

Analysis of the commercialization from the Enem by the three schools better ranked in 2015 from the city of São Paulo.

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Abstract

This work discusses the use of the ENEM ranking by a group of private schools in the city of São Paulo for commercial purposes and explicitly through the data obtained from Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (INEP), how the families are led to look for these schools because of the disclosure of results with criteria and deficit of information, starting an "intellectual auction" for the search for scholarships to attend high school. It is well-known that the students' dispute between private schools in São Paulo has been fierce over the years and the transitions made by them tend to happen at the end of the last grade of Elementary School II (9th Year), so, after having done all training in an institution, in the final portion of their preparation, students tend to look for specialized entrance schools and better ranked in the ENEM. We observed that these elements end up distorting the real breadth of the school function that starts to adopt measures to keep its students and just prepare for the entrance exam.

Keywords: intellectual auction; ranking; recruitment; scholarships; selection

Introduction

In 2017 the EXAME magazine (Martins & Abrantes, 2017) published a report with the following title: "7 rankings that really matter from the best schools in Enem". This subject had as main objective to consider factors that, in fact, could evaluate the work developed within the best ranked schools in the national territory in the National High School Exam - ENEM. Through this analysis, the article presented a new ranking, made from these factors, they are: the best large and high frequency rate, the best grades in the writing, the best grades in math, the best small, best with the most capable teachers, the best in rural areas and the best in low-income teachers with less than 90 students.

The choice of the best school that will guarantee your children's access to a top university needs to be made assertively and it is at this very moment that a series of events is triggered: advertisements with students of faces painted with the names of courses and colleges, dissemination of simplistic rankings and the main one: the granting of scholarships in the search to attract the best students of each school.

Faced with this scenario, there are some questions to ask: does this successful reality reach a majority? Are the same conditions offered to everyone within these institutions who intend to do the selection processes and assessment exams? Such questions end up putting in check what is proposed as a desire for quality education and has widened the gulf between public and private education, so widely highlighted and discussed. This fact was exposed when Inep, in a clarification note about the closing of the Enem disclosure by school stated that the media and educational institutions overestimated it and due to this context, in the same note Inep announced the end of this practice.

According to the institute itself, closure was long discussed and longed for, either by improperly disclosing the data or by misusing the data provided by the institutions of the school system in our country.

Taking into account all these factors and my personal experience in coordinating a private school network in the city of São Paulo, I decided to bring the discussion to the regional level.

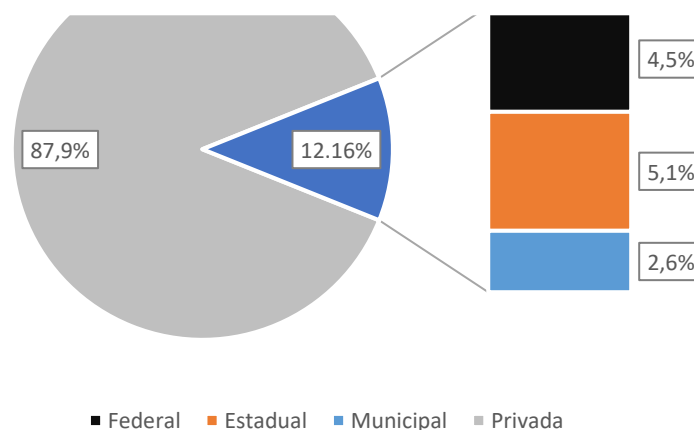
The goal is not to compare private schools to the public as many studies already do, but rather to promote discussion of the performance of the titled schools as "leading" in the private sector and show how the practices adopted by them end up influencing the entire education system, the students and their families. Even the discussion about a new high school with more meaning and real value, as evidenced by Santos (2011), points to the loss of Enem's regulatory character as the main factor for misusing the data provided by Inep, thus promoting a unprecedented competition between private schools.

