established by Article 92, §2 of Law No. 4.024, of December 20, 1961. The 2001 PNE was approved by Law No. 10.172 of January 9, 2001. The 2014 PNE was approved by Law No. 13.005 of June 25, 2014. Finally, the 2026 PNE was established by Law No. 15.388 of April 14, 2026. In economic terms, the first PNE was linked to an integrated economic planning instrument based on the logic of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), namely the Three-Year Plan (1963-1965). The 2001 and 2014 PNEs, in turn, were implemented under the neoliberal economic model, which has been hegemonic in Brazil since the 1990s, following the internalization of the model proposed by the 1989 Washington Consensus. As the 2026 PNE was recently approved, there has not been sufficient time to evaluate its implementation in Brazil.

It is acknowledged that there are methodological limitations in comparing the socio-historical context of the 1962 PNE and the 1963-1965 Three-Year Plan—which was interrupted by the 1964 civil-military coup—with the reality of the period following the enactment of the 1988 Federal Constitution, particularly because it is difficult to establish objective parameters for comparability between the brief period of implementation of national development-oriented mechanisms in education and the long interregnum of neoliberal hegemony after 1988. Furthermore, it is recognized that the neoliberal model, in general and especially as applied to education, cannot be viewed as a homogeneous block that disregards advances in educational financing, achieved primarily through the funding policies implemented by the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and the Valorization of the Teaching Profession (Fundef), created by Constitutional Amendment No. 14 of September 12, 1996 (EC No. 14/1996), and by the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Valorization of Education Professionals (Fundeb), created by Constitutional Amendment No. 53 of December 19, 2006, and expanded by Constitutional Amendment No. 108 of August 26, 2020.

Given this scenario and the noted limitations, this article aims to examine how the shift from the ECLAC planning format to a neoliberal one historically reverberated within the legal-economic discipline of educational planning, with the aim of confirming or refuting the hypothesis that the change in the Brazilian integrated planning format, based on the neoliberal economic model, limited state investment in education and reduced educational planning to the dynamics of short- and medium-term budgeting, thereby affecting the effectiveness of Brazil's 2001 and 2014 PNEs. To this end, the article is divided into two topics.

The first topic outlines the educational planning of ECLAC-inspired Latin American structuralism in Brazil, centered on the 1962 PNE and the Triennial Plan. The second topic examines the neoliberal shift in the Brazilian integrated planning model, driven by the internalization of the 1989 Washington Consensus's orthodox prescriptions and its impact on sectoral education planning.

1. ECLAC and Brazilian Educational Planning: The 1962 PNE and Educational Reform in the Triennial Plan (1963-1965)

Latin American structuralism in Brazil was expressed through what was called national developmentalism, which achieved broad reach between 1949 and 1964 and was widely accepted on the national scene because it provided scientific justification for Brazil's interventionist and industrialist tradition, which had been in place since 1930 and was consolidated with the creation of the ECLAC-BNDE Joint Group (Bercovici, 2005). The theory of underdevelopment is the economic thinking developed by Latin American structuralism. The theory was developed within ECLAC, created by the United Nations in 1949 to analyze the situation in the region and propose solutions to its economic and social issues. Among other aspects, the theory seeks to explain how economic development has occurred in different nations since the advent of capitalism, an economic system that emerged in Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries (Furtado, 1959). Its fundamental element is the idea that development is a historical process that has occurred differently in each country and contains specificities that prevent standardized analysis, so each case must be analyzed individually (Furtado, 1972, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1993, 1999, 2022).

Celso Furtado (1920-2004), one of ECLAC's precursors, chaired the ECLAC-BNDE Joint Group in Rio de Janeiro in 1953, whose report, published in 1955, formed the basis for Juscelino Kubitschek's Target Plan. In 1962, he was appointed head of the Brazilian Ministry of Planning during the João Goulart administration, where he drafted the Triennial Plan (1963-1965), the most significant integrated planning instrument in Brazilian history—which was hindered by the 1964 civil-military coup. From an intersectoral perspective, Celso Furtado embodies the crucial influence of ECLAC thinking on the structuring of the Brazilian state.

In the educational environment, understanding the influence of Latin American structuralism in the country is largely attributable to the Advanced Institute of Brazilian Studies (ISEB; Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros). Created by Decree No. 37.608 of July 14, 1955, by then-President Café Filho as an agency of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the ISEB had as its main exponents at that early stage Hélio

Jaguaribe, Roland Corbisier, Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, Álvaro Vieira Pinto, Nelson Werneck Sodré, and Cândido Mendes de Almeida. Its purpose was the study, teaching, and dissemination of the social sciences, whose data and categories would be applied to the evaluation and critical understanding of the country's reality, thereby encouraging national development. Given the strong intersection between ISEB thinking and especially industrialist policy, this body was a committed supporter of the government of Juscelino Kubitschek (Abreu, 1975).

The national-developmental vision radiated by these institutions in Brazil was present in the educational debate of the early 1960s, bringing to the sector's discussion primarily the debate on overcoming underdevelopment, especially through the fight against illiteracy and the expansion of basic education places, which had as one of its purposes to bring education for democracy (Santos, 2019).

It is worth noting that this conception of education for democracy had a limited understanding of what constitutes democracy, given that ECLAC did not address the debates surrounding the various vulnerable groups that constitute Brazil; furthermore, the very notion of education—as a human factor—tended to reduce education to the development process, excluding other dimensions of the educational process that also encompass human emancipation.

