

A reversed double movement in Brazil: the (controversial) evolution of the Partido dos Trabalhadores' education policy since 1980

João Victor Guedes-Neto

Leuphana Universität, Lüneburg

Germany

E-mail: joaovictorguedesneto@gmail.com

Abstract. Karl Polanyi identified a double movement which took place during the bourgeoisie hegemony when, instead of liberalism, it has made use of interventionism to perpetuate its domination over the working class. Several studies have tried to update his analysis by identifying the double movement nowadays. Nevertheless, the academia has not addressed the possibility of a reversed phenomenon where the working class would make use of liberalism to perpetuate itself in power. This paper aims at analysing the Brazilian case where the Partido dos Trabalhadores, a proxy for the working class, has implemented pro-market policies in higher education. Whereas the party has not passed through structural reforms such as the British and German working class parties, it has drastically changed its approach to policy-making and campaigning since its origin in 1980. The study concludes that a reversed double movement may occur when the working class is in charge of the government.

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INTRODUCTION

The Marxist Theory has pointed out to the conflict of interests that generated a clash between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Whereas the first, represented by the working class, aimed at improving its life condition through a collectivist system, entrepreneurs have supported the free market forces through liberalism and laissez-faire. This conflict, nonetheless, was not a simple dichotomy composed by two opposite agents. The political history of the last centuries has shown that the financial elites were only able to keep their high income and ruling status due to concessions to the working class, leading to a scenario where it is hard to define and identify what is exclusively public or private.

This double movement of liberalism and social protectionism "was not an automatic response to the devastating effects of self-regulating markets but rather the result of political intervention in markets in the light of their social consequences" (Beckert, 2007, p. 17). Whereas the double movement was seen in the past centuries as a rational effort of bourgeois governments, this paper aims to identify the same phenomenon in an administration held by the working class nowadays. Some delimitations on the scope of the

research must be done, though. First, article focuses on a representative democracy, governed by political parties where the proletariat is represented by a worker's party. In this regards, the Brazilian experience evidences a potential case study as the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) has managed to win three sequential elections since 2002. Also, the article exclusively uses cases of higher education policy due to its importance to the party as evidenced through its election programmes (PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES, 2002c).

There has been extensive research efforts done on the topic of double movements. Silver and Arrighi (2003), for example, analysed its existence in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century in the United States. Ben-Porat (2013) based his analysis in the Middle East and Levien (2007) in India. Nevertheless the academia did not address the issue by trying to perceive the phenomenon in reverse, as not the bourgeoisie making use of interventionism, but the working class adhering to liberalism. Therefore, this paper is aimed at using the Partido dos Trabalhadores' experience to cover this gap.

In order to test the main hypothesis - the existence of a double movement during PT's government, we have analysed the general ideological differences expressed through the party's manifesto (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1980) launched in the party's foundation in 1980, and the "Letter to the Brazilian people" (Silva, 2002a), written by PT's main leader and Brazil's former president, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, as a way of improving its image toward the electorate (Miguel, 2006).

A content analysis was performed to reach this study's aim. Following Bardin's (2013) method, a set of categories was created diving education policies into market- or socialist-oriented. The electoral programmes of 1989, 1994, 1998 and 2002 were used as analysis object. Every time the topic education was mentioned, it was tagged and included in a category. By the end, they were compared to the major policies implemented by the party since 2003. The double movement was supposed to be identified in case there was a shift from socialist-oriented to market-oriented policies, and if the implemented policies majorly reflected market-oriented proposals. This method was chosen as while the election programmes shows the party's intentions when in opposition, its practices in power are a clearer evidence of its behaviour. Furthermore, comparing its proposed policies to the implemented ones allows us to infer whether they were previously desired or a result of political dialogue with different parties.

This paper is divided into four sessions, besides this introduction. The next one reviews Polanyi's theory and builds the methodology based on the literature of political representation. The third one presents the analysis done over the party's electoral programmes. In the fourth, the Partido dos Trabalhadores' implemented policies are discussed and crosschecked with the proposals' evolution. In the final remarks, a comparison with the working class core values and the outcomes of PT's government permit us to infer that a double movement indeed existed, as instead of preserving itself as a programmatic socialist party, PT has constantly interacted with the market, being influenced by the private sector to implement policies that benefited both the working class and the bourgeoisie.

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

The influence of the working class over State action was boosted in the nineteenth century when universal suffrage became fairly common (Polanyi, 2001, p. 133). It wasn't, though, the first period when this specific class was benefited from government intervention. In the XVI century, the British crown has adopted both the Statute of Artificers and the Poor Law. Since then, as Polanyi (2001, pp. 70-71) described, several European countries started implementing different kinds of regulation and protectionist policies until lib-

eralism became a mainstream ideology. Nonetheless, the idea of *laissez-faire* has not resisted for a long time, giving birth to a double movement:

while on the one hand markets spread all over the face of the globe and the amount of goods involved grew to unbelievable proportions, on the other hand a network of measures and policies was integrated into powerful institutions designed to check the action of the market relative to labor, land and money (Polanyi, 2001, p. 76).

