

CULTURAL DISTINCTION STRATEGY IN PRIVATE SECONDARY EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN GOIAS – BRAZIL: The ENEM¹ Ranking as a Reference of Quality

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to understand the ENEM – Brazilian National High School Examination, beyond its regulatory and today quasi-hegemonic political entrance policy officially conceived as a strategy of democratization of access to the Federal Public Higher Education Institutions (IES). It seeks to question the meanings and consequences in the scope of its evaluative objective in times of disputes for quality standards. Every year in Brazil, the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC) coordinates this national exam and by divulging its results enables the commodity construction of the best schools in the country and by region. In doing so, the exam extrapolates its evaluative purpose of classifying and stratifying the states of the union, educational institutions, cultural certification of the private standard of scholastic excellence even though the official data from MEC confirm that the public network in 2013 was responsible for 85.32% of the enrollment at this level of education. These reflections, guided by a Bourdieusian perspective, allow us to consider that the ENEM rankings, in their advertising and media dimension, comprise a symbolic way of classifying and stratifying the secondary education institutions, which are subjected to differentiation as a parameter of recognition of quality of the private high school education guided by the neoliberal policies that insist on denying that mandatory school education is a subjective public right and not a public service, as such a commodity. In this study, the State of Goiás is used as an example of this orchestration.

Keywords: ENEM, High School, Culture, Classification, Stratification, Cultural Distinction.

¹ ENEM: Brazilian National High School Examination.

INTRODUCTION

The unconscious principles of social definition of scholastic excellence – a definition which is no less arbitrary (although sociologically necessary) when it receives the names of “intelligence”, “brilliantness” or “talent” – have many more possibilities of expressing or revealing themselves through the operations of cooperation by which the body of teachers selects those that are considered worth or perpetuating it, such as, for example, the competitions of large schools, the “aggregation” and, above all, the general entrance exam whose exclusive function is to establish a purely honorary classification, operating, initially, and based on the purely university criteria, the pre-selection of the most apt novices to integrate the institution precisely for being the most adjusted to the ideal of University excellence and having the greatest conviction of university values. (BOURDIEU)

The constitution assures and consequentially makes effective the public right to mandatory education in Brazil, which comprises a slow and relatively new question if we are to consider the last four decades of a reality marked by historical dependence and recovering democratically from twenty years of a military regime.

To illustrate our point, four years of primary education lasted from the 13th Century (Imperial Brazil) until the latter half of the 20th Century (1972), when, by force of Law 5691, four more grades were added to the sequence, outlining what was called the eight years of Primary Education.

We point out that following 2009, as a result of new preconized rulings set forth in the Democratic Constitution (1988), of the Basic Directives Law (LDB) in (1996), of the National Education Plans (2011-2010 and 2014-2024) of the National Education Conferences (CONAE 2010 and 2014), the framework of mandatory school education as being the duty of the State to publically provide and offer gains new dimensions in light of the political challenges in carrying them out. Pre-school education is inserted onto this horizon including daycares and pre-school; amplification of the length of the elementary education is increased to nine years, free of charge in public schools (Law No. 11.277/02-02-2006. Article 32) and the universalization of free high school education (Law No. 12.061/27-10-2009). Higher Education not being the mandatory responsibility of the State continues to be offered mostly by private Higher Education Institutions (IES) (Source: MEC/INEP, in 2013, 73.54% of undergraduate enrollments were private).

These legal rulings in the reconfiguration of the Brazilian school system are a result of a bundle of political and social influences and conditionings on the one hand by the actions of social movements (vindicatory and those of nature by the recognition of the rights of differences against inequality and prejudice), by the scientific and professional associations of the educational field as well as resulting from the adjustments imposed by the international financial entities.

It is important to point out that one cannot ignore the fact that over the past two decades a quantitative advancement has been recorded of public enrollment at practically all of the mandatory levels of education. According to the data provided by the Scholastic Census in 2013 (Brazil: MEC- INEP) the index of public enrollment in Daycares was 63.39%, in Pre-School 74.95%, in Elementary and Middle School Education 88.4% (Beginning Grades plus Final Grades), in the Youth and Adults Education (EJA) 96.0%, in Special Needs Education 28.1% and in Secondary Education 85.3%. In Special Needs Education and Higher Education over three thirds of the enrolled students are enrolled in the private education network.