It is also important to note that the period's great novelty was the articulation between global and sectoral planning, not the original implementation of these planning approaches. In this sense, with regard to the former, Juscelino Kubitschek's Target Plan (1956-1961) already fulfilled the function of planning the country in an integrated manner (Lafer, 1970). As for the latter, since May 1937, under a provision in the 1934 Constitution, the National Education Council had been preparing and sending a draft PNE to the Presidency of the Republic (Azanha, 1993).

This line of thinking was crucial to the formulation of three sectoral or global planning mechanisms that proposed education projects in the 1960s: the 1962 PNE; the Triennial Plan (1963-1965); and its offshoot: the Triennial Education Plan (1963-1965).

The first of these mechanisms—the 1962 PNE—was legally consistent with Article 92, §2 of the LDB/1961, which addresses the creation of an Education Plan for Brazil. The plan was prepared by the Federal

Council of Education and set goals and objectives for the sector to be achieved by 1970, as well as principles and rules for applying resources allocated by the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDB, for its Portuguese initials) for primary, secondary, and higher education funds (Teixeira, 1963).

Under the aegis of the 1946 Constitution, the plan stipulated a supplementary role for the Union, establishing norms and principles for how the Union would exercise this role, with the aim of ensuring greater autonomy for state education systems, keeping federal action focused on stimulating and coordinating the states and municipalities in their joint efforts to comply with the precept of compulsory primary education, and seeking to bring equality and opportunity to other levels of education (Teixeira, 1963).

The fact that the plan appears as a requirement, as reflected in the title referring to resources for education in the LDB/1961, which increases the funding provision for the sector brought about by the 1946 Constitution, in its Article 169, means that the PNE is essentially focused on the objective of regulating these provisions. In this sense, the first part of the plan concerns educational goals. These, in turn, are divided into quantitative and qualitative goals and subdivided by each level of education, i.e., primary, secondary, and higher education. For primary education, the quantitative goal was to enroll 100% of the school population aged 7 to 11 in the fourth grade and 70% of the school population aged 12 to 14 in the fifth and sixth grades (Goal 1). For secondary education, the quantitative targets were to enroll 30% of the school population aged 11 and 12 to 14 in the first two grades of junior high school, 50% of the school population aged 13 to 15 in the last two grades of junior high school, and, finally, 30% of the school population aged 15 to 18 in the high school grades (Goal 2). For higher education, the goal was more modest, given the low number of people attending this level of education at that time. Thus, it was predicted that enrollment in higher education would be expanded to include at least half of those who completed high school (Goal 3) (Teixeira, 1962).

Among the qualitative goals, the forecast was not only to enroll the entire primary school-age population but also to have, by 1970, a system with qualified primary school teachers, with 20% in teaching

courses, 60 % in nominal courses, and 20 % in post-secondary courses (Goal 4). In the fifth and sixth grades—the last two grades of primary education—a full day of school activities should be offered, including industrial arts in the teaching program, delivered in appropriately adapted workshops (Goal 5). With regard to secondary education, the aim would be to include guided study in the program and to extend the school day to six hours of school activities, including studies and educational practices (Goal 6). At the higher education level, in turn, it was stipulated that at least 30 % of teachers and students should be full-time (Goal 7) (Teixeira, 1962).

In addition to these goals, the 1962 PNE established standards, also divided by education level, to set rules for applying the funds established by the LDB/1961 and to achieve these goals by 1970 (Teixeira, 1962). For Anísio Teixeira (1963), this congruence between the goals and standards of the PNE allowed it to serve as a master plan for state education administrations and for the respective municipal administrations, through which resources would be applied in the sector, without duplication or waste, to generate a common effort for compulsory primary education and secondary and higher education. The objective of the standards established therein was to set expenses per student to link them with the resources available for education, given that the student is the ultimate beneficiary of a nation's educational efforts, with both the quantity and quality of education being measured through that student. Teixeira (1963) stated that: "The student is the 'product' of education, and their 'cost' is the basis of the budget."

Based on the premise of linking expenses to students, the plan established a criterion for estimating the cost per student in a reasonably administered school system. Under this criterion, education expenses should be distributed as follows: "70 % for the payment of teachers and school staff; 13 % for teaching materials and consumables; 7 % for administrative expenses; and 10 % for construction, equipment, and maintenance of school buildings" (Teixeira, 1963).

This division—provided for in a national plan for the sector and reserving to the Union the functions of stimulation and coordination in planning—requires states to adopt their own "education plans" to qualify for financial assistance from the Union. This articulated structure,

which is only possible through integrated planning, is emphasized by Teixeira (1963), who states that although planning was, in terms of economic development, a new idea, since it presupposes the abandonment of *laissez-faire*, which dominated the liberal state, education has been planned and systematic since at least the 19th century. Thus, “a national education plan is not something new or difficult in Brazil, but something terribly delayed and which, after all, we are beginning to feel can no longer be postponed. This feeling is, however, indispensable.”

The Three-Year Plan—which sought to establish basic reforms—was drawn up in 1962 with the aim of setting a series of goals to be achieved in the country between 1963 and 1965. It is important to note, however, that although the plan is triennial, it cannot be considered a short- or medium-term plan in today’s terms, as it effectively projects a nation, establishes structural reforms designed to change the condition of underdevelopment, with structural effects, and is not merely reduced to the budget. Furthermore, at the time, legal social control mechanisms were far more limited. Therefore, it is anachronistic to view the Three-Year Plan as a possibility for dialogue similar to what occurred during the 2014-2024 PNE, for example. The plan dates back to the plebiscite held in the early months of 1963, which sought to decide whether Brazil would remain a parliamentary democracy. Thus, the Three-Year Plan would be implemented if the presidential system were victorious, to the detriment of parliamentarianism (Furtado, 1997).