Once a purely liberal model wasn't able to promote stability, these "powerful institutions" were the State bureaucracy and intervention aimed at satisfying the interests from both the working class and the bourgeoisie while keeping the capitalist system alive. Polanyi (2001, pp. 141-142) also drew attention to the fact that this double movement was desired by neither liberals nor socialists:

Liberal writers like Spencer and Sumner, Mises and Lippmann offer an account of the double movement substantially similar to our own, but they put an entirely different interpretation on it. While in our view the concept of a self-regulating market was Utopian, and its progress was stopped by the realistic self-protection of society, in their view all protectionism was a mistake due to impatience, greed, and shortsightedness, but for which the market would have resolved its difficulties (Polanyi, 2001, pp. 141-142).

It is possible to infer a high level of rationality from the bourgeoisie as Polanyi (2001, p. 150) has suggested that "far from excluding intervention, in effect, [freedom of trade] demanded such [State] action, and that liberals themselves regularly called for compulsory action on the part of the state as in the case of trade union law and antitrust laws". As the author further suggested, this double movement was a mechanism used by the financial elite to perpetuate its domination over the working class (Polanyi, 2001:151-162). Beckert (2007, p. 17) agreed with this understanding of rationality, as already mentioned, and Neale (1990, pp. 146-147) added that

instrumentalists argue that new ways of organizing the affairs of society emerge as people perceive a problem and then try out solutions, adopting those that seems to solve the problem and rejecting those that appear to bring more harm than good. Solutions, of course, give rise to new problems, so that the process never ends. (...) Polanyi's analysis of the 'double movement' in economic reform fits perfectly into this institutionalist view. The attempt to establish a totally autonomous, self-regulating market system was a conscious effort to find a solution to the perceived problem (...). It was (...) the experience with the self-regulating market system (SRMS) that led different sorts of people, each sort responding to its own experience with the SRMS, to search for solutions to the newly emerging problems: factory acts, sanitary regulations, legalization of labour unions.

In other words, individuals have proposed non-interventionism as a response to a specific situation. The new scenario has led to different problems, which were tackled by State action as a rational effort of the bourgeoisie to maintain its dominant status. Thus, Polanyi's double movement was not an automatic response of society, but a rational attitude of the ruling agents.

A similar approach to this phenomenon is defined by Habermas (1991, p. 142) as the destruction of the bourgeois public sphere, which is the separation of state and society through a "dialectic of a progressive 'societalization' of the state simultaneously with an increasing 'statefication' of society". As he explains,

interventionism had its origin in the transfer onto a political level of such conflicts of interest as could no longer be settled within the private sphere alone. Consequently, in the long

run state intervention in the sphere of society found its counterpart in the transfer of public functions to private corporate bodies. Likewise, the opposite process of a substitution of state authority by the power of society was connected to the extension of public authority over sectors of the private realm (Habermas, 1991, p. 142).

Once again, it is noted that the inefficiency of a non-interventionist State was intentionally tackled by the ruling agents through a process of progressive linkage between the public and the private, or the State and the society. Habermas (1991, pp. 144-147) further explored this double movement identifying the interests of the ruling classes as setting a State whose role was “as strong as the interests of the bourgeoisie required it to be in a given political and social situation”. Interventionism is seen, once again, as a rational effort aimed at the perpetuation of the capitalist system and its prevailing classes.

If this double movement was intentionally used to perpetuate the domination of a ruling class when the bourgeoisie was in charge of the government, is it possible that a similar double movement takes place in a working class administration as a way of consolidating a worker’s party dominance?

The hypothesis supported by us is that, yes, the ruling class may intentionally make use of a double movement aiming at perpetuating itself in power even when it is led by the working class. It is interesting to recall what Bastiat (2007, p. 6) wrote about the issue in 1850:

It is in the nature of men to rise against the injustice of which they are the victims. When, therefore, plunder is organized by law, for the profit of those who perpetrate it, all the plundered classes tend, either by peaceful or revolutionary means, to enter in some way into the manufacturing of laws. These classes, according to the degree of enlightenment at which they have arrived, may propose to themselves two very different ends, when they thus attempt the attainment of their political rights; either they may wish to put an end to lawful plunder, or they may desire to take part in it (BASTIAT, 2007, p. 6).

