

# *Current Educational Reforms for High School in Brazil<sup>1</sup>*

*Atuais Reformas Educacionais para o Ensino Médio no Brasil*

*Reformas Educativas Actuales para la Enseñanza Media en Brasil*

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**ABSTRACT:** *This article concentrates on the current educational reforms for high school in Brazil, where it systematizes an analysis about the BNCC, "New High School" and DCNEM. It is a bibliographic and documentary research, based on the theoretical contributions of Marxism. The results of the research show that the various reforms are based on the educational project of international bodies, in which education is understood as a path to economic and social development, supported by the Theory of Human Capital and the Knowledge Society. The study allowed us to understand that BNCC is put as a general law of education, to which the entire Brazilian educational system needs to adjust. This curricular restructuring is a catalogue of competence and skills, both cognitive and socio-emotional, to be developed and based on a managerial conception, which aims at control, regulation and punishment. It also deepens the class character of Brazilian education, reproducing the inequalities of capitalist society within the school, officializing structural duality, its class division.*

**EDUCATIONAL REFORMS. BNCC. HIGH SCHOOL.**

**RESUMEN:** *Este artículo trata de las reformas educativas actuales para la escuela secundaria en Brasil, donde sistematiza un análisis sobre BNCC, "Novo Ensino Médio" y DCNEM. Se trata de una investigación bibliográfica y documental, basada en las aportaciones teóricas del marxismo. Los resultados de la investigación muestran que las diversas reformas se basan en el proyecto educativo de las organizaciones internacionales, en el que la educación se entiende como un camino hacia el desarrollo económico y social, apoyado por la Teoría del Capital Humano y la Sociedad del Conocimiento. El estudio nos permitió entender que el BNCC se pone como una ley general de la educación, que todo el sistema educativo Brasileño necesita ajustar. Esta reestructuración curricular es un catálogo de competencias y habilidades, tanto cognitivas como socioemocionales, a desarrollar y se basa en una concepción gerencial, que tiene como objetivo el control, la regulación y el castigo. También profundiza el carácter de clase de la educación Brasileña, reproduciendo las desigualdades de la sociedad capitalista dentro de la escuela, convirtiéndola en la dualidad estructural oficial, su división clasista.*

**REFORMAS EDUCATIVAS. BNCC. EN LA SECUNDARIA.**

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<sup>1</sup> This study emerges from master's research completed in the Graduate Program in Education of the Federal University of Pernambuco entitled "Imperialism and Educational Policies for High School in Brazil", developed in the Line of Educational Policy Research, Education Planning and Management and obtained financial support from the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES).

**RESUMO:** Este artigo versa sobre as atuais reformas educacionais para o ensino médio no Brasil, onde sistematiza uma análise sobre a BNCC, o “Novo Ensino Médio” e as DCNEM. É uma pesquisa de cunho bibliográfico e documental, fundamentada nos aportes teóricos do marxismo. Seus resultados evidenciam que as reformas estão fundamentadas no projeto educacional dos organismos internacionais, no qual a educação é entendida como caminho para o desenvolvimento econômico e social, sustentado pela TCH e da Sociedade do Conhecimento. O estudo permitiu compreender que a BNCC é posta como uma lei geral da educação, a qual todo o sistema educacional Brasileiro precisa se ajustar. Essa reestruturação curricular é um catálogo de competências e habilidades (cognitivas/socioemocionais) a serem desenvolvidas, fundamentado numa concepção gerencialista, que visa controle, regulação e punição. Aprofunda o caráter de classe da educação Brasileira, reproduzindo as desigualdades da sociedade capitalista no seio da escola, oficializando a dualidade estrutural.

**REFORMAS EDUCACIONAIS. BNCC. ENSINO MÉDIO.**

## Introduction

The outbreak of the acute structural crisis of capitalism in 1970 brought with it the collapse of the Fordist-Taylorist-Keynesian production regime and its welfare or *welfare state*. The latter had guaranteed, in the post-war period, an articulated set of social rights such as education, health, retirement, in response to the needs of accumulation and legitimation of the capitalist system in many industrialized countries, especially in the face of the advancement of socialism. With its end, a productive restructuring of capitalism begins.

This new restructuring of production and the accumulation of capital, called Flexible Accumulation, is marked by an unprecedented structural crisis – “overproduction crisis, existence of a large mass of speculative financial capital (parasitic), incessant clashes between imperialist policies through trade wars, neocolonizing offensives on semicolonies and the explosion of unemployment” (Souza, 2010, p. 149).

The growth cycle of the post-war period was exhausted and the response was the dismantling of *the welfare state* and the return to the minimum state, intensification of exploitation and deregulation of the social and political rights of workers to ensure greater market freedom and capital accumulation.