In the legislative sphere, its objectives were set by Delegated Law No. 1 of September 25, 1962. The plan was to: maintain the high growth rate of the gross domestic product (GDP); reconcile this growth with price stability by progressively reducing inflation; reduce the social cost of Brazilian development by improving income distribution and intensifying government policies on education, research, technology, and public health; reduce regional disparities and obstacles to development, with special attention to the agrarian issue; refinance the external debt under better terms and conditions; and ensure that the government has the conditions to execute the plan, subjecting the various entities of the public administration to its guidelines and unifying the actions of the State (Macedo, 2003).

Regarding investments, the Three-Year Plan proposed amounts of around Cr\$ 3.5 trillion and the maintenance of GDP growth at 7% per year, with *per capita* income increasing from US\$ 323 in 1962 to US\$ 365 in 1965 (Macedo, 2003). Celso Furtado was put in charge of the plan after João Goulart returned to the presidency in January 1963.

As for the education sector, the plan placed it within the scope of its sectoral programs as a pre-investment to improve the human factor, dividing it into four topics that were further developed by the Three-Year Education Plan. It began with a “Summary of the Brazilian Educational Situation.” It then moved on to the “Education Program Guidelines.” Next, the “Planned Investments” and “Program Financing” were outlined in the last two topics, respectively.

The first part begins with a summary of the Brazilian educational situation in the 1950s and 1960s, highlighting absolute and relative increases in education across the three levels of schooling, with real enrollment increases of 20 % at the first level, 60 % at the second level, and 33 % at the third level. Taking an essentially quantitative approach in this first point, one that in itself encompasses the qualitative aspect of democratization, the plan states: “The performance of the school system is measured by the number of graduates at the three levels of education” (Presidência da República, 1962, pp. 87-89; Ministério da Educação, 1963, pp. 5-12).

Despite the increase in enrollment, the plan highlights deficiencies in the Brazilian education system when the country’s regions are considered separately. In this regard, it notes that in 1959, only 51.7 % of children between the ages of 7 and 14 entered primary school, 40 % graduated from the 4th grade of primary school, and only 22 % enrolled in the 1st grade of secondary school. Considering a sample of groups of 1,000 children, only 110, or 11 %, entered primary school in Northeast Brazil; only 46 in the North and Central-West (the latter referred to in the plan as the West), representing a total of 4.6 %, while in the Southeast and South (referred to in the plan simply as South), 36.1 % of children entered primary school. The table in Figure 1, extracted from the plan and included in this format to preserve the integrity of the original table as presented therein, provides the details established by the plan.

Figure 1. School Education Staggering (1959)

SPECIFICATIONS	PER 1,000 CHILDREN			
	NORTH & WEST	NORTHEAST	SOUTH	BRAZIL
— POPULATION AGED 7-14 (13,806,000) —				
Enroll in primary school.....	46.0	110.0	361.0	517.0
Graduate from the 4th grade of primary school.....	2.0	3.0	35.0	40.0
Enroll in the 1st year of secondary school.....	1.5	3.5	17.0	22.0
— POPULATION AGED 12-18 (10,821,000) —				
Graduate from the 4th grade of secondary school...	0.5	2.0	9.0	11.5
Graduate from the 7th grade of secondary school...	0.3	0.8	4.4	5.5
Enroll in the 1st year of higher education.....	0.1	0.4	1.8	2.3

Source: Presidência da República (1962).

These deficiencies, evidenced by limited access to secondary education and the low percentage of children in primary education, are exacerbated when the regional breakdown is considered. They would be further accentuated by the inadequacy of school curricula at all levels, which were only beginning to be modified after the LDB/1961. These deficiencies informed the plan’s assessment of the level of effort Brazil should make to raise educational standards, both qualitatively and quantitatively, to “prepare the population to participate more efficiently in the process of economic development” (Presidência da República, 1962, p. 90).

In addition, the plan made explicit the need to add to those problems the deficiencies of teachers and the mismatch between the need for teachers and their availability. One piece of data that would demonstrate this mismatch is that the teacher-student ratio in the country was one teacher for every 30 students in primary education, for every 16 students in secondary education, and for every four students in higher education. Thus, considering the data on enrollment, the inadequacy of the curriculum, and the disproportionate ratio of students to teachers, the plan presented what it called the main elements for summarizing Brazilian school needs:

- a) In primary education, 600 000 children are enrolled in the four grades, whereas at least 2 000 000 would need to be educated.
- b) In secondary education, in the first cycle, approximately 120 000 adolescents are educated annually, when this number should reach 720 000; in the second cycle, 60 000 are educated, compared to a need of around 300 000.
- c) In higher education, which reaches only two out of every 1000 inhabitants, Brazil would need to increase its current enrollment fivefold to meet the standards already enjoyed by Argentina and Uruguay, for example (Presidência da República, 1962, pp. 90-91).

Thus, the plan emphasized that it would be necessary to more than triple primary school enrollment, increase the number of students in the first cycle of secondary education sixfold, the number of students in the second cycle fivefold and the number of enrollments in higher education fivefold to reach the standards found in Argentina and Uruguay, countries probably chosen because of their geographical proximity and peripheral economic formation (Presidência da República, 1962).