Avoiding the risk of falling into Bastiat’s radicalism of dividing political actors into only two well-defined contrasting groups, his statement is seen as helpful to understand the interest of the working class in achieving the government and, thus, keeping its ruling status. Nevertheless, this double movement shall not be understood as the only path to a proletariat government as experiences such as Cuba and the Soviet Union may be argued as programmatic socialist models.

As suggested in the question, a delimitation will be done in regards of the ruling group. Instead of considering a wide variety of dominance approaches, we will restrict ourselves to a representative democracy which “has long been associated, and indeed equated with, party government (...) because they were unrivalled in their representation functions and, in particular, because they were the vehicles of previously unfranchised groups” (Strom and Muller, 1999, p. 2). Thereby, as a proxy, the working class as a ruling actor will be identified as the workers’ party holding the presidency office. The specific case chosen for the analysis was the Brazilian Partido dos Trabalhadores. As presented in a later moment, the decision was based on the party’s recent success and its political decision to maintain its structural uniformity along the years in comparison to its foundation - at least in regards of its internal documents and procedures (Singer, 2010, p. 108).

The last delimitation regards the policy segment to be studied. As evidenced through the party’s manifesto (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 2002c), higher education policy was one of the most important foci of the party’s administration. In order to understand it, a historical overview will be detailed through the analysis of the party’s election programmes since 1989, when it has first run for the country’s presidency. Since 2003, when the party has reached the presidential office, the administration’s policies will be compared to both the previous proposals and the working class creed, represented by Partido dos Trabalhadores’ original mani-

festos (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1980). The historical perspective will help us to understand the potential changes occurred during time and the policy outcomes of the working class after a decade in power.

As previously mentioned, this study will be oriented by Bardin's (2013) content analysis, done through a process of five stages: 1) first reading of all the electoral programs; 2) definition of categories (major policy proposals and ideological orientation); 3) second reading and separation of proposals according to the categories; 4) mapping the presence or absence of certain policies in each program; 5) comparison of these proposals with the implemented policies after 2013.

The confirmation of a double movement existing in a scenario of working class domination will be achieved if the party's attitude in the government includes actions that follows both socialism through expanding the State's size and the promotion of the private sector's rise through a stronger linkage between the State and the market.

PT'S PROPOSALS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

A clear distance separates the party's manifesto approved in 1980 (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1980) and the "Letter to the Brazilian People" released in 2002 by the its presidential candidate (Silva, 2002a). While the first one was marked by a Marxist rhetoric affirming that the party came "from the emancipation will of the popular masses" as the "decision of the exploited ones to fight against an economic and political system that cannot solve its problems, once it only exists to benefit the privileged minority" (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1980, p. 2); the second highlighted the importance of economic stability and orthodox policies as the only path to economic growth, counting on "the development of our huge market to revitalise and boost the economy" (Silva, 2002a, p. 4).

Whereas Miguel (2002) understood this move as a way of softening the party's radicalism in order to achieve the presidential office, this dichotomy was reproached by Munck (2010, p. 222) who affirmed that "political representation through the Partido dos Trabalhadores has become a double edged sword as the latter is seen to be presiding over a government which has not delivered on its promises". It regards both the shift promoted by 2002's letter and the policies implemented since 2003 when the party had started its three-term presidency.

Singer (2010, pp. 108-109) named the influence of Lula's letter over the party's behaviour as Partido dos Trabalhadores' "second soul". Nevertheless, he affirms, it hadn't suppressed the "first soul", once PT has never rebuilt its historical foundations as the worker's parties did in Germany and in the United Kingdom. The Partido dos Trabalhadores, differently than the others, stills declares itself as a socialist organisation in favour of the social property of the production means (Singer, 2010, p. 108).

Whilst both the original manifesto and Silva's letter have a generic content avoiding specific policy proposals, the election programmes launched in 1989, 1994, 1998 and 2002 had exposed how the party aimed to put its ideology in practice if elected to the presidency. The specific proposals for higher education will be analysed in the next items.

Election Program of 1989

In the first election program since its foundation, PT showed policy proposals in great accordance to its manifesto's ideology. It has attacked the fact that "education (...) turned itself into a market and excludes the majority" aiming "to build a people's public school, where everyone can join, stay and conclude, participating in its management". It proposed to expand the public education sector aiming to achieve, in 10

years, a status of exclusivity, shutting down the private sector. All the schools would be managed by elected councils, guided by national parameters and supported by educative shows on TV and radio (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1989a, p. 13-15)

In regards of expanding the educational supply, it affirmed the importance “to break with the ‘short blanket’ logic, where resources were taken from some sectors (as from public universities), to invest in others, as primary schools”. More resources were demanded in order to avoid the current model of “lowering costs by multiplying miserable schools with underpaid professionals” (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1989b, p. 30).