In Latin America, this process culminated in the Washington Consensus in 1989, which imposed, through international funding agencies, the so-called “neoliberal reforms”, pointed out as necessary to latin american countries and which implied a program of strict fiscal balance having as vectors a profound cut in public spending – administrative, labor and social security reforms –; a rigid monetary policy with the aim of stabilising; the deregulation of financial and labour markets; radical privatisation and commercial opening (Saviani, 2013). These policies, rather than mitigating, as advocated, have been reinforcing poverty and global inequality.<sup>2</sup>

Souza (2010) highlights the importance of perceiving how subtle the theory of the minimum state is, and this is the key to understanding this debate. The minimum state is characterized by widespread privatization and reduction of public spending on social policies. Thus, the State loses its capacity to generate employment and resolve hunger, however, it expands its capacity for domination from the discourse of monopolistic capital, where the central idea is that it “loses” its control force and puts itself in the hands of large companies, with the implementation of toyotism and technological advancement.

In view of all these changes implemented to meet the needs and give survival to the system, imperialism begins to situate education better and better in the priorities of its international organizations (Leher, 1999), because it begins to recognize the need for control of knowledge and its economic and strategic value, transforming it into a commodity.

The ideological intervention of international organizations in educational policies in Brazil, especially the World Bank, UNESCO and ECLAC in order to manage poverty from the centrality of education focused on economic growth and development, it has implied a series of measures and reforms, over the years, in the conceptions and practices that permeate educational issues and can be synthesized in: investment in human capital aiming at greater productivity; focus on minimal learning, with curricular

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<sup>2</sup> According to Silva (2017), the expression “neoliberal reforms” is a euphemism for imperialist impositions. Like other expressions – “neoliberalism”, “neocolonialism”, “globalization” – are introduced through friendly meanings and deny “the hegemonic role of the American State, assuming that the dictates of the market are something outside the policies imposed by their prey” (Souza, 2010, p. 38).

narrowing and flexibility; development of socio-emotional skills; evaluation focusing on performance results; teacher accountability; privatization; reinforces the character of teaching class.

It is these conceptions that will also permeate the current educational reforms, only with greater depth, let us see.

Under the consensus view of international organizations regarding the organic relationship between education, economic growth and social development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was given control of school performance at the international level, which also defined what quality of education would be – reading, writing, counting and having basic science basics (Motta & Frigotto, 2017).

With the justification of the need to improve performance in the International Student Evaluation Program (PISA) and Basic Education Development Index (IDEB), instruments to measure the quality of education, it is that the current reforms in education, especially in high school, are being implemented.

We point out that after the publication of the results of the Basic Education Evaluation System (SAEB) of 2017, the then Minister of Education, Rosseli Soares, stated that "The Brazilian high school revealed by Saeb 2017 is a disaster. The insufficient performance of our students, editing after edition of the evaluation, confirms the importance of the changes we brought with the New High School" (INEP, 2018, online).

The data from SAEB 2017, released by INEP, which deals with the former minister are systematized in Figures 1 and 2 below:

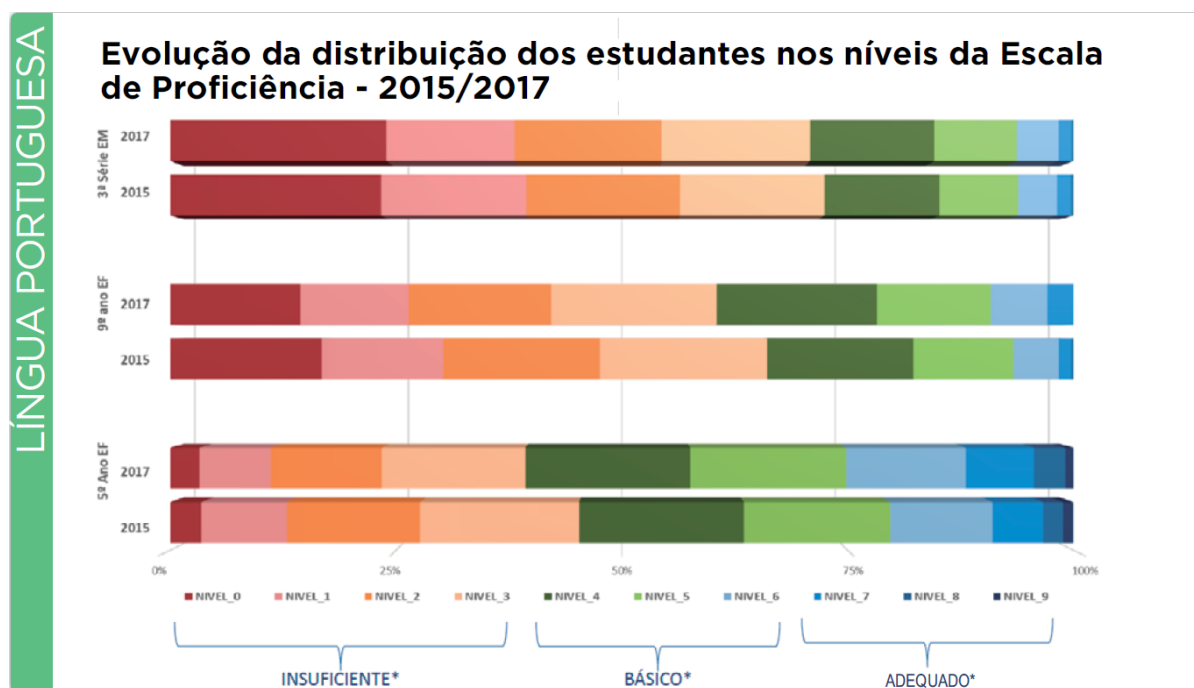


Figure 1: Evolution of student distribution at the levels of the Proficiency Scale in Portuguese - 2015/2017

Source: INEP, 2018.