The reflections set forth in this article gravitate objectively to the High School Education of the State of Goiás in Brazil, with a focus on ENEM, which is a national examination of evaluation applied at the end of the final year, conceived and carried out by the Ministry of Education whose results make it possible to classify and ranking the scholastic institutions by the grades obtained by their students, classifying and stratifying them as those considered to be excellent, even those which are tolerable results.

One cannot ignore that this level of education, which has been historically fractionated between propaedeutic-professional, has been a reason for concern and studies by various researchers from the most varied of areas of knowledge provided with their analytical tools, theoretical framework and various political-educational perceptions regarding their identity. These reflections end up being concentrated on the questions regarding their purpose in the public network, seeming as how the private high school education network has become preparatory years to assure success on the college entrance exams (*vestibulares*), access to professional careers markedly more valued, although with higher demands and few offered openings.

The PNE – National Education Plan 2014-2024 (Law No. 13.005/of 06-25-2014) within its goals and various operational strategies, the Goal of Number 3 – and the strategy of No. 3.6 refer to High School under the following terms:

GOAL 3- “to universalize, by 2016, scholastic offering to the entire population of 15 (fifteen) to 17 (seventeen) year olds, and raise, by the end of the PNE period of validity, the net rate of enrollment in high school education to 85% (eighty-five percent)

STRATEGY “ 3.6) to universalize the National High School Exam – ENEM, grounded in reference matrix of the curricular content of high school and in statistical and psychometrical techniques which allow for a comparison of results, articulating it with the National System of Basic Education – SAEB, and promote its use as an instrument of systemic evaluation, to subsidize public policies for elementary and middle school education, of certifying evaluation, allowing for the benchmarking of knowledge and abilities acquired inside and outside of the school, and of a classificatory evaluation, as a criteria of access to Higher Education; [...]

It is not incorrect for us to affirm that the cultivation of a systemic knowledge of Brazilian high school education today points us to the historical dichotomy of supply and quality between public versus private, propaedeutic versus professional, neoliberal policies, education as a right of citizenship-public service (commodity), the scrapping of the public schools promoted by the governmental lack of interest due to the lack of destination of financial resources even in the indexes of constitutional mandate with the deviations in the application of resources in that which would effectively be the field of scholastic education as well as the common practice of administrative improvisation.

We have opted to consider the ENEM from a theoretical vantage point resulting from the studies on education formulated by a contemporary French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, especially by means of the concepts of cultural², economic³ and social⁴ capital as indispensable elements for the understanding of other concept, difference, understanding it to be an expression of the quality-excellence which is hegemonized by the symbolic disputes between the public and private sectors, with these being responsible for the aesthetics upon which to name it as being a quality school. The difference points us to the questionings and reflections upon which criteria and rituals of judgements reside in cultural and political classifications and stratifications.

In this perspective, any ideological attempt at naturalizing differences and distinctions is discarded, as well as recognizing as true a certain evaluative means coming from MEC. The purpose of the coveted reasons that the MEC does not say about the ENEM, we turn to the J.J. Rousseau when he manifests “In order to slightly avoid the roundabouts and pointless discussions, one could oblige all haranguers to announce at the start of their discourses the proposition that they wish to deliver” (The Government of Poland, op.cit. BOURDIEU E PASSERON, A Reprodução, 2 ed, 1982, p.15).

DEVELOPMENT

In order to speak to the quality of Secondary Education in the State of Goiás, Brazil, we are going to turn to the concept of economic capital used by Bourdieu (2001), which is recognized on the one hand in its non-possession, as a cause of the social segregation, but on the other hand as a possible mean of obtaining cultural capital; or rather, it is understood as being synonymous with possibilities and plays an important role in the distinction of social classes. Roughly speaking, we are talking about purchasing power; or rather, the capacity that the families have or do not have to invest financially in a quality high school institution for their children, a fundamental condition for conquering the coveted scholastic success.