Great attention is directed to criticise the private sector. The document highlighted that 80% of the enrolments in higher education took place in private institutions, where “traditional elite schools, many of them managed by religious groups”, competed in a market ruled by companies that have transformed education in a merchandise. Following this, the government was attacked for benefiting entrepreneurs by subsidising private education with the resources that should be used to fund the public sector. As the party affirmed, this scheme, seen as corruptive, should cease to exist in favour of an exclusively state-owned system (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1989b, p. 30-33).

Election Program of 1994

The criticism on the market was not so strong in 1994. The party committed itself to respect the “constitutional principle of freedom of education” while proposed stronger regulation and specific demands in order to grant licences that would permit the establishment and operation of private schools. At the same time, the public sector would be aimed at universalising education whereas minorities, such as women and black people, should be equally included. Granting access to low-income families would include a minimum wage program in order to school children that otherwise would have to dedicate their time to work, take care of family members or even spend excessive resources in transportation or school supplies (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1994, p. 82-95).

In regards of higher education, the proposals included an increase in 30% in the supply of nocturnal courses in public universities, the establishment of new institutions in regions in need, new enrolment conditions, new investments in communication tools (such as ration and TV stations) in universities, and resources to develop a national plan of Science & Technology. In order to fund it, the sectoral budget would be fixed to 10% of the country's Gross Domestic Product. (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1994, p. 82-95).

Election Program of 1998

Although pointed out as a key priority (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1998c, p. 5), education was not deeply discussed in PT's election program of 1998. Its content evidenced a concern with reducing social inequalities and the importance of education lied as a tool to insert the working class in the job market. The main policy would be the development of a national fund called Fundo Nacional de Emprego e Educação Profissional (FNEEP) which would be composed by R\$34 billion directed to implement “public policies directed to education and professional capacity building, labour intermediation, unemployment pension and jobs generation” (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1998a, p. 13-14). Whereas vocational and professional education would be promoted through FNEEP, higher education was only mentioned as part of a Science & Technology policy aimed at developing the health sector (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1998b, p. 6).

Election Program of 2002

FNEEP was not a priority for PT in this period. It was transformed into a plan named as Plano Nacional de Emprego e Educação Profissional where vocational and professional schooling would be integrated with other initiatives to boost employment rates (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 2002b, p. 9-19). At the same time, the party affirmed that “education is not a simple way of labour dressage but a condition to citizenship” whereas the foci is not only professional schooling but also increasing the population’s level of education (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 2002a, p. 9). In order to achieve this, higher education became a major concern.

A relevant influence was exerted by the “Letter to the Brazilian people” (Silva, 2002a) over the whole campaign speech. At a later moment, Lula affirmed that “not disregarding the complementary role of the private sector, I want to reaffirm my fundamental compromise with (...) the public school, from the kindergarten to the university” (Silva, 2002b, p. 6). It was a clear remark that he was still linked to his original ideas but, due to electoral reasons, had to accept the importance of the market (Miguel, 2006; Singer, 2010).

In another document destined to debate education policy a specific approach was outlined for higher education (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 2002c, p. 24-29). The public sector was evidenced as the main focus of the education policy: “our government will strive to expand places and enrolments in higher education, specially public one” (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 2002c, p. 26). Nevertheless, a clear policy was designed to boost the private sector. While the current student loan program (Fundo de Financiamento Estudantil - FIES) was considered inefficient, PT suggested that it should be improved, expanded and integrated with a scholarship program, namely Programa Nacional de Bolsas Universitárias, aimed at unfilled vacancies in private universities.

Overall

Evaluating all the election programmes from 1989 to 2002, it was possible to underline nine major proposals directly linked to higher education, as follows: (a) universal access to education; (b) exclusively public education; (c) to cease with subsidies to private institutions; (d) to increase education’s budget; (e) to respect the freedom of education; (f) to expand access to public universities; (g) to expand the student loans supply; and (h) to offer scholarships in private institutions. Table 1 evidences these nine proposals, while identifying if they were mentioned (“Yes”), not mentioned (“No”) or indirectly mentioned (“Ind”).

Table 1

Major PT’s proposals from 1998 to 2002 linked to higher education.

	1989	1994	1998	2002
(a) Universal access to education	Yes	Yes	Ind	Ind
(b) Exclusively public education	Yes	No	No	No
(c) To cease with subsidies to private institutions	Yes	No	No	No
(d) To increase education’s budget	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
(e) To respect the freedom of education	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
(f) To expand access to public universities	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
(g) To expand the student loans supply	No	No	No	Yes
(h) To offer scholarships in private institutions	No	No	No	Yes

Source: designed by the author.