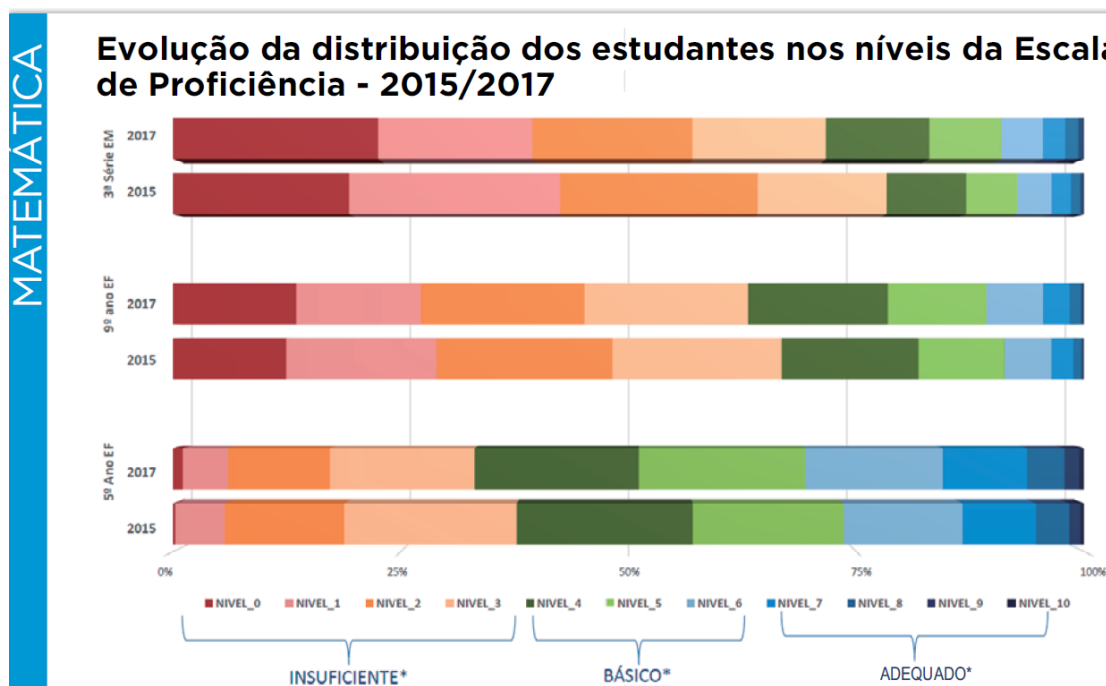


Figure 2: Evolution of student distribution at the levels of the Mathematics Proficiency Scale - 2015/2017  
Source: INEP, 2018.

As we can see, in both Portuguese and Mathematics almost 75% of the students have insufficient performance. However, contrary to any embarrassment that this data should cause in the person who is responsible for education in our country, the then minister made a point of propagating the unfortunate situation in which it is, being further reinforced by the then president of the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP) and author of the reference matrix of the SAEB in the 1990s, which emphasizes that high school has added little to the cognitive development of students and its low quality has impaired training for the labor market and delayed the social and economic development of Brazil, being necessary for innovative solutions.

Unfortunately the results do not record learning gains for our children and young people. The Saeb 2017 highlights, once again, the urgency of the implementation and support to revolutionary programs initiated by the New High School, the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), the Most Literacy, and full-time teaching, to name but a few. The comparison with these results is dismaying (INEP, 2018, online).

Freitas (2018c) draws attention to the fact that "The results of the evaluation of SAEB 2017 were disseminated with a change in the criterion of distribution of students' scores on the proficiency scale. This made it more difficult for a student to be classified as 'proficient' or with 'adequate performance'." The author also highlights the fact that this change was made shortly before the implementation of the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC). In agreement with Freitas (2018c), we understand that all these attitudes, in addition to other factors, aimed to reinforce the need for immediate implementation of the reform of Brazilian education with the so-called "New High School" and the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC).

In the meantime, at no time was there any talk of expanding public investment in education. On the contrary, following the guidelines of the World Bank, in its last report presented to the Brazilian government entitled "A Fair Adjustment: Analysis of the efficiency and equity of public spending in Brazil" (2017), which aimed to make a review of public spending in the country, it is advocated that it is possible and necessary to improve the efficiency of education, provide better levels of services by spending less.