If the population of the State of Goiás according to data published by the statistics of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in 2010 had an average monthly per-capita household income of R\$685.00, it would be naive to image an economic force that could contribute so that the children of these low-income

² A group of intellectual qualifications conveyed by the Family or reproduced by the school. Cultural Capital can exist in three forms: in an incorporated state, or rather, the domain of the language, the ease of speaking in public, the objective state; or rather, as cultural capital in the form of possession of books, paintings, and institutionalized whose expression occurs in the social sanction by institutions in the form of diplomas and titles (Cult Magazine, 2012, p.33).

³ Economic Capital is understood to be the group of patrimonial resources, possessions, honorary fees for liberal professions, rents, industries and commerce. (Cult Magazine, 2012, p.33)

⁴ Social Capital can be identified as a group of relationships, friendships, contacts, relationship networks, professional contacts. (Cult Magazine, 2012, p.34)

workers were to have access of quality⁵ high school education ranked by the ENEM. If on the one hand there is a lack of support or financial conditions, on the other we can also observe in certain families the cultural good will related to the desire to conquer by means of education; that is to say, the strategies of the average social levels analyzed by Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, middle-class families construct strategies to be able of financially investing in the education of their children, with one of them being birth control.

In this aspect, and thinking about the limits of economic capital, it is that they construct their strategies for social ascension by means of their children's schooling. According to Nogueira and Nogueira (2002), Bourdieu identifies three strategies as an effort of social ascension:

“A) Asceticism is characterized by the disposition of middle classes to renounce the immediate pleasures to benefit their future project. This disposition can be clearly illustrated by the sacrifices (renouncing the purchase of material goods, reduction of expenses with going out, etc.) that these families carry out to assure a good education for their offspring.

B) Malthusianism would be the tendency to control fertility. Middle class families, through an unconscious strategy of concentrating investments would tend to, more so than the lower and elite classes, to reduce their number of children.

C) Cultural good will is characterized by the recognition of legitimate culture and by the systematic effort to acquire it. Middle class families, particularly those originating from lower classes and that hold however, a limited cultural capital would employ a series of actions (buying renowned books, attending cultural events, etc.) envisioning acquiring cultural capital”. (NOGUEIRA AND NOGUEIRA, 2002, p. 25)

However, thinking of education as a form of social and cultural ascension may appear to be a frustrating and moderate experience, as scholastic excellence is hard to obtain for the classes deprived of economic and cultural capital. For Bourdieu (2001), the school “unconsciously or consciously” plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of cultural and social inequalities.

According to Nogueira and Nogueira (2002), in order to formulate this knowledge, Bourdieu is going to work the concept of “Arbitrary Culture”, “seeking inspiration in the anthropological concepts of culture (...) postulates that no culture can be objectively defined as superior to another” (NOGUEIRA E NOGUEIRA, 2002, p.36). It is from this moment on that, for Bourdieu, what is at risk is the conversion of an arbitrary culture into a legitimate culture.

From the moment at which the school is identified and recognized as a pedagogical authority and its power legitimated and not questioned, we can turn to the concept of symbolic violence, which is defined as:

Non-perceived violence founded upon recognition, obtained by a work of indoctrination of legitimizing of the dominants over the dominated and which assures the permanence of social domination and reproduction. For example, the transmission of scholastic culture, which connects the norms of the dominant classes is a symbolic violence exercised over the popular classes. (Cult Magazine, 2012, p.37)

The less the presence of violence is perceived, the greater its presence and it is effective. The natural way of how questions relating to success is imposed upon people, the demand for merit, for competence, even reaches the status of a challenge or even of aptitude, vocation reinforcing the existence of the selection by talent, the one who is so successful that he was born to occupy the most selective of spaces. Within this context in relation to the symbolic violence in the case of the school, it is important to point out that:

The authority reached by a pedagogical action, or rather, the legitimacy conferred upon this action and the concept that it distributes should be proportional to their capacity to present as non-arbitrary and not tied to any social class. This process of dissimulated imposition of a cultural arbitrary as a universal culture is dominated (...) symbolic violence. (NOGUEIRA E NOGUEIRA, 2002, p.37)