As shown, while some of the proposals were mentioned in all the programmes, others were controversial throughout the years. The main consensuses were the increase of education's budget and the expansion of the access to public universities. Indirectly, granting universal access to education was also a constant. On the other hand, while in 1994 the party wanted to cut all the ties with the private sector, it has started admitting the existence of private institutions in 1998 and, in 2002, included as a major proposal benefits such as student loans and scholarships to the ones enrolled in private schools. The shift also reflects the differences between the party's Marxist manifesto from 1980 and Lula's pro-market letter from 2002. Still, the link with the proletariat is clear as even the pro-market proposals were aimed at granting accessed to low-income people.

PT'S HIGHER EDUCATION MAJOR POLICIES

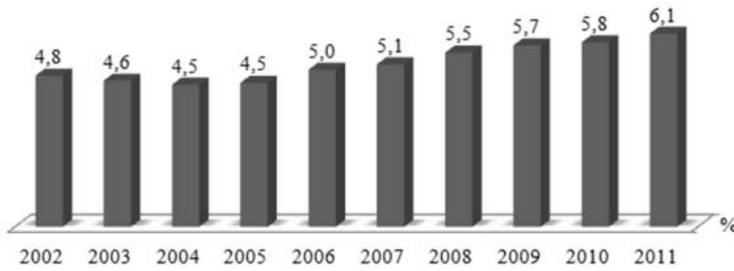
In 2002, PT managed to reach the presidency office defeating the social democratic candidate being voted by 52.893.364 citizens (Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, 2003, p. 89). The party also won the presidential elections of 2006 and 2010. In order to discuss the practical outcomes of the proposals for higher education discussed before, two policy groups will be specified as a summary of Table 1: (1) the expansion of public education, related to items (a), (b), (d) and (f); and (2) the access to private education, in regards of (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (g) and (h). "Exclusively public education" and "to respect the freedom of education" were included in both groups.

The first group comprehends the trial to implement a compulsory contribution deducted from the salaries of professionals graduated in public universities and the public sector's expansion program named Programa de Apoio ao Plano de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais (REUNI). The second group includes the reform of the Fundo de Financiamento Estudantil, which regards student loans, and the Programa Universidade Para Todos, related to scholarships.

The expansion of public education

The first dilemma faced by PT's Minister of Education, Cristovam Buarque, when the party got to power in 2003 was the difficulty to adjust the federal budget to fund the expansion of State-owned universities. Some heterodox alternatives were brought to the table to settle the issue. As Constantino (2003) affirms, one of them was supporting a bill aimed at establishing a compulsory contribution from professionals formerly graduated from public universities who earn a certain income. It would be collected through the income tax and delivered to a specific fund destined to invest in public institutions of higher education. In December of the same year, the bill received the support of 211 congressmen to be discussed in the Chamber of Deputies (Salomon, 2003). Due to popular pressure, such as from the União Nacional dos Estudantes (Folha de São Paulo, 2003), it was not approved and Cristovam Buarque left the seat on January 27th, 2004.

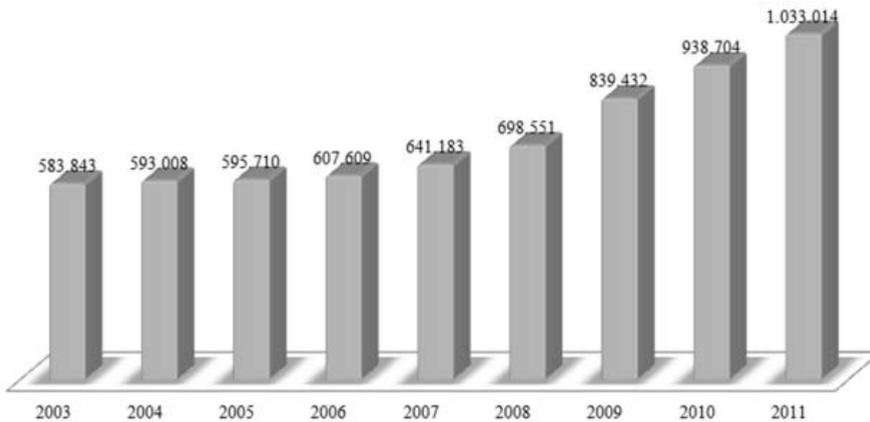
Funding education was still a problem and its relative index, when compared to the GNP, even shrank in 2004 and 2005. As Graphic 1 shows, the investment started to grow reaching a maximum of 6,1% of the GNP in 2011. Although higher than in 2002 when Fernando Henrique Cardoso left the presidency, the budgets set by the Partido dos Trabalhadores were still far from the 10% proposed in 1994.



Graphic 1. Historical estimation of the public investment in education over the GNP (2002-2011).

Source: INEP, 2013. Designed by the author.