The second topic in relation to education concerns what the plan calls the "Education Program Guidelines." Until 1965, these guidelines were intended to ensure "six years of primary education for all Brazilians in urban areas and four years for all Brazilians in rural areas, at least" and to provide "opportunities for secondary education to 40 % of the population aged 12 to 15 and opportunities for high school education to 20 % of the population aged 16 to 18" (Presidência da República, 1962, p. 91; Ministério da Educação, 1963, pp. 13-34). Although the focus of these goals remains quantitative, with the expectation that they would reach 12 million students in primary school, 3 million in middle school, and 600 000 in high school, a qualitative issue is an explicit prerequisite for achieving these goals, namely the training of teachers so that these targets could be met. In this sense, the plan projected a tenfold increase between 1963 and 1965, from the current figure of 5000 trained teachers to 50 000. This intensification would be achieved by expanding the Federal Government's technical assistance to states and municipalities, establishing special programs to train and improve higher education personnel, increasing enrollment in higher education

institutions, and implementing reforms within the Ministry of Education and Culture to enable it to meet the country's new educational policy requirements (Presidência da República, 1962).

Finally, the third and fourth topics of the plan addressed, respectively, the planned investments and the financing of these goals. In this sense, according to the plan, most of the resources would be budgetary, either through funding or through the Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education Funds provided for in the LDB/1961. However, a minority of complementary resources, of an extra-budgetary nature, were planned to come from both Brazil and abroad and would be allocated to Primary Education, Higher Education, Science, Scientific Research, and Technology (Presidência da República, 1962; Ministério da Educação, 1963).

Between 1960 and 1964, there was a significant increase in the number of enrollments at both the primary and secondary levels, as shown in Table 1.

Based on the above data, between 1960 and 1964, primary school enrollment varied by 37%, and the number of schools at this level of education increased by 30.2%. At the secondary level, enrollment increased across all categories of education. Industrial education saw the most significant increase, at 163.9%, rising from 26 081 enrollments in 1960 to 68 819 enrollments in 1965, followed by teacher training, which increased by 85.2%; secondary education, which increased enrollment by 51.3%; agricultural education, which grew by 50.3%; and commercial education, which expanded by 39.1% in enrollment. However, one fact that draws attention is that although the policy proposed during the period was industrialist and there was, in fact, a more significant increase in the data related to enrollments in industrial education, the number of courses in this category was reduced by 22.5%, from 427 in 1960 to 331 in 1964.

This increase in enrollment, in turn, exceeds the increase in the Brazilian population during the period, which rose by about 9% between 1961 and 1964, as shown in Table 2.

Table 1. General Enrollment and School Units by Education Level and Type, 1960-1964

Secondary education												
Primary education			General secondary education		Commercial education		Agricultural education		Industrial education		Teacher training education	
Year	Schools	Total enrollment	Programs	Total enrollment	Programs	Total enrollment	Programs	Total enrollment	Programs	Total enrollment	Programs	Total enrollment
1960	95 938	7 458 002	3860	904 252	1392	194 124	98	6850	427	26 081	1277	93 600
1961	99 677	7 798 732	4107	991 391	1436	213 705	102	6804	420	30 732	1360	103 280
1962	105 525	8 535 823	4198	1 113 102	1620	241 431	75	7010	254	36 712	102	117 579
1963	115 710	9 299 441	4607	1 246 125	1728	261 254	82	8307	307	55 353	1615	148 585
1964	124 946	10 217 324	4775	1 368 177	1739	270 036	91	10295	331	68 819	1656	173 384

Note: (1) From 1961 onwards, information about secondary education institutions began to be referred to as "courses."

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Education and Culture Statistics Service, derived from the segregation of data obtained from the consolidated table extracted from IBCE (1966).

Table 2. Absolute and Relative Increase in the Brazilian Population (1961-1964)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Brazilian population (thousand inhabi- tants)</i>	<i>Relative increase in Brazilian population (thousand inhabitants)</i>	<i>Relative increase in Brazil- ian population (thousand inhabitants), accumulated</i>
1961	72,207	...	...
1962	74,389	3	3
1963	76,612	3	6
1964	78,874	3	9

Source: IBGE (1990, 2003, 2007).

It is worth noting that, in addition to the influence of planning mechanisms on educational developments during the period, popular pressure for students to continue their studies so they could enter the so-called first phase of secondary education—i.e., high school—which required an entrance exam, was paramount in shaping the enrollment and dropout rate data recorded (Kruppa, 2016).

Data on illiteracy provided by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) are not as conclusive for the specific assessment of the peak period of national development ideas in education. This is because the data were made available by decade, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Illiterate Population in Brazil by Age Group (15 to 69 years) in 1960 and 1970

<i>Age groups (years)</i>	<i>Illiteracy rates</i>	
	<i>1960</i>	<i>1970</i>
15 to 19	34	24.3
20 to 24	33.4	26.5
25 to 29	35.1	29.9
30 to 34	35.6	31.4
35 to 39	41.9	34.7
40 to 44	46.8	37.2
45 to 49	46.8	40.5
50 to 59	51.9	45.2
60 to 69	57.1	50.5
Total	39.5	33.6

Source: Own elaboration based on the segregation of data from the consolidated table from IBGE (1981).

Thus, based on Table 3, it can be concluded that there was a relative decrease of approximately 5.9% in illiteracy in Brazil between 1960 and 1970, representing overall progress but a slowdown in the rate of reduction compared to the previous decade. However, it cannot be determined whether this occurred before or after 1964, given that this indicator was consolidated by the IBGE in the 1979 and 1981 editions of the Statistical Yearbook of Brazil, on a ten-year basis until 1970 and then from 1970 to 1976.

On the other hand, the data on education spending are quite significant, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Expenditures of the Ministry of Education and Culture by Function, 1963-1964

<i>Specification according to functions</i>	<i>Expenditure (Cr\$ 1,000)</i>		
	<i>Set for 1963</i>	<i>Actual in 1963</i>	<i>Set for 1964</i>
Primary education	18,388,000.00	11,145,249.00	40,458,705.00
Secondary education	26,551,583.00	16,514,518.00	48,985,527.00
Higher education	39,403,957.00	32,804,953.00	91,339,653.00
Special education	778,025.00	758,288.00	1,758,038.00
Culture	2,576,465	1,844,978.00	4,979,495.00
General expenses	8,305,945.00	5,686,606.00	18,092,609.00
Extra-budgetary expenses	—	1,342,312.00	—
Total	96,003,975.00	70,096,904.00	205,614,027.00

Source: Table extracted from Education and Culture Statistics Service, IBGE (1964).