When a school deals with equality the differences, or rather, “treating strictly in an equal manner, in rights and duties, whoever is different the school would privilege in a dissimulated manner, who for his Family

⁵ Quality here refers to the public and private dichotomy, public school system lacks quality and the private possesses quality. (Cult Magazine, 2012, p.37)

background is already privileged” (NOGUEIRA AND NOGUEIRA, 2002, p. 38). Thus, the culture diffused in the schools is the culture of the dominant classes, and in this sense, the scholastic institutions reproduce this elitist culture by privileging the children from the dominant classes in detriment to the poorer children. The lesser that this process goes unnoticed when it happens, the more efficient is the symbolic violence.

By means of these Bourdieusian concepts, the factors that involve scholastic success are explained, as a constructed process and resulting from investment, therefore, for Bourdieu, the end of the ideological notion of gift or merit is absolutely decreed. Students coming from the dominant classes will have the cultural and social codes that are required by the school and by the scholastic culture that would be, by the way, originally theirs. Contrarily, the scholastic failure could also be explained by the fact that the students coming from poor backgrounds do not dominate the legitimate scholastic culture (understood in these terms as hegemonic and dominant), and as a worsening fact they need to deny their own culture in order to internalize as *habitus* the arbitrary culture of the school, according to Bourdieu, by means of symbolic violence, imposed, foreign, but accepted as legitimate.

The way in which these two types of social agents acquires the scholastic culture is also a factor to be considered, as the first ones “belonging to the dominant elitists” receive this cultural initiation at home from an early age; that is to say, good manners, good habits, speaking posture, access to arts, cinema and the theater are facilitators of the scholastic culture learning process. For the social agents coming from the less fortunate classes, this model of knowledge is presented at a late age at school.

Within this perspective the ideology of the natural gift is unveiled that identifies aptitude, recognized as a divine grace "the chosen one", which is naturalized in the context of relationships to knowledge in a way able to mask the cultural differences in access to knowledge, un-muting such "differences "in social distinctions within an ideological construct of social exclusion.

In light of the presented facts on recurring theoretical and conceptual ideas of Pierre Bourdieu with regards to education, we can think of a contradictory social reality of antagonistic classes, therefore the existence of certain educational institutions of Secondary Education for the rich and others for the poor? Why in the State of Goiás was the selective demand for the existence of Secondary Education offered by the private network implemented for students to achieve places in the most popular courses in public institutions of higher education? What is the reason for this inversion of social class values with the so-called vicious and virtuous cycles in which a young person completes his scholastic coursework in the private network and enters a public institution of higher education (virtuous cycle)? And on the other hand, the poor young people complete all their mandatory education in the public network and due to their instructional deficit and few chances to continue their studies when possible enter into a private Institution of Higher Education (vicious cycle)?

In order to seek to answer these questions including the emergence of the ENEM (National Secondary Education Examination) as a form of regulation, stratification and distinction, in being recognized as a passport for entry into public higher education, when its results are recognized as a criterion of selection; as a result, we seek a presentation and regulatory objectives of this public policy expressed by the national exam called the ENEM.

The National Secondary Education Examination (ENEM) was established by the Ministry of Education of Brazil (MEC) in order to promote the democratization of higher education in Brazil through the Unified Selection System (SiSU), and to evaluate the student's performance at the end of his or her secondary education.

The first edition of ENEM happened in 1998 and its popularity occurred in 2004 with the University for All Program (PROUNI), which provides scholarships and student financial aid, for the private network, through the Student Financing Fund for Higher Education (FIES)

ENEM assessments are carried out on a yearly basis and have a classificatory character for both high school students for the contemplation of openings in public universities, and for offering full and half scholarships to study at the Private Institutions of Higher Education. But the goals do not stop there. Another form of classification built ideologically by ENEM is the creation of a hierarchical ranking⁶ of the best high school educational institutions of the country, according to the levels scaled by the grades earned by students.

The Ranking of the best Secondary Education Institutions in the State of Goiás according to the examinations carried out during 2011, 2012, and 2013.