In the middle of 2005, Fernando Haddad was nominated Ministry of Education and managed to expand both the budget and the number of enrollments in higher education institutions by creating, among others, the Programa de Apoio a Planos de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais (REUNI).



Graphic 2. Enrollments in federal universities from 2003 to 2011

Source: Designed by the author with data from MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO (2013).

REUNI targeted at expanding the access to public higher education mainly by creating new courses and expanding both the physical and the academic structure of public institutions. Although the Ministry of Education made it optional to universities to adopt the program or not, authors such as Chaves and Araújo (2011) suggests that rectors felt obligated to adhere in order to maintain their budgets. The authors' opinion is that the program indeed boosted the access to these institutions, but has done so by endangering teaching and learning conditions. However, as Graphic 2 shows, there was an increase of 79,93% in the number of enrolments in federal universities from 2003 to 2011.

Table 2

Proposed and Implemented policies in public higher education

Proposal	Specific Policy	Status
Universal access to education	-	Continues as an objective, though not achieved in higher education.
Exclusively public education	-	The idea was abandoned.
To increase education's budget	-	Ministry of Education's budget relation with total GNP was increased by 32,61% (2003-2011).
To expand access to public universities	REUNI	Increase of 79,93% in the number of enrollments in federal universities (2003-2011).

Source: designed by the author.

Following the above mentioned policies and its respective proposals drawn out through Table 2, it is possible to compare what were the main ideas of the Partido dos Trabalhadores before it got to power and what it has done in regards of public higher education since the party took the presidential office. While the universal access to education was a clear objective, the method of making it through an exclusively public system was abandoned. Still, the public sector was considerably increased in both its budget and the number of enrolment in federal universities. The proportion of 10% of education budget over total GNP was not achieved.

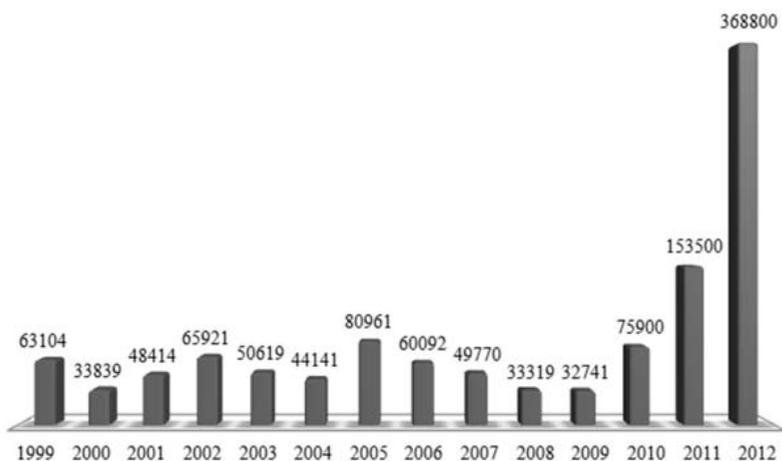
Even if the party's manifesto (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1980) didn't include any specific proposal for the sector, it is possible to link the previously mentioned policies to it, as they targeted the State's size growth while granting benefits to the working class by expanding the access to free services. Likewise, the party tried to create a social contribution that would not affect low-income citizens. It was not approved - and the reason may even lie inside the party - but the intention to distribute income and expand the public sector was shown by promoting the idea. A controversy lies in the fact that the expansion of public universities was not done in a way to restrict - or eliminate - the growth of the private sector. This issue would betterly match with the "Letter to the Brazilian people" (SILVA, 2002) than with its original manifesto (PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES, 1980).

The access to private education

As the Partido dos Trabalhadores had recognized in 2002 that it was not possible to provide universal access to higher education through an exclusively public system, it directed its efforts to grant access to tertiary schooling through private universities. Two main paths were followed: expanding an already existent student loans program, the Fundo de Financiamento Estudantil; and creating a scholarship policy, the Programa Universidade Para Todos.

The idea of granting loans to private universities' students was not recent when PT was elected. It was first established in 1975 through the Programa de Crédito Educativo (CREDUC) which aimed to grant resources from public and private banks to finance seats in private institutions of higher education. It was further reformed in 1993, when the public bank Caixa Econômica Federal became its only grantee. In 1999, president Fernando Henrique Cardoso instituted FIES as CREDUC's successor aiming at offering a financial support up to 70% of the tuition fee to students enrolled in private universities positively evaluated by the government. In 2007, during PT's term, it was reformed once again, expanding the funding to 100% of

the tuition fees (Oliveira and Carnielli, 2010). Another change was the reduction of the interest rate from 6,5% to 3,4% per year (Senado Federal, 2013).