The Private educational Scenario in Brazil

In order to accurately analyze the conditions of competition and insertion in the basic educational market, we need to understand the conditions of access to places in higher education. Thus, the school census of 2017 gives us the following configuration:

Figure 1. The Brazilian education network
Superior Education Institutions, by organization & category 2017

Year	Total	University		University pool		College		IF e Cefet	
		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
2017	2448	106	93	8	181	142	1878	40	n.a



Source: Superior education census (2017)

The data presented show us a reality that contrasts with the situation of basic education, which, according to information released in 2016 by IBGE through the National Continuous Household Sample Survey [Pnad Continua], points out that 73.5% of students attended public school, of the 56.5 million students in the country, 41.5 million were from public schools.

This fact elucidates how narrowing access to higher education begins in high school, because in a country that has more than 70% of students unable or unable to invest in a private higher education institution, most of the available places are precisely in this segment as shown in the table below:

Figura 2: Number of spots in the Graduation courses, by type of spot & category - Administrative 2017

Source: Superior Education Census(2017)

Spots in graduation courses				
Administrative Category	Total os spots	New spots Offered	Special programs Spots	Remaining Spots
Tota	10.779.086	7.900.060	9.429	2.889.597
Public	823.843	655.033	3.953	164.857
Federal	488.137	360.618	2.857	99.662
State	238.629	194.428	787	43.414
Municipal	102.077	79.987	309	21.781
Private	9.955.243	7.245.027	5.476	2.704.740

Analyzing the table, it can be noted that 92.4% of the vacancies in undergraduate courses were offered by private educational institutions, while for the public network it received 7.6% (Brazil I., 2017). This configuration presented one of the biggest advantages for private education to develop: competition.

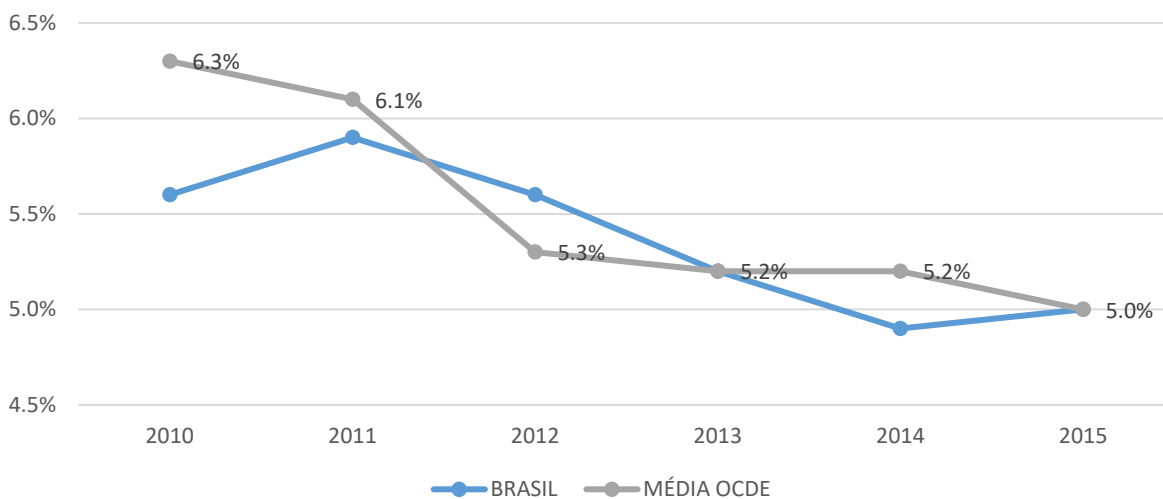
Based on these numbers, schools began to professionalize and improve their approval systems in assessments of access to higher education so that they could participate in this business share that moves R \$ 67 billion per year (Koike, 2017), R \$ 12 billion more than the net revenue achieved by higher education. This volume of investment has taken place mainly in emerging countries, which see professional and intellectual qualification as the foundation for their economic development.

The newspaper El País, in a report in November 2014, entitled: “The private education giant is Brazilian” presents numbers of how private education has been a great investment worldwide. According to the report (Morini, 2014), consultant GSV Advisors and investment bank Bank of America Merrill

Lynch claim that the market value of the global market would rise from \$ 5.6 trillion to \$ 7.8 trillion in 2017, an increase of 39.2%. in four years (Morini, 2014).

The figures involved in the global and domestic markets come from different backgrounds, private equity, mutual funds, private equity funds and even student finance programs. Investments were even stronger when public investments in education fell from 2011 to 2014, as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3 - Historical series of the investment in education(Brazil x OCDE)



Source: (Moreno, 2018).