It can therefore be seen that the expenditure allocated to the education sector between 1963 and 1964 varied by 114.2%, from around 96 billion cruzeiros in 1963 to approximately 205.6 billion in 1964.

Despite the ambitious goals of these plans, in April 1964, with the civil-military coup, Brazil experienced a major disruption in its educational environment, with private interests in the sector becoming markedly prevalent, especially through the importation of the idea of education as human capital and the related productivist conception of education.

2. Human Capital Theory, Changes in the Brazilian Integrated Planning Format, and the Consequences for Educational Planning

The first reference to the term “human capital” in economic theory dates back to 1958, in the article “Investment in Human Capital and Personal Income Distribution,” in which Jacob Mincer, associated with the so-called Chicago School, argues that there is a correlation between investment in worker training and income distribution. In this sense, for Mincer, the dispersion of personal income would be associated with the level of investment in human capital, which would be linked to productivity and economic growth (Mincer, 1958).

Building on Mincer’s concept, Schultz (1971), also from the Chicago School, points out that, because of deeply rooted ethical and moral values, human beings tend to reject the idea of seeing themselves as a form of capital. However, in an attempt to explain the rapid reconstruction of countries after World War II, Schultz disputes the primacy of natural resources, territorial size, productive land, energy mechanisms, or even industrialization as the primary factors in the modernization and recovery of nations. He argues that, instead, investment in human beings and research was responsible for much of the significant growth in workers’ real incomes, which would explain the productive superiority of technically advanced countries. In this way, improvement and qualification would be mechanisms for increasing worker productivity and capitalist profits, which would reverberate in the economy more broadly. Thus, the author advocates that economic growth models should include human capital as an essential factor for understanding long-term economic dynamics.

Along the same lines, Becker (1993), another representative of the Chicago School, in his book *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*, defines “human capital” as the productive capacities that human beings acquire through the accumulation of general and specific knowledge, which can be used in the production of wealth. When discussing human capital as a form of development, the author points out that the central question is why *per capita* income continuously grew in some developed countries during

the 20th century, such as the United States, Japan, and some Western European countries. For Becker, the answer revolves around the expansion of technical and scientific knowledge, which increased labor productivity alongside other factors of production.

This logic of human capital would elevate the relationship between education and business interests to a scientific level and, as a result, would be useful for proposing supranational and internal legal mechanisms that seek to subordinate the education sector to the interests of capital. Along these lines, Campos (2021) notes that for education to function as a “factor of development,” it should rely on investments that are expanded or limited according to economic requirements. Thus, she points out: “This theory provided the theoretical foundations necessary for the limitation and distribution of education spending, according to market needs, based on the idea of waste and the creation of unrealistic expectations.”

This theory, which sought to bring the relationship between education and business interests to a scientific level, became, with the growing influence of neoliberal theories on the international scene, a beacon for the supranational regulatory field in the sector. In this sense, the 1963 Santiago Charter of Chile is paradigmatic for education, establishing:

Through national planning bodies, which should maintain contact with their international counterparts, each country should proceed at the necessary pace in formulating educational development programs integrated with economic and social development plans, in which, without losing sight of the integral formation of the individual, the advisable priorities for raising the productivity of the population are established to accelerate the economic and social progress of all inhabitants. (Brasil, 1965, p. 117)

In Brazil, this theory was incorporated organically during the dictatorial regime (1964-1985). However, from the perspective of integrated planning—the subject of analysis in this article—it was in the 1990s, with the introduction of the orthodox prescriptions of the 1989 Washington Consensus in the search for supposed economic rationality, that neoliberalism, by introducing the technical proposals of this economic

doctrine and, at the same time, redefining the administrative structure with the proposal of a Regulatory State, guided by managerial public administration, reduced “planning” to the budget, under the view that the central element of this process is the control of public accounts.

Within the international framework, David Kennedy (2006, p. 131) argues that the adoption of neoliberal reform was, among other factors, “the result of pressure and encouragement from international institutions. National development policy was increasingly set in negotiations with international financial institutions.” In Brazil, the key moment in this process of implementing managerial public administration was Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s first term. His government took office on January 1, 1995, and immediately focused on stabilization, especially through the Real Plan, introduced during the government of Itamar Franco.

Cardoso argued that five plans with this bias had failed within ten years under previous administrations: Cruzado (1986), Bresser (1987), Verão (1989), Collor I (1990), and Collor II (1991) (Belluzzo & Almeida, 2002; Paulani, 2017; Mascarenhas & Menezes, 2020). Cardoso’s first term focused on two main agendas: monetary stabilization and constitutional reforms. Other government initiatives were linked to and intertwined with these two, including privatizations, financial system reform, and the state debt agreement. Stabilization was pursued through the aforementioned Real Plan, while constitutional reforms were embodied in sixteen constitutional amendments approved by the government, focusing mainly on market deregulation (Couto & Abrucio, 2003).

There was a public disengagement of the government from the economy, embodied in what was called the State Reform, engineered through these constitutional amendments and the creation of new public administration entities. Modeled after the U.S. structure, these entities came to be called agencies and were intended to be independent of government policy. In this new economic format, regulation became the “hot topic,” with calls for a “new public law of the economy” better suited to this new format, to the detriment of the “antiquated dirigisme of the 1988 Constitution” (Bercovici, 2013). The focus of public administration shifted from procedural controls to results-based controls, emphasizing an ideal of efficiency through greater autonomy for public administrators and the creation of independent agencies (Bresser-Pereira, 2002).