The inefficiency of spending on basic education in Brazil is high and has been increasing. A Data Enveloping Analysis (DEA) with Data from the OECD PISA on education in Brazil and other Latin American countries demonstrates that Brazilian schools are relatively inefficient in the use of resources (dea-oriented sources). In addition, the average inefficiency increased from about 45% in

2006 to 55% in 2012. Although spending per student increased, most schools failed to improve performance, which resulted in lower overall productivity. Efficiency and performance are correlated: schools with the best results are also the most efficient (World Bank, 2017, p. 124-125).

It is clear here the essential relationship between the current reform of education and the "New Fiscal Regime" that froze all public spending by the approval of Constitutional Amendment No. 95/2016. This relationship not only makes quality education impossible, but also leads to privatization, because it is not possible to overcome the state in which education is located in our country without public investments. The logic presented by the International Organizations is inscribed in the logic of the maximum profit of monopolistic capital, sucateia, emphasizes the precariousization in which it finds itself and soon after defends privatization, relating the fallacy of privatist efficiency, crucial gear to overcome the deepening of the decomposition of the current capitalist system (Moclato, 2018).

In this context of impositions of reforms in public policies in Brazil, imposed by international organizations and ostentatious by Brazilian governments, we seek, in this article, to analyze the reforms currently formulated for educational policies,<sup>3</sup> especially those that deal with high school – the BNCC and Law No. 13,415/2017, better known as "New High School" – pointing out the political-ideological conceptions that guide them as well as their consequences for education.

## 1 The Common National Curriculum Base

In 2014, the debate begins and, consequently, the elaboration of the BNCC. During this period, Dilma Rouseff, then president of Brazil, pointed out the need to implement a major reform in high school, underpinning a Common National Base, as defined both in the Federal Constitution (1988) and in the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBEN) – Law No. 9,394/1996, which defined competencies, goals and deadlines to be met by educational institutions.

Faced with the worsening contradictions between the fractions of the ruling classes in Brazil at that time and culminating in the impeachment of Dilma Rouseff, the drafting of the BNCC underwent accelerated changes with the rise of the government of Michel Temer (2016-2018).

In view of the fierce discussions around high school and aiming to facilitate the imposition of BNCC approval, its elaborators chose to withdraw the integrality of Basic Education, dividing it into early childhood education and elementary school on the one hand and high school on the other. It is, therefore, a document that had the approval of the first step facilitated in 2017, due to the separation between the levels of education, while the second stage was only approved in the following year.

According to the document,

The Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC) is a normative document that defines the organic and progressive set of essential learning that all students must develop along the stages and modalities of Basic Education, so that they have secured their rights of learning and development (Brazil, 2018a, p. 7).

Under the guidance of international organizations, the justification for its implementation is part of the need to promote equity in learning, so the poor will have ensured minimum learning for social and economic development, as it is necessary to fight poverty. Souza (2010) draws attention to the use of the concept of equity, because "unlike the concept of equality, equity is a way of concealing inequality. Inequality would be an attribute created by individual incompetence, since everyone would have access to opportunities" (Souza, 2010, p. 180-181). This appropriation of concepts that, at first sight, seem progressive has the purpose of concealing the contradictions imbued in educational policies.

According to Freitas (2018a), these theses are the basis for a "new theory of social development", where "the issue of poverty is something that we can overcome with a new Common National Curriculum Base that, in addition to cognitive skills, also includes socio-emotional skills".

Thus, education remains – since the reforms implemented in the 1990s, under the guidance of international organizations, as a strategy for achieving the productive restructuring of capital – being

<sup>3</sup> See master's thesis "Imperialism and Educational Policies for High School in Brazil", available at: <https://repositorio.ufpe.br/bitstream/123456789/35364/4/DISSERTA%C3%87%C3%83O%20Larissa%20dos%20Santos%20Estev%C3%A3o.pdf>. Accessed: 14 Feb. 2020.

understood as the path to economic development, corroborating the pragmatism and technicality of the Theory of Human Capital (TCH) and the Knowledge Society, as well as the pillars of education pointed out by UNESCO from the motto of "learning to learn", are them: <sup>45</sup>*Learning to live together; Learn to know; Learn to do; Learn to be.*

It indicates that pedagogical decisions should be oriented towards the development of competencies. Through the clear indication of what students should "know" (considering the constitution of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values) and, above all, what they should "know how to do" (considering the mobilization of these knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to solve complex demands of everyday life, the full exercise of citizenship and the world of work), the explicitness of competencies offers references for strengthening actions that ensure the essential learnings defined in the BNCC (Brazil, 2018, p. 13).

From then on, Freitas (2017) asks: "What rights: the 60% defined in the BNCC. If you have a "pattern", just manage getting the pattern. As in the industry." The policy that guided the elaboration of the BNCC is a managerial educational policy. Since its inception, it has been given to the great educational entrepreneurs, who have dominated the educational policy of the Ministry of Education (MEC), organized in the Movement for the Base, with funding from the Lemann Foundation.

In reality, BNCC is just a catalogue of skills and abilities. The government insists that "The Base is not curriculum. It is organized by references and areas of knowledge, and the states, from the Base, will define their curricula, define how to make students develop those skills and skills specific to each area" (Castro *apud* Freitas, 2018b).