After presenting the characteristics of the Brazilian educational market, it is exposed that the gap in basic public education, the offer of few places in public higher education and the infinitely higher number of places in private higher education created the perfect conditions for private schools to explore this narrow that formed. And the creation of programs such as the Student Financing Fund [Fies] and the program "University for All" [ProUni] have enabled students in the public basic system to have access to private higher education.

But the great gateway, besides the traditional entrance exams, is still Enem, which, through the Unified Selection System [SISU], offers vacancies in higher education institutions throughout the country and that will be presented in the following chapter.

Enem and the access for the Superior education

The national high school exam (enem) was designed in 1998 (Brasil I. , 2017) to verify the development and academic performance of high school graduates and also to provide data to verify the level of education in the country and its character was voluntary. the obligation of the students to carry it out. This proposal was based on models practiced by other nations around the world that used this strategy not only to verify the teaching of their countries, but took advantage of the grade obtained for access to universities, according to the income obtained.

Thus, in 2008 this unified assessment system offered students the opportunity to use the exam grade to apply to universities throughout Brazil (Brasil I. , 2017), without having to travel to different states to

take specific entrance exams. In this way, students were expected to gain easier access to top universities, in a more facilitated way and by using an exam that not only strives for content but also for logical reasoning and problem solving.

The proposal has its validity and in fact, students obtained greater access to public universities through SISU. But not only public, ProUni offers the possibility of granting full scholarships or up to 50% depending on the course, institution and grade obtained in Enem. We also have Fies where MEC finances a higher education course that has a positive rating, and finally the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment [Pronatec] offers free courses for high school graduates through the Unified Selection System of the Vocational and Technological Education [Sisutec].

All of these possibilities presented above made Enem an important and indispensable (Brasil I. , 2017) tool for access to academic banks, but it did not exclude the existence of traditional entrance exams practiced throughout the country. Another point to consider is the number of institutions and places available in higher education. According to Inep, in 2015 there were 2,364 institutions with a total of 8,033,574 students enrolled, a figure that surpasses 2014 when the national scenario had a total of 7,839,765 (Brazil I., 2017).

In the same year, the number of students enrolled in high school was 8,074,881, of which 1,049,242 were from private schools. This scenario highlights the importance of public universities, since the overwhelming majority of students in the public basic education system cannot afford to pay for private higher education. The big issue is that according to the census published in 2016, in Brazil in 2017, 87.9% of higher education institutions are private and only 12.1% are public. This scenario promotes a major reversal: students who have purchasing power end up occupying the vast majority of vacancies because they have access to a higher quality education while most students in public schools enter the competition with very low chances.

Ranking elaboration by School

The complexity and importance of Enem require a complete analysis of its peculiarities and characteristics, but before analyzing the microdata provided by INEP, it is necessary a careful understanding of how its grade and proofs are composed. Knowing what were the criteria taken into consideration before the publication of the Enem ranking by school was abolished is extremely important for us to draw a parallel with the ranking made and used by schools and reports dealing with the subject, therefore, the understanding of How this data is marketed to attract families and students becomes more evident.

According to Andrade (2015) ENEM is composed of four evaluations, being Humanities, Sciences, Mathematics and Languages and each one of them is composed of 45 objective questions and an essay. The student must participate in the four tests and essay to become eligible.

Each of the evaluations has the same weight (12.5%) and the grade is calculated through the weighted average and the writing test that has a value of 50%.

The results obtained are called scores and although the score based on the simple arithmetic mean of the objective test and essay is the most widespread, used and known, there are still two that need to be

taken into account when analyzing school performance, these are: simple average of the students of the institution in the objective tests and simple average of the student of the institution in the writing test.

From the compilation of these data originates the Enem ranking by school, tabulation created so that there is a comparative study of student performance and performance of schools, both public and private. This is where work has its root problem, since for Inep there is an important cut-off that needs to be made for schools to be categorized according to their characteristics, such as the best in rural areas or the best small ones.