It is especially this form of public administration, which controls results primarily through quantitative measures, that paradoxically contrasts the administrative structure with the very possibility of planning. Why is there this contrast? Because limiting planning to the budget confuses planning with the plan, as Souza (1994) proposed. Planning is a process. It is broader. The plan is the technical means of implementing planning. However, planning, as a broader social process, is not subsumed by the plan. Planning, as we have said, requires a harmonious and integrated state process in which explicit, though not necessarily quantified, goals are advocated.

The Federal Constitution of 1988 (CF/88) is instructive in this regard, as the goals of the Federative Republic of Brazil are expressly stipulated in Article 3. These goals are a mandatory horizon for our nation and, consequently, for our planning process. They include the construction of a free, just, and supportive society (Art. 3, I), the guarantee of national development (Art. 3, II), the eradication of poverty and marginalization and the reduction of social and regional inequalities (Art. 3, III), and the promotion of the welfare of all, without prejudice based on origin, race, sex, color, age, or any other forms of discrimination (Art. 3, IV). Although these objectives are, as we have pointed out, a mandatory horizon for the Republic and, consequently, for Brazilian planning, they are long-term and not quantifiable. Therefore, they cannot be properly evaluated using parameters derived exclusively from results, and even less so using quantitative criteria designed to artificially fit into a four-year plan, with budget guidelines and the budget itself being short-term (Presidência da República, 1988).

Article 174 of CF/88 establishes that “[a]s a normative and regulatory agent of economic activity, the State shall exercise, in accordance with the law, the functions of supervision, incentive, and planning, the latter being determinative for the public sector and indicative for the private sector” (Presidência da República, 1988). It is important to emphasize that the constitutional notion of planning does not propose this synonymy between planning and plan. Above all, it does not limit the Brazilian State to regulating private activity (Grau, 2003), because planning, as we have highlighted, goes beyond the quantifiable technical aspect, which is decisive for the public sector.

Although there is no synonymy between planning and the plan, the planning model established by CF/88 presupposes strong compatibility between the plan and the budget, as well as significant participation by the Legislative Branch (Bercovici, 2015). However, the need for compatibility between the plan (a technical document) and the budget, as well as for transparency and social control over public spending cannot be interpreted as a rigid limitation on state planning that reduces its capacity for intervention to objectively measurable results, especially quantitative criteria, under penalty of planning ceasing to be decisive for the public sector and for achieving the objectives of the Federative Republic of Brazil, which even admit short- and medium-term actions, but which are, in essence, a distant horizon.

Since the 1990s, no effective attempt has been made to interpret planning beyond the concept of a plan as a national project that goes beyond the budget. There is not even a rule that adequately regulates national planning. Article 174, §1, of CF/88 states that “[t]he law shall establish the guidelines and bases for balanced national development planning, which shall incorporate and harmonize national and regional development plans.” In this sense, during the administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Law No. 10,180 was published on February 6, 2001, which proposed to organize and regulate “the Federal Planning and Budgeting, Federal Financial Management, Federal Accounting, and Internal Control Systems of the Federal Executive Branch [...]”. However, this law does not effectively establish a National Planning System but merely repeats the Union’s constitutional powers, followed by provisions dealing with financial administration, accounting, budgeting, and internal control of the Federal Government (Bercovici, 2015). This rule, therefore, endorses the managerial public administration model, once again reducing planning to the budget.

The premise for understanding this reduction of planning to budgeting is that state action is not limited to budgetary balance. When implementing public policies, it will at times be necessary to contain expenses and at other times to run budget deficits. Therefore, state planning aimed at implementing a social state, although it must act transparently and implement social control mechanisms, does not ultimately aim to ensure this balance.

The possibility of full or partial budget forecasting generated by the plans is not negative. Article 165 of CF/88 establishes that “[l]aws initiated by the Executive Branch shall establish: I—the multi-year plan; II—budget guidelines; III—annual budgets” (Presidência da República, 1988). The multi-year plan (PPA, for its Portuguese initials) was regulated by Article 165, §1, which provides that “[t]he law establishing the multi-year plan shall set, on a regional basis, the guidelines, objectives, and goals of the federal public administration for capital expenditures and other related expenditures, as well as those related to ongoing programs” (Presidência da República, 1988). Thus, the PPA serves as a link between the actions provided for in the annual budget and ongoing programs.

Although the Constitution does not express it this way, political practice “interprets” these three instruments in a reductionist manner, as if they were mechanisms focused solely on disciplining the budget and determining the amounts to be distributed among the various ministries. This reduces the logic of planning to the dispute, forecasting, allocation, and implementation of public resources (Bercovici, 2015).

If the Constitution does not expressly mandate this restrictive approach, which undermines mechanisms that effectively shape a nation’s future, what is the source of this interpretation that has led to long-term structural needs being neglected in the various PPAs of successive administrations since the 1990s?

Furthermore, another pertinent question arises from reading the constitutional text, especially regarding educational planning. Article 164, §5, establishes that “[t]he national, regional, and sectoral plans and programs provided for in this Constitution shall be prepared in accordance with the multi-year plan and reviewed by the National Congress” (Presidência da República, 1988). How exactly would this relationship be formulated between, for example, a PNE, which is decennial, and this PPA model, which is “interpreted” as a budgetary piece?