We agree with Freitas (2018b), when he claims that this is an instrumental conception of curriculum, which restricts him to "how to do". However, in the way the BNCC is organized, this aspect will also be supplied in the preparation of teaching materials. "Therefore, in practice, BNCC defined competencies, skills (including their sequencing, year in which they should be given), minimum curriculum, evaluations and teaching materials" (Freitas, 2018b), removing any possibility of teacher autonomy.

Autonomy in the exercise of the profession is a constitutional principle, however the limitations imposed on the autonomy of teachers by the BNCC are enormous, because:

[...] the contents given are centrally determined, the production of didactic material (gold mine of the publishing market) is conditioned, in addition to guide the preparation of evaluations to verify the performance indexes of teaching, in practice, control mechanisms, accountability and punishment of workers in education. It is the model of education for the test, that is, a school where resilient teachers and obedient students are nullified in their creative power, becoming mere breeders; in the end, blamed for their "failure" stamped on government assessments, which ignore the structural conditions of schools, start from dubious criteria and focus fire on the individual (Moclote, 2018).

BNCC is based on this managerial conception, with a view to standardization. The discourse of equity in education, seeking to reverse the situation of exclusion of the poorest, actually means that, regardless of the concrete conditions, the school needs to teach the minimum curriculum defined in the BNCC, being punished, especially with losses of "incentives", if they do not perform well.

From this, a whole siege is created about the school: national exams, production of teaching materials and education systems, teacher evaluations, standards for teacher training, etc. The imposition is to align teacher training, teaching materials, evaluations and, finally, funding the objectives of BNCC. In this sense, Ordinance No. 1,570/2017 of the CNE establishing the BNCC Resolution states that:

<sup>4</sup> Pereira (2017), the knowledge and knowledge society Teoria of the Capital HHuman can be synthesized Na "logic of skills and abilities, corroborating the demands of a new process of flexible accumulation of the capitalist mode of production and making individuals seek to compete, throughout their lives, in order to achieve a place in the disputed labor market where there are no posts for all (Pereira, 2017, p. 6)". In fact, the educational process now has the function of forming skills, attitudes and knowledge that ensure greater productivity at work, enhancing work capacity. Thus, education should be understood as an investment like any other, a *human capital*.

<sup>5</sup> See report prepared by the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century for UNESCO entitled "Education: A Treasure to Discover", available at: [https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000109590\\_por](https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000109590_por). Accessed: 29 Feb. 2020.

Art. 15. Institutions or educational networks can immediately align their curricula and pedagogical proposals with BNCC.

Single paragraph. The adequacy of curricula to the BNCC should be effected preferably by 2019 and at most, until the beginning of the 2020 school year.

Art. 16. In relation to Basic Education, the reference matrices of evaluations and exams, on a large scale, should be aligned with the BNCC, within one (1) year from their publication.

Art. 17. In view of valuing the teacher and his initial and continuing education, the norms, curricula of the courses and programs intended for them should be adapted to the BNCC, pursuant to §8 of Art. 61 of the LDB, and should be implemented within two years, counted from the publication of the BNCC, according to Art. 11 of Law No. 13,415/2017.

§ 1 - The adequacy of courses and programs for the continuing training of teachers may start from the publication of the BNCC.

§ 2 - For the adequacy of the teaching action to the BNCC, the MEC must provide technological tools that provide the relevant training, within 1 (1) year, to be developed in collaboration with the education systems.

[...]

Art. 19. The programs and projects relevant to the MEC should be aligned with the BNCC, within one (one) year after its publication (Brazil, 2017b, p. 57).

In line, to measure quality is also provided for the National Examination of the Teaching of Basic Education (ENAMEB) and realignment of national exams to the BNCC, with INEP being the body responsible for all large-scale evaluations in the country.

The union's first task of direct responsibility will be to review the initial and continued training of teachers to align them with the BNCC. National action will be crucial in this initiative, since it is the sphere that is responsible for the regulation of higher education, a level at which most of these professionals are prepared. Given the evidence on the weight of the teacher in determining the performance of the student and the basic education school, this is an indispensable condition for the effective implementation of the BNCC" (Brazil, 2018, p. 21).

The quality of education is seen only as a managerial issue, so the problem is in line with the BNCC and we will have a quality education. This is pure demagoguery, because it is about control, regulation, supervision and punishment of institutions and teachers.

Indeed, the BNCC cannot be examined in isolation, but as part of imperialism's policies to safeguard its rotting system of decompose bureaucratic capitalism in our country. It seems that we sought to make the BNCC a general law for education, which educational systems, institutions and networks of teaching and teacher training, in addition to the Ministry of Education (MEC) itself must adjust. This pressure on management issues on the school and its professionals will lead to the destruction of the public school and its consequent privatization.<sup>6</sup>

## 2 The "New High School" and the New DCNEM

In the midst of fierce debates around the BNCC for high school and as a means of ensuring that the reform was carried out, the Policy for Promoting the Implementation of Full-Time High Schools, better known as "Reform of High School" or "New High School", implemented by Provisional Measure (MP) No. 746/2016, later converted into Law No. 13,415/2017, was approved. Its flagship is the flexibilization of the high school curriculum through the offer of "training path" and the gradual expansion of full-time education in the final stage of basic education.