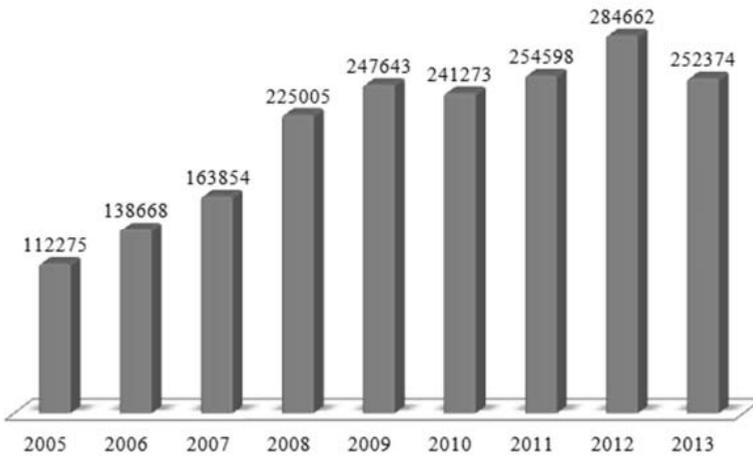
Graphic 3. Student loans conceded through FIES from 1999 to 2012

Source: designed by the author with data from MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO (2013) and SENADO FEDERAL (2013).

Graphic 3 evidences the evolution of the number of loans conceded to students through FIES. It has decreased significantly from 2005 to 2009 due to PROUNI's uprise, as the scholarship program represented a better option to low-income students. Since 2010 FIES was marked by a significant ascension, achieving a number of contracts 729,58% higher than in 2003 when the party came to power. It was a clear outcome of the reform implemented by the Ministry of Education in 2010.

An innovation in partnering with the private sector was launched right after the minister Cristovam Buarque left his seat to Tarso Genro. Announced in January, 2005, as a federal decree, PROUNI was approved by the Congress in January, 2005. It was proposed to offer full and partial tuition fee exemptions to low income students who wished to develop higher education studies in private universities. The funding would not come directly from the State, or partner banks such as FIES, but as tax deductions conceded to the adherent universities (Brazil, 2005). From 2005 to 2013, 1,930,312 tuition fee exemptions (among full and partial ones) were granted through this policy (PROUNI, 2013) reaching a number even bigger than FIES, if summing up all the benefited students since 1999.

The relationship between FIES' shrinkage and PROUNI's ascension becomes even clear with Graphic 4 as it evidences an abnormal growth from 2005 to 2009, until its relative stagnation when FIES was reformed. Even though in 2012 the number of benefited students was higher in FIES than in PROUNI, the total number of scholarships granted shows that it was the main policy linking the State with private institutions. Data collected through a national survey done in 2010 shows that 61% of the interviewed knew about PROUNI and the large majority (84,2%) was in favour of increasing the number of benefited students (IPEA, 2011).



Graphic 4. Partial and full scholarships conceded through PROUNI from 2005 to 2013

Source: designed by the author with data from BRAZIL (2005).

Table 3

Proposed and Implemented policies in private education.

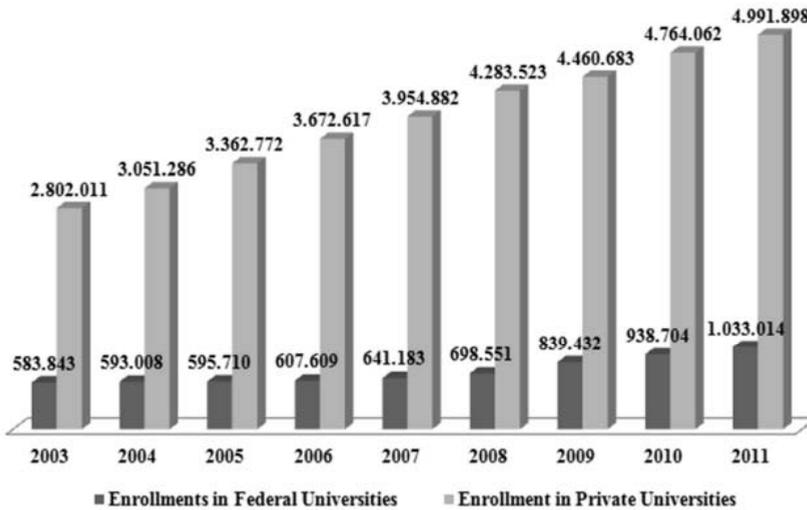
Proposal	Specific Policy	Status
Universal access to education	-	Continues as an objective, though not achieved in higher education.
Exclusively public education	-	The idea was abandoned.
To cease with subsidies to private institutions	-	The opposite was implemented.
To increase education's budget	-	Besides increasing the budget, new funding alternatives were created, such as loans and tax exemptions.
To respect the freedom of education	-	The promotion of the private sector evidenced the implementation of this proposal.
To expand the student loan supply	FIES	The program had been reformed and grew 729,58%.
To offer scholarships in private institutions	PROUNI	A total of 1,930,312 scholarships were granted until 2013.