This interpretation is strongly reinforced by the Fiscal Responsibility Law (Complementary Law No. 101, of May 4, 2000). In it, the proposal to prevent the waste of public resources through spending control (which is not necessarily a negative thing) imposes a budget control policy on

all federal entities, determining the state's actions to ensure budgetary balance, which is far from what the CF/88 actually aimed to achieve.

The articulation between sectoral education planning and global (integrated) planning, or, we might say, national planning, has occurred only once in Brazilian history, in the early 1960s, through the linkage between the 1962 PNE and the Triennial Plan (1963-1965), which also included the Triennial Education Plan.

Final Considerations

This article sought to evaluate the application of two distinct planning models to a specific object—educational policy—in a specific geographical area: Brazil. The first model was proposed in the 1960s, especially through the so-called Triennial Plan (1963-1965). The second model, in turn, is based on three plans established by the Brazilian Constitution of 1988: the PPA, the Budget Guidelines Law (LDO, for its Portuguese initials), and the Annual Budget Law (LOA, for its Portuguese initials), with the first designed for the medium term and the latter two for the short term.

Although this approach may initially seem to limit the analysis to Brazilian reality, this is not the case. While the first model reflects the application of a planning format designed for Latin America and rooted in the ECLAC school of thought, the second model is neoliberal and therefore takes into account the importation into Brazil of a model not designed for Brazil's reality but rather based on countercyclical assumptions imposed by the neoliberal economic model.

Throughout its development, the research was based primarily on a qualitative and exploratory approach, relying mainly on a literature review that sought to contextualize the set of legal and economic planning instruments within a broader social context and to draw conclusions from this review to justify understanding these normative instruments as embedded in social reality. In this sense, it was observed that, broadly speaking, Brazil adopted the orthodox prescriptions of the 1989 Washington Consensus in its economic policy, leading the country to implement a results-based public management model.

In education, this model was determined by the catalysis of the application of the premises of the human capital theory, originating from the Chicago School, which, by prioritizing private education, benefits from the implementation of this results model, with the unfeasibility of a public planning model resulting from the various legal instruments that limit state action, such as the Fiscal Responsibility Law of 2000.

This situation has led to the Latin American model, typical of the ECLAC school, which, although designed for three years, had a long-term horizon within the national model and was replaced by an integrated planning format that is not linked to sectoral planning in education.

Although this article focuses mainly on the 1990s, the current scenario illustrates the consequences of this disintegration, allowing us to conclude by raising questions. The current context of discussion is a PNE, as introduced, which will remain in force until 2036. However, given that Brazilian integrated planning is countercyclical—in the short and medium terms—the implementation of this PNE will be carried out in subsequent terms, which, although with limited power to redirect the guidelines of the educational plan itself, have greater discretion to rethink the budget and empty that plan. Thus, the Brazilian case of educational planning clearly exemplifies how abandoning a planning policy designed for Latin American reality and replacing it with an imported, imposed model have made it impossible to articulate sectoral planning in a sensitive sector such as education, with the law as a central mechanism in this emptying.

Legally, in the short term, there is no prospect of altering the budgetary structure through the three technical measures mentioned, because various post-1988 administrations—including the current one—have adhered to this framework of financial law. Therefore, in terms of proposals, we have established the need to consider not a new regulatory instrument, but an interpretation that, although logical, is not applied by Brazil's government branches.

The 2026-2036 PNE, as we have already mentioned, was implemented by law. Given this, regardless of which government is elected during the plan's term—in accordance with the Brazilian constitutional provision on the right to education, established as a social right in Article 6—its goals cannot be disregarded on the grounds of alleged non-compliance

with the provisions of the PPA, LDO, or LOA, because all these technical documents have the force of law and would conflict with the very law that established the 2026-2036 PNE. In this conflict, we propose that the interpretation seeking to constitutionally safeguard the right to education should prevail, given that the budget is a mechanism for planning, not the other way around.

In the medium and long term, we need to rethink mechanisms to ensure that successive governments remain committed to long-term goals designed in an integrated manner and adopted in strategic sectors. While the international context requires an assessment of long-term issues—such as critical minerals for the energy transition, food security, the technology industry, and cybersecurity, among others—Brazil, in particular, and Latin America as a whole need to rethink their approach to international engagement and restructure long-term planning beyond a mere orthodox neoliberal perspective confined to budgetary debate and practice.

Authors' contributions

Fábio Sampaio Mascarenhas: conceptualization; investigation; supervision; writing – original draft preparation.

Daniel Francisco Nagao Menezes: validation; writing – original draft preparation and review & editing

Elaine Barbosa: methodology; writing – review & editing.

Funding

No funding was received.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Ethical considerations

There are no ethical considerations to mention.

Data availability

The data used in the study were limited to those cited in the references. No other data are available for review.

Use of AI

Artificial intelligence (AI) was not used at any stage of the article.

References

- Abreu, A. (1975). *Nationalisme et action politique au Brésil: une étude sur l'ISEB* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Université Paris-Descartes.
- Azanha, J. M. P. (1993). Política e planos de educação no Brasil: alguns pontos para reflexão. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 85, 70-78.
- Becker, G. S. (1993). *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education* (3rd ed.). University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226041223.001.0001>
- Belluzzo, L. G., & Almeida, J. G. (2002). *Depois da queda. A economia brasileira da crise da dívida aos impasses do Real*. Civilização Brasileira.
- Bercovici, G. (2005). *Constituição econômica e desenvolvimento. Uma leitura a partir da Constituição de 1988*. Malheiros.
- Bercovici, G. (2009). O ainda indispensável direito econômico. In M. V. M. Benevides, G. Bercovici, & C. de Melo (Eds.), *Direitos humanos, democracia e república: homenagem a Fábio Konder Comparato* (pp. 503-19). Quartier Latin.
- Bercovici, G. (2013). A atuação do Estado brasileiro no domínio econômico. In J. C. Cardoso Jr. & G. Bercovici (Eds.), *República, Democracia e Desenvolvimento: contribuições ao estado brasileiro contemporâneo* (pp. 617-46). IPEA.
- Bercovici, G. (2015). Estado, planejamento e direito público no Brasil contemporâneo. In J. C. Cardoso Jr & E. A. Vilela dos Santos. (Eds.), *PPA 2012-2015: experimentalismo institucional e resistência burocrática* (pp. 19-36). IPEA.
- Brasil. (1965). *Conferências interamericanas de educação*. Rio de Janeiro: MEC/ INEP. https://dominiopublico.mec.gov.br/pesquisa/DetalheObraForm.do?select_action=&co_obra=26128
- Bresser-Pereira, L. C. (2002). *Reforma do Estado para a cidadania: A reforma gerencial brasileira na perspectiva internacional* (Reprint). Editora 34-ENAP.

- Campos, R. A. (2021). Planejamento econômico e educação: uma análise da relação entre agências estatais, na ditadura empresarial-militar brasileira. *Scielo Preprints*, 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1590/SciELOPreprints.3042>
- Comparato, F. K. (1978). O indispensável direito econômico. In F. K. Comparato, *Ensaio e pareceres de direito empresarial* (pp. 453-72). Forense.
- Couto, C. G., & Abrucio, F. (2003). O segundo governo FHC: coalizões, agendas e instituições. *Tempo social*, 15(2), 269-301. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-20702003000200011>
- Furtado, C. (1959). *Formação econômica do Brasil*. Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Furtado, C. (1972). *A hegemonia dos Estados Unidos e o subdesenvolvimento da América Latina* (3rd ed.). Civilização Brasileira.
- Furtado, C. (1974). *O mito do desenvolvimento econômico* (3rd ed.). Paz e Terra.
- Furtado, C. (1977). *Prefácio a nova economia política* (3rd ed.). Paz e Terra.
- Furtado, C. (1978). *Criatividade e dependência na civilização industrial*. Paz e Terra.
- Furtado, C. (1993). *Los vientos del cambio*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Furtado, C. (1997). *Obra autobiográfica*. Paz e Terra.
- Furtado, C. (1999). *O longo amanhecer: reflexões sobre a formação do Brasil*. Paz e Terra.
- Furtado, C. (2022). *Development and Underdevelopment*. University of California Press.
- Grau, E. (2015). *A Ordem Econômica na Constituição de 1988* (17th ed.). Malheiros.
- IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). (1964). *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil 1964* (Vol. 25). Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.
- IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). (1966). *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil 1966* (Vol. 27). Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.
- IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). (1981). *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil 1981* (Vol. 41). Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.
- IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). (1990). *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil: séries econômicas, demográficas e sociais de 1550 a 1988*. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.
- IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). (2003). *Estatísticas do século XX*. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.
- IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). (2007). *Notas metodológicas da nova série do Sistema de Contas Nacionais (SCN) referência 2000*. National Accounts Coordination.
- Kennedy, D. (2006). The "Rule of Law," Political Choices, and Development Common Sense. In D. M. Trubek & A. Santos (Eds.), *The New Law and*

- Economic Development: A Critical Appraisal* (pp. 95-173). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511754425.004>
- Kruppa, S. (2016). *Sociologia da educação* (2nd ed.). Cortez.
- Lafer, C. (1970). *The Planning Process and the Political System in Brazil: A Study of Kubitschek's Target Plan—1956-1961*. Cornell University
- Macedo, R. (2003). Plano trienal de desenvolvimento econômico e social (1963-1965). In B. Mindlin (ed.). *Planejamento no Brasil* (5th ed.) Perspectiva.
- Mascarenhas, F. S., & Menezes, D. F. N. (2020). Financeirização, acumulação por espoliação e desigualdades sociais e regionais: a concentração de investimentos do bndes nas privatizações e seus reflexos jurídico-sociais. *Revista Brasileira de Direitos Fundamentais & Justiça*, 14(42), 455-84. <https://doi.org/10.30899/dfj.v14i42.739>
- Mello, J. C. (1975). *Planejamento dos transportes*. McGrawHill do Brasil.
- Mincer, J. (1958). Investment in Human Capital and Personal Income Distribution. *Journal of Political Economy*, 66(4), 281-302. <https://doi.org/10.1086/258055>
- Ministério da Educação. (1963). *Plano trienal de educação (1963-1965)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. https://dominiopublico.mec.gov.br/pesquisa/DetailheObraForm.do?select_action=&co_obra=24471
- Paulani, L. M. (2017). Não há saída sem a reversão da financeirização. *Estudos Avançados*, 31(89), 29-35. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0103-40142017.31890004>
- Presidência da República. (1962). *Plano trienal de desenvolvimento econômico e social (1963-1965): Síntese*. Presidência da República.
- Presidência da República. (1988). Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988. https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm
- Santos, L. de A. (2019). A alternativa para o progresso: o nacionalismo-desenvolvimentista, seus intelectuais e o planejamento educacional nos anos 1960 no Brasil. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, 19(57), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v19.2019.e057>
- Schultz, T. W. (1971). *Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and Research*. Free Press.
- Souza, N. M. (1994). Reforma administrativa no Brasil: um debate interminável. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 28(1), 54-70.
- Teixeira, A. (1962). Plano nacional de educação. Referente aos fundos nacionais de ensino primário, médio e superior. *Documenta*, 8, 24-31.
- Teixeira, A. (1963). Plano Nacional de Educação. *Boletim Informativo CAPES*, 123, 1-3.