⁶ It is worth pointing out that on the ENADE – National Exam of Student Performance functions as a ranking that offers a classificatory listing of the higher education institutions.

With the intent of visualizing the best Secondary Education Institutions in the State of Goiás as an expression of the strategy of classification and stratification, were present below **TABLES I, II and III**, with the ranking of the top 20 Educational Institutions from the State of Goiás for the years 2011, 2012, and 2013.

TABLE 1 - RANKING of the Top 20 Secondary Education Institutions in the State of Goiás, based on ENEM 2011.

	Educational institution	Network	Overall average
1	WR SCHOOL	Private	678.50
2	Olimpo SCHOOL	Private	657.57
3	DELTA – Anápolis SCHOOL	Private	655.83
4	VISAO SCHOOL	Private	640.23
5	GALILEU SCHOOL	Private	638.97
6	JAO LTDA SCHOOL	Private	631.72
7	MONSEHOR SCHOOL	Private	620.09
8	MILLENIUM LTDA SCHOOL	Private	619.80
9	DINAMICO SCHOOL	Private	618.61
10	CLASSE SCHOOL	Private	618.14
11	AVILA COC SCHOOL	Private	612.46
12	PROGRESSIVO SCHOOL	Private	610.60
13	GALILEU – Town Center Unit SCHOOL	Private	610.55
14	SOLAR SCHOOL	Private	609.79
15	STO AGOSTINHO SCHOOL	Private	609.69
16	DNA SCHOOL	Private	609.64
17	RM SISTEMA EDUCACIONAL LTDA Colégio PREVEST South Unit	Private	608.62
18	PROTAGORAS SCHOOL	Private	607.81
19	FEDERAL INSTITUTION OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (IFECT) OF GOIAS - GOIANIA CAMPUS	Federal Public	605.73
20	SAO TOMAS SCHOOL	Private	605.41

SOURCE: (MEC/INEP, 2012)

TABLE II - RANKING of the Top 20 Educational Institutions in the State of Goiás based on ENEM 2012.

	Educational Institution	Network	Overall Average
1	WR SCHOOL	Private	689.43
2	VISAO SCHOOL	Private	644.04
3	JAO LTDA SCHOOL	Private	637.89
4	PROTAGORAS	Private	631.70
5	CLASSE SCHOOL	Private	631.33
6	GALILEU SCHOOL	Private	631.11
7	APICE SCHOOL	Private	618.32
8	DNA SCHOOL	Private	618.13
9	GALILEU – Town Center Unit SCHOOL	Private	617.87
10	EINSTEIN SCHOOL	Private	617.61
11	SANTO AGOSTINHO SCHOOL	Private	616.84
12	ZENITE SCHOOL	Private	610.19
13	DINAMICO SCHOOL	Private	607.63
14	SAO TOMAS SCHOOL	Private	607.07
15	MILLENIUM LTDA SCHOOL	Private	605.69
16	PROGRESSIVO SCHOOL	Private	605.27
17	RM SISTEMA EDUCACIONAL LTDA PREVEST SOUTH UNIT SCHOOL	Private	605.04
18	PREVEST SCHOOL	Private	599.95
19	CDF10 SCHOOL	Private	598.37
20	DEGRAUS SCHOOL	Private	596.71

SOURCE: (MEC/INEP, 2013)

TABLE 3 - RANKING of the Top 20 Secondary Education Institutions in the State of Goiás, based on ENEM 2013.