For private schools and institutions interested in the commodification of education, the ranking considers only the result of objective tests and writing, as stated above, thus all schools are compared without regard to their location, number of students, teacher education and time of permanence in the institution. The latter presents an important component because the schools object of this study use this factor as a determining criterion to decrease the grade fluctuation coefficient.

This strategy is based on the scholarship contest, where students who obtain the highest averages are grouped into elite groups and receive special and specific care to obtain the best results and keep the institution in the top positions of the ranking. The curious fact is that students belonging to the same systems, however, segregated from this elite cannot obtain the same results (Previdelli, 2012), as is the case of school A presented in this study.

This is where the misrepresentation of the ranking begins. We have seen, previously, the situation of the number of academic banks in higher education in Brazil where the majority of vacancies are in private institutions and access to public universities ends up being concentrated in students from private schools, due to the fact that they be able to attend institutions with purchasing power to hire better graduated teachers and offer better material and physical conditions.

Thus, against this background, families are beginning to look for schools that offer them a greater chance of their children ascending to higher education, and for this, some networks and education systems are being created. Thus, institutions are baptized with the same name, but with different CNPJ, but when the disclosures are made and the fundraising process begins, these distinctions do not appear, as *Veja* magazine shows in a 2016 report, that the Schools A and B have deployed to serve high-income students in separate structures (Ritto & Vieira, 2016).

Both students and their families believe that the results achieved by the elite groups will be achieved by their children and, thus, are led to attend spaces that often will not offer them the right preparation to leave them on an equal footing. for the entrance exam competition.

School Presentation and their indicators

In this section we will present the data regarding the selected schools as object of study and we will try to profile each one of them so as to have a complete view of the composition of the grades, conditions and working strategies adopted by the institutions.

We will start with the school named “A”, owner of the 1st place, with 751.29 points in the objective tests. This institution belongs to one of the largest educational conglomerates in the country and began with a preparatory course for medical schools. After succeeding in this proposal in 1972, College A was created.

In 2015, the schools, pre-university courses and the education systems that bear the name of the college totaled 400,000 elementary school students and added to the higher education students generated revenues of 2.5 billion reais (Amorin, 2017).

The school “B”, placed in 2nd place, with 736.34 points, is also part of an educational group from a college preparatory course. His journey began in 1970 and then, with the construction of another building, began high school. Today the college has 2,786 students enrolled in high school, according to the 2017 school census.

Colégio C, holder of the 3rd position, with 710.68 points was founded in 1976 and today has 2 units located in the city of São Paulo and has a population of 238 high school students.

The institutions referred to in this study have very distinct characteristics and at some similar points, such as the fact that they develop their pedagogical plan focusing on the university entrance exam.

Schools A and B resemble a common strategy: the separation and formation of high-income classes (Ritto & Vieira, 2016) and with the right to receive special care to achieve their desired performance and thus focus on first positions. This is your main strategy for capturing and retaining high school students. Another common feature is that most students did not attend all three years of high school in their classrooms, except school C.

These students are attracted by the numbers obtained by the schools in the entrance exams and in Enem and end up leaving the schools where they were formed to seek a better chance to prepare for this competition stage (Ritto & Vieira, 2016). For a better view of the situation of the three schools, below we will find a graph taken from the 2017 census (Brazil, 2015) about our objects of study.

Figure 4: Characteristics of the institutions

School name	Number of students at census	School size	Enem participants	Permanency indicator	Socioeconomic indicator
School A	41	from 31 to 60 students	41	From 60% to 80%	Very high
School B	35	from 31 to 60 students	32	Less then 20%	Without information
Scholl C	77	from 61 to 90 students	75	80% or more	Very high

Source: Enem System(2015)

Looking at the permanence indicator, we can see that the institutions have different characteristics. This fact comes from the different governing policies of the institutions. Schools A and B have scholarships for high school only, however, school A has a college structure and makes internal recruitments. For this reason, it has a higher rate than school B, which acts as a preparatory course for the entrance exams. The following indices will give us a clear idea of the institutions' income level:

Figure 5: Grades and results gained on exams and redaction

Entity name	Language code and technology	Math and Technology	Humans Sciences and technology	Nature sciences and technology	Redaction	Average of the exams
School a	681,23	873,65	721,47	728,80	813,17	751,29
School b	650,68	858,77	705,41	730,51	783,75	736,34
School c	649,93	792,06	702,69	698,02	778,13	710,68

Source: Enem system (2015)

The result of so much investment, preparation and strategies to select the best students could not be otherwise: schools A and B eventually reached the top positions in Enem 2015 and school C, confirms the theory developed by Andrade (2015) that states The existence of an important transitional ranking component that can be reduced when institutions have a smaller number of students, up to a 28% chance of a school repeating its position in the next ranking.