In relation to the workload, in the "New High School" it will be progressively expanded until it reaches 1,400 hours, however it should reach 1,000 hours within a maximum of 5 years. The 200 school days must be maintained, the daily workload should increase progressively until it reaches at least 7 hours a day, i.e. full-time period.

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<sup>6</sup> See doctoral thesis "Imperialism and education in the field: an analysis of educational policies in the State of Rondônia since 1990", available at: [https://repositorio.unesp.br/bitstream/handle/11449/101514/souza\\_mm\\_dr\\_arafcl.pdf?sequence=1](https://repositorio.unesp.br/bitstream/handle/11449/101514/souza_mm_dr_arafcl.pdf?sequence=1). Accessed: 29 Feb. 2020.

As a curricular restructuring, under the justification of "adopting a work focused on the construction of a life project" of the students, different training paths are admitted, carried out through "formative itineraries, which should be organized through the offer of different curricular arrangements, according to the relevance to the local context and the possibility of education systems" (Brazil, 2017a). Motta and Frigotto (2017) clarify the intentions of this curricular restructuring:

It is in this area that the restructuring of the high school curriculum is urgent: to improve performance in IDEB and PISA, flexibilising the curriculum in order to facilitate the choices of the disciplines that young people from the popular classes would have less difficulty and, thus, probably better performance in large-scale evaluations; develop skills and competencies that facilitate entry into the labor market, formal or informal, or that provide occupations that will generate income — in this case, through entrepreneurship education (Motta & Frigotto, 2017, p. 365).

With this, the restructuring of the high school curriculum, on the one hand, improves the performance in large-scale assessments by making it more flexible through the choices of areas of knowledge where there is less difficulty and, on the other hand, develops skills and competencies that facilitate entry into the labor market, given the adequacy of local needs. In view of the intentions put, it is clear the urgency of the approval of this reform.

Thus, the high school curriculum is now composed of common curricular components, established by the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), and five training itineraries, namely: languages and their technologies; mathematics and its technologies; nature sciences and their technologies; applied human and social sciences; technical and vocational training.

The common curricular components should correspond to 60% of all high school, and only the offer of Portuguese and mathematics subjects is compulsory in the three years. It is also mandatory to teach English as a foreign language, since elementary school, being optional the offer of other languages. The other disciplines must be included, but do not need to go through the entire route. The "New High School" also points to the maximum workload for these common curricular components, which is 1,800 hours for the three years of high school, but does not establish a minimum workload, which, according to Kuenzer (2017), can give autonomy to institutions to establish a lower workload.

The rest of the high school workload, i.e. the 40% that will not be dedicated to the contents of the BNCC, should be filled with training itineraries "organized through the offer of different curricular arrangements" (Brazil, 2017), thus, "depending on the total duration of the course, the chosen path will have different duration, and the workload destined to technical and professional education may vary between 25 and 62% of the total duration of the course" (Kuenzer, 2017, p. 335).

According to Kuenzer (2017), this modality of teaching is a time where the young person is preparing to make his choices and, therefore, needs the greatest possible interaction with the different areas. The curricular organization imposed by the reform points out the opposite, a hierarchization of disciplines and an early choice for an area of study, this fragments the formation of the subjects, overlapping the proposal of formation of the integrality of the human person that had been discussed in the National Curriculum Guidelines for High School (DCNEM).

Moreover, the provision of several such itineraries, presented as an opportunity for young people, is not mandatory for education networks. They may offer only one itinerary, provided that they take into account the context and possibilities of the education system. This points us to two questions: restriction of the possibilities of choice by students and precariousization. On the first, Kuenzer (2017, p. 335) states that:

The offer of how many and which training itineraries will be defined by the education systems, according to their concrete conditions, which will lead to the restriction of the possibilities of choice by the student, that is, to stiffening. Similarly, the student can take more than one itinerary, as long as there is a vacancy (depending on the workload, this will only be possible in the subsequent form).

Motta and Frigotto (2017, p. 368) add by pointing out that "It will not be a matter of 'free choice', as the reformers propose, but compulsory, because it will be the way to comply with the mandatory workload [...]". In relation to precarious, the authors state that this reform of high school

\*retroacts to Law No. 5,692/1971, reform of education from the times of the military business dictatorship with a precarious professionalization in the face of the realities of the states [...] when



there is, the expansion of what it calls a full-time school in precarious infrastructure conditions. Under these given conditions, each school will offer the professional education that fits in its budget (Motta & Frigotto, 2017, p. 368).

In this logic, we will have two problems here, the precariousness in relation to structure and precariousness in relation to quality.

It rescues Decree No. 2,208/1997 by stating that "high school can be organized in modules and adopt the credit system with specific terminality" (Brazil, 2017a) and opens the possibility to recognize competencies and sign agreements with educational institutions both face-to-face and distance, this flexibility allows skills and courses held in other spaces to be validated. From this perspective, Motta and Frigotto (2017) highlight that this new curricular<sup>7</sup> organization:

It resumes, in a worse way, Decree No. 2,208/1996, which already deepened the structural duality between professional education and basic education. The announcement of Medio-Tec by mec clearly indicates the incorporation of Pronatec in regular high school. Unequivocal proof that this is a counter-retirement for working-class children. Also an explicit confession that the MEC assumes, in fact, a class division of education (Motta & Frigotto, 2017, p. 368).

Far from representing an expansion of opportunities, "the scientific knowledge historically produced by humanity is put in the background, acquires an instrumental and pragmatic character, defining itself as "contents, a the same al knowledge, in the field of values, competencies, skills and interpersonal relationships" (Rabelo; Second; Jimenez, 2009, p. 10), focused on the valorization of capital and market demands, dispersing educational practices through different spaces, without the requirement of theoretical rigor.

In addition to the disqualification of learning, among these itineraries, there is also professional disqualification, with the possibility of offering technical and professional education exercised by professionals with "notorious knowledge". If the offer of all itineraries is not mandatory and depends on the conditions of the education system, "the tendency will be to reduce supply, focusing less on qualified teachers and more sophisticated material resources and technologies" (Kuenzer, 2017, p. 336), as they will be less expensive. For Kuenzer,

[...] the reform solved at least two major problems for education systems: the lack of teachers for various disciplines and the difficulty in solving the precarious material conditions of schools, mainly in terms of laboratories, libraries, computer equipment, internet access and the construction of spaces for cultural and sports activities (Kuenzer, 2017, p. 336).

Finally, the law on the reform of high school also provides that the "curricula of teacher training courses will have as reference the Common National Curriculum Base" (Brazil, 2017a). Reinforcing the role of the teacher as mediator or facilitator of the acquisition of knowledge, his training should focus on the offer of the "teacher survival kit" (Libâneo, 2012, p. 20), which transforms him into a tarefeiro teacher, lecturer, booklet follower, aiming at reducing the costs of training, training and salary.

In 2018, the National Council of Education (CNE) enacted the new DCNEM in order to adapt them to the reform in force.

The Opinion of the CNE/CEB No. 3/2018 tied to the DCNEM in question, retifies the foundations of the first Guidelines for High School published in 1998 justifying that "its normative definitions [now] remain absolutely valid, reason why it is being resumed in this Opinion" (BRAZIL, 2018b, p. 4), although in 2012 they were updated because they were outdated after changes in both Brazilian legislation and educational requirements arising from the acceleration of knowledge production, access to information, changes in the work world and the interests of the subjects of this educational stage (BRAZIL, 2013).

While CNE/CEB Resolution No. 3/2018, by explaining the content of the new high school organization, takes up aspects present in the 2012 DCNEM, by listing, among the specific principles for

<sup>7</sup> "Decree No. 2,208/1997 instituted the Reform of High School and Professional Education by separating the offer of basic education – especially high school – from technical education, which is offered in a complementary, parallel or sequential way. This reform guaranteed the free performance of private institutions in technical education, which generated a huge expansion of the private offer of basic vocational courses, which, despite their professional formative character, are courses without binding with scientific knowledge, of short duration and without guarantee or quality evaluation" (Estevão, 2019, p. 83).

high school, "integral student education", "life project as a reflection strategy", "research as a pedagogical practice", etc. We see here in an explicit way the trick of agglutinating concepts and antagonistic categories of the popular and liberal classes; include as many demands as possible; contemplate the largest possible conceptual field in order to prove democratic.

The resolution also provides for the flexibility of the curriculum, where:

[...] activities performed at a distance can include up to 20% (twenty percent) of the total workload, which may affect both basic general education and, preferably, the training itineraries of the curriculum [...] and can at the discretion of the education systems expand to up to 30% (thirty percent) in high school at night (Brazil, 2018c, p. 11).

According to Kuenzer (2017), this principle of flexibility of the curriculum, including this promotion of distance education, is part of a broader conceptual framework, that of flexible learning that is a reflection of the current production regime, Flexible Accumulation.

Flexible learning is "[...] conceived as a result of an innovative methodology, which articulates technological development, the diversity of dynamic learning models and interactive media [...]" (Kuenzer, 2017, p. 337). In this context, it is justified given the need to expand teaching in order to meet the demands of a more demanding and competitive society. The author draws attention to the modification of the student's forms of participation, with regard to the methodology:

From the methodological point of view, in the conception of flexible learning, the student's way of participation in this proposal changes greatly: from spectator, he becomes the subject of his own learning, which will require initiative, autonomy, discipline and commitment. In the flexible learning modalities available, it will make its own study schedule, establish the conditions and the pace at which it will study, according to its profile and its possibilities. In the sothe, when managing their times and spaces, he would learn to learn, alone or in collaboration, which would lead to a better use; and, in collaborative practices, it would no longer be isolated in their tasks and readings, in order to also overcome individualistic postures (Kuenzer, 2017, p. 337-338).