	Educational Institution	Network	Overall average
1	WR SCHOOL	Private	686.8
2	JOAO LTDA SCHOOL	Private	660.9
3	PROTAGORAS SCHOOL	Private	651.1
4	OLIMPO SCHOOL	Private	648.1
5	DELTA (Anápolis/GO) SCHOOL	Private	642.3
6	VISÃO SCHOOL	Private	635.0
7	AGOSTINIANO NS DE FATIMA SCHOOL	Private	631.8
8	EINSTEIN SCHOOL	Private	630.2
9	GALILEU (Anapolis/GO) SCHOOL	Private	628.4
10	SANTO AGOSTINHO SCHOOL	Private	624.4
11	PROGRESSIVO SCHOOL	Private	622.1
12	GALILEU -TOWN CENTER (Anapolis/GO) SCHOOL	Private	620.6
13	SIMBIOS SCHOOL	Private	618.0
14	NOSSA SENHORA DO BOM CONSELHO (Jatai/GO) SCHOOL	Private	617.1
15	MILLENUM CLASSE SCHOOL	Private	611.8
16	PREVEST SCHOOL	Private	610.3
17	DINAMICO SCHOOL	Private	608.9
18	2006 LTDA (Catalao/GO) SCHOOL	Private	605.3
19	ORION VESTIBUL. (Anapolis/GO) SCHOOL	Private	604.7
20	ÁPICE (Rio Verde/GO) SCHOOL	Private	604.2

SOURCE: (MEC/INEP, 2014)

By analyzing TABLES I, II and III, based on the information provided by MEC/ INEP- National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP) for 2011, 2012, and 2013, we can observe the absence of Public Secondary Education Institutions from the State of Goiás, except for once, in 2011, the Federal Institute of Education, Science, and Technology of Goiás - Goiania Campus, which ranked in the nineteenth position. All other Educational Institutions belong to the private network. In this sense, we raise the question: what about students from the public school network? Can we consider this ranking as a statistical display or a media spectacle marketing strategy by prophesizing the quality of these private standard secondary education institutions?

Returning to Bourdieu's thoughts on education, we can observe that school as an educational institution, is not neutral and is not for everyone, although the formalities of the plan suggest otherwise.

The previously presented psychologized ideology of genetically gifted, disseminated as elected "geniuses" elected here and proven by figures released by the Ministry of Education, reinforces the normative notion of mandatory education (from kindergarten to high school) as a duty the State in accordance with Resolution No. 2 of January 30, 2012, which defines the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education. In its Article 3, it says that "secondary education, is a social right of every person and a duty of the state in its public and free-of-charge offering to all." The Brazilian government has outsourced part of this constitutional obligation and only in 2009 does it assume the obligation of Secondary Education to be universalized by the year 2016. However, the ENEM data, even though today it might be hegemonic in its offering of this level of education, proved by the indices of enrollment, it has not been expressed in 2013, 2012, and 2011, in the quality ranking of the top twenty Secondary Education Institutions in the State of Goiás! What's more, most of them are located in Goiania.

Privatization of secondary education in accordance with the quality disclosed in the Ministry of Education's (MEC) own ranking reinforces the idea of dualistic capitalist of schools for the rich and schools for the poor. How can the ENEM promote the democratization of higher education if the highest marks come from the private sector? We turn once again to Pierre Bourdieu (2001) in order for us to understand the school as a segregator and reproducer of social inequalities.

In a State with a strong agrarian tradition, and with a monthly average per capita household income of R\$685.00 (IBGE, 2013), how can it assure them with the guarantee or effectiveness of access to private education? In this

sense, we can talk about two types of exclusion: the first, which is economic, monetary, and subsidized by the social recognition that they do not have the financial means to invest in a private school as they do have any perspectives for scholastic success. The second form, directed at social segregation and symbolic violence permeated and disguised by the school and its unquestionable knowledge.

Students who do not adapt to secondary education for being different⁷, are left to fight for an education with no future, as they have a need to know that the school and the examinations classify, and this classification can have both positive and negative aspects as in Bourdieu's (2003) ideas,

[...] School excludes, as always, but now it excludes continuously at all course levels, and maintains at its very core those it excludes, simply marginalizing them in the more or less undervalued branches. These 'marginalized on the inside' are doomed to oscillate between marveled adhesion (...) and resignation to their verdicts, somewhere between eager submission and impotent revolt. It does not take them long to discover that the identity of words (school, high school, teacher, secondary, vestibular) hides the diversity of things; that the school where the school counselors put them is a meeting point of the most deprived; that the diploma for which they prepare to be awarded is in fact a disqualified title; that the vestibular they can achieve without the indispensable terms, condemns them to the ramifications of an education which is higher only in name; and so on. (...) They are bound by the negative sanctions of the School to renounce their scholastic and social aspirations that the school itself inspires; they are required, so to speak, to "deal with it", and this is why they continue with their education without conviction and unhurried, as they know they have no future. (BOURDIEU, 2003, p. 485)