School A clearly managed to avoid this probability by betting on selection and specific training, which earned it the 1st position for six consecutive years.

Material and methods

The theoretical framework of this work will be developed from the collection and analysis of micro data acquired through Inep, from three schools located in the city of São Paulo that were ranked as the first places in the objective tests in Enem in 2015. For the composition of the ranking where only the schools of the city of São Paulo are listed, their identities have been preserved and to refer to the objects of study, the terminology School A, B and C will be used.

This analysis will have the following criteria evaluated:

- Indicator of socioeconomic level;
- Indicator of permanence in school;
- School average in the newsroom;
- School average on objective tests;

For this analysis, will be used as support the documents available on the portal of Inep, articles, reports and theorists that are references in teaching.

Results and Discussion

The structuring and dissemination of the “Enem por Escola” ranking has become a tool with wide reach and repercussion in the media. This power of opinion formation is due to the fact that most families rely on this data to choose the schools where their children will study. Based on the document published by Inep (Brazil, 2017), it is clear that this ranking is structured in a deficient way, as schools use as criteria for its formulation only the results obtained in the objective tests and writing.

Other factors such as socioeconomic index, education, average faculty regularity indicator (IRD) and length of stay of students in institutions are disregarded in favor of a more direct and assertive media dissemination. This strategy aims to camouflage some structures within schools that still create elite groups to achieve the best results (Previdelli, 2012), thereby massifying the offer for success opportunities to other federation units.

This fact influences the opinion of families in a way that ends up forming a misleading concept of teaching quality and they begin to categorize as quality, the school that focuses on Enem and the entrance exams. When they do not have this bias, their managers and teachers are overcharged by the stakeholders and, consequently, the schools in which they work are sometimes categorized as low quality.

By analyzing the performance of schools it was exposed that school A, 1st place in 2015, maintains this position for six consecutive years, however, school B left its 2nd place to 3rd and school C, 2nd place in 2015, figured just this year among the best. This scenario configures a transitory ranking feature and makes it clear that turnover between institutions has a repetition pattern, since the indexes achieved are arithmetically similar.

Conclusion

The data and results presented in this paper demonstrate that the way in which the Enem ranking is created is still deficient and this deficit allows the information to be interpreted and used opportunistically, according to the commercial need of each institution presented.

Another verified factor concerns the performance of schools with small number of students, which tend to present extreme results. Thus, the difference of this work is in the field of variation of qualitative results that infer the policies of trying to create a room with homogenized intellectual pattern and high performance.

Thus, there is an attempt to reduce the transition coefficient, so that schools that can group these intellects under the ideal circumstances of class, training, and academic achievement, last longer in higher ranking positions, while students who have access the same study material, but with different working conditions, do not achieve the same results.

The third component to be exposed concerns the added value that is attributed to educational franchises, as in the case of school A, which uses the results obtained by a small unit as a result of its network, so that families are led to look for their subsidiaries expecting their children to achieve the same rates. Schools B and C are not part of a school network, only school B has two units.

The competition for student recruitment and retention in the city of São Paulo has become the main end to which schools have focused their efforts and, therefore, their teaching methods are focused on the training and performance of their students. This scenario cannot be looked at only from the point of view of schools, but an economic cut needs to be made.

Over the years higher education has assumed a funnel role in our society. There are not enough public high schools and chairs for the entire population, so the access process needs to be hampered as much as possible, a fact that triggers a process in which schools with the highest purchasing power to offer the best

spaces and tools and the best educated teachers have the advantage of offering a teaching that has excellence in access to public higher education institutions.

In this scenario, integral human formation, skill and skill development, and critical thinking are second thoughts, making students simple performers and taking their roles as stolen agents of transformation from their basic education as citizens

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