We observe the emphasis given to the neo-escolanovista model, with the motto learning to learn, which, in addition to being pragmatic, blames and blames the subjects for social inequalities.<sup>8</sup>

Other important changes are presented, such as the issuance of certificates of completion of high school by the schools showing the training itineraries taken, the admission of professionals who have completed "pedagogical complementation programs" for teaching in basic education, the adequacy of the ENEM to the BNCC and the new high school by means of a test chosen by the student "according to the area linked to the higher education degree that he intends to attend", etc. (Brazil, 2018c, p. 11-16).

It is clear that the current reforms for Brazilian education are within the project to safeguard the bureaucratic capitalism of the Brazilian state, expressed in the withdrawal of democratic rights won by the popular classes, with the freezing of public resources for education and health, flexibilization of labor laws and proposals for pension reform. It is also expressed in the rigidity regarding the hierarchy of disciplines, presenting mandatory only those recommended by international organizations, denying the scientific knowledge accumulated by humanity to the popular classes, as well as in the public-private partnerships used as a strategy of privatization of high school.

[...] it is a counter-reform that expresses and consolidates the project of the Brazilian ruling class in its anti-national brand, reparation, public anti-education, in its political and economic bases [...], which condemns generations to simple work and denies the foundations of the sciences that allow young people to understand and master how the world of things and human society work. A cynical violence of interdiction of the future of the children of the working class through the officialization of the intensified duality of high school and an empty school [...] (Mota & Frigotto, 2017, p. 369).

It is evident that this curricular restructuring reinforces the class character of Brazilian education. Capitalist society reconstructs the difference between elite schools, focused on intellectual formation, and schools for the masses, which are limited to basic schooling or are restricted to a certain professional qualification (Saviani, 1994), this expresses the duality behind the democratization of teaching and learning.

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<sup>8</sup> View book "History of pedagogical ideas in Brazil" Dermisval Mr. Saviani.

However, this duality is not a pedagogical or managerial issue, but the materialization of the class character of education.

### Final Considerations

The path that these educational reforms have trodden, using investment in human capital aiming at greater productivity; precarious learning with a focus on minimal learning, with flexibility and scientific emptying of the curriculum, which is replaced by socio-emotional skills and instrumental and pragmatic skills; evaluation focused on performance results; teacher accountability, including punitive; the intrusion of private capital (privatization) that emphasizes the concepts of efficiency, effectiveness, productivity, total quality, does not aim at human development in its entirety, do not serve the working masses, the popular classes. This type of ideological, political-pedagogical conception is far from meeting the needs of the popular classes, on the contrary, this type of education has been "the process by which the ruling classes prepare in the mentality and conduct of children the fundamental conditions of their own existence" (Ponce, 2015, p. 205).

In the countries of bureaucratic capitalism, as is the case in Brazil, we highlight that a bureaucratic line is developed in the ideological field that consists in the process of shaping all the people in the conception and political ideas that serve them, and educational policies are the concentrated expression of this line. In contrast to it, we have the democratic path that seeks to transform the reality of public education, being necessary to destroy both the dualist education that opposes those who "think" and those who "do", the intellectual work of the manual work of bourgeois education. We must have a Marxist attitude and fight struggles within the bourgeois school, turning it into a trench of class struggle as a strategy for the transformation of education.

In our country it is necessary to break the bonds of imperialism and the foundations of bureaucratic capitalism. It is necessary to fight to transform the reality of public education, to defend an education at the service of the popular classes, combined with productive work, forming the human being in its integrality, that is to follow the democratic path, it is part of the democratic revolution.

The popular classes should raise their class consciousness to actively act in the construction of possibilities of a new school, defend public education and at the service of the people, a popular and scientific education and not by so-called thinkers representing the bourgeois and perverse ideology of capital.

Faced with advanced economic, political, moral and social crisis, we observe the worsening of all fundamental contradictions in the world, an increase in class struggle, a growing scenario of state reaction, but which drives increasingly greater and more consequential actions of popular resistance in defense of democratic rights conquered by the popular classes.

In the current political scenario, with the Bolsonaro government, we have accompanied several reforms that are within the project to safeguard the rotten bureaucratic capitalism of the Brazilian State, expressed in the continuation of the squealing of all democratic rights in a more emphatic way. In education, we have seen the large cuts in funds to contain, according to the manager on duty, "the balbúrdia", that is, where teachers and students are committed to defend the right to public education, free and quality, the increasing censorship and criminalization, disregarding the pedagogical process and the critical training of students, imposing fascist values, irrational and obscurantist conceptions. This is another expression of the threat to democratic freedom of education in the country, which seeks to contain communist ideology.

The ruling classes continue to underestimate the resistance of the popular classes. It is necessary to mobilize us in a broad, radical and consequential way to fight against the