Apparently, in relation to democratization policies of higher education in Brazil by the Federal Government via ENEM, SiSU, PROUNI, Affirmative Action Measures, among others, refers in a "subjective" manner to a process of legitimation through the classifications and rankings. Those excluded on the inside, a Bourdieusian concept, originally refers to groups, people who previously had no support and access to French Lycées and therefore access to large universities. Despite the fact that they gained access in the 1960s, per se, they did not automatically achieve academic success as the internal exclusionary filters were perfected in terms of dissimulation.

In these contemporary policies for universalization, without a shadow of a doubt access has been expanded, newcomer enrollment as well, likewise, student dropout rates continue to challenge the limits of political discourses on inclusion. In the case of Secondary Education, current models of officially inclusive education keeps them in high school, but prisoners to those of lower expression and cultural and social prestige and without objective and subjective conditions to achieve a legitimate education as excellent as access is guaranteed to the field of state public offerings.

We cannot allow it to go unnoticed that this classification model promoted by ENEM can be refined within the rationality of the private education market when presented by a historical and chronological ranking of the most successful Secondary Education institutions in the State of Goiás in the years 2011, 2012, and 2013 as shown in TABLE IV below:

TABLE IV- Secondary Education Institutions in the State of Goiás that comprised the Ranking in 2011, 2012, and 2013.

	Educational Institution	Network	Average 2011	Average 2012	Average 2013
1	WR SCHOOL	Private	678.50	689.43	686.8
2	VISAO SCHOOL	Private	640.23	644.04	635.0
3	GALILEU (Anapolis) SCHOOL	Private	638.97	631.11	628.4
4	JAO LTDA SCHOOL	Private	631.72	637.89	660.9
5	DINAMICO SCHOOL	Private	618.61	607.63	608.9
6	PROGRESSIVO SCHOOL	Private	610.60	605.27	622.1
7	GALILEU – Anapolis SCHOOL	Private	610.55	617.87	620.6
8	STO AGOSTINHO SCHOOL	Private	609.69	616.84	624.4
9	PROTAGORAS SCHOOL	Private	607.81	631.70	651.1

SOURCE: (Adaptation of INEP 2011, 2012 and 2013)

⁷ The word "different" herein used makes reference to cultural differences.

If on one side of this Table IV, we witness the most distinctive and successful High School Institutions in the State of Goiás, it is by means of difference that we present the other side of this process pointing to the high school educational system of the State of Goiás as:

“an institutionalized operator of classifications which is, in turn, a system of objectified classification in reproducing, under a transformed form the hierarchies of the social world (...) it transforms, with all of the apparent neutrality, social classifications into scholastic classifications and establishes hierarchies that are not experienced as purely technical, therefore, partial and unilateral, but rather as total hierarchies, based on nature, thus leading to the identification of social value with the “personal” value and scholastic dignity with human dignity” (BOURDIEU, 2013, p. 363).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The ranking of the Middle School Educational Institutions in the State of Goiás is nothing more than the proof that they systematically and culturally promote the reproduction of social inequalities, masking, rendering ineffective the economic, social and cultural determining factors that ultimately lead to conformity with the processes of classification and declassification.

One can witness that the Educational Institutions with the better scores are in essence representative of the dominant culture and its values, educating for the best opportunities, the most coveted positions, the distinctive diplomas, while on the other hand inculcating the culturally and economically dominated, “the charismatic ideology that imputes the person, his or her natural gifts or merits, the sole responsibility for his social destiny, exercises its effects far beyond the school system” (BOURDIEU, 2013, p. 363).

As such, attending non-ranked or poorly-ranked Educational Institutions is to become an orphan of dignity, inferior, silenced by naturalized differentiation, unaware that “there is no hierarchical relationship that does not have a part of legitimacy, that those who are dominated recognize me, of their participation, confusedly perceived in the opposition between “instruction” and “ignorance” (BOURDIEU, 2013, p. 363).

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