Source: designed by the author.

In regards of the Partido dos Trabalhadores' efforts in the linkage of public and private agents in education, Table 3 compares what had been proposed by the party since 1989 and what was implemented when it took the presidency office. "Universal access to education" and an "exclusively public education" kept the same as shown in Table 2. "To cease with subsidies to private institutions", closely related to the previous items, was not only abandoned, but the opposite was implemented through FIES and PROUNI. These two programs were funded by alternatives means, as loans and tax exemptions do not come directly from the Ministry of Education's budget. Furthermore, they are a clear evidence of the respect to the constitutional principle of freedom of education and represent the implementation of proposals aimed at both expanding

the student loan supply - through a reform that boosted the program in 729,58% since PT came to power - and offering scholarships in private institutions - summing up a total of 1,930,312 benefited students.

The promotion of private education goes against both the party's manifesto (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1980) and its proposals for 1989 (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1989a; Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1989b). While in 1980 the party aimed to promote a rupture with the market's hegemony, during its government the private sector increased the number of enrolments by 78,15% as Graphic 5 shows.



Graphic 5. Enrolments in private and federal universities from 2003 to 2011
Source: designed by the author with data from Ministério da Educação (2013).

Graphic 5 shows that public universities have managed to grow under PT's administration, but a simple comparison evidences who is the main agent in the Brazilian education: dividing the number of enrolments in federal universities by the ones in private institutions, the ratio has not exceeded 21% from 2003 to 2011. Governmental intervention through FIES and PROUNI has surely played an important role in building this fact.

THE BRAZILIAN DOUBLE MOVEMENT

There was a clear change in the Partido dos Trabalhadores' behaviour, as it started as a genuinely working class party pursuing a Marxist society ruled by the proletariat and ended up almost doubling the higher education private sector during its presidential administration. Still, it would not be correct to affirm that the party's ideology has changed as original proposals related to expanding the number of enrolments in public universities were implemented. Furthermore, as Singer (2010) affirmed, the party keeps promoting, at least internally, Marxism.

It is possible to infer that whereas the party behaved as a genuinely socialist actor during its first candidacy, it has explored a potential linkage with the market mainly since 2002, when it has drastically changed its proposals not only through its election program but also within the "Letter to the Brazilian people" (Silva,

2002a). Since this year, the party has started dealing with political forces other than the working class as a way of boosting its votes and reaching the presidency. The same behaviour took place once the Partido dos Trabalhadores was elected, what is shown by FIES and PROUNI.

It is true that both policies were implemented aiming to grant access to education for low-income families (Carvalho, 2006), what matches with the working class' interests in a scenario where the public sector was not able to grow fast enough to promote the inclusion of the current generation. On the other hand, alternative studies suggest that they were either a step toward higher education privatisation (Mancebo, 2004) or the result of an intense dialogue with lobbyists that represented private sector interests (Catani et al., 2006; Guerra and Fernandes, 2009).

Although it is difficult to deny that neither FIES nor PROUNI would be accepted by the Partido dos Trabalhadores in the 1980's and 1990's, as its own election programmes used to blame the State linkage with the market; the party would not be able to grant enough benefits to the working class otherwise. Also it is difficult to assume that PT would have been elected in 2002 or continued in the office if it was not counting on the political strength of the private sector.

Our conclusion, in regards of the previously proposed question, is that Partido dos Trabalhadores' higher education policies and behaviour have proved that it is feasible to affirm that the double movement may take place in a working class administration as a way of consolidating a worker's party dominance.

Final remarks

Polanyi's idea of a double movement regarded the use of interventionism by the bourgeoisie to sustain its dominance over the working class. Our objective was not a regular revisiting exercise, but a reversing one. Confirming our hypothesis that it has indeed taken place into a working class administration does not denigrate the proletariat's rise. It evidences the need of dialogue in the public sphere.

Setting the Partido dos Trabalhadores as a proxy helped at reaching our objective once it has been in power for a significant period and different authors consider it a unique case in keeping strong ties with the working class throughout the years. Different views may exist, but the analysed documents lead us to infer that the party's shift was not an ideology change but a rational dialogue with the private sector that has started since the party was not being able to reach the country's presidency. We strongly support further studies considering different political parties as the object.

Lastly, the choice of higher education policy as our object influenced the paper's outcome as even the party has admitted the difficulty to implement a purely public system which could be accessible to all the population. Further studies should also be done in other areas of public policy. Although they will not affect our result - as our goal was to find at least a single case of double movement in a working class administration - a different outcome would show the existence of cases where the double movement does not take place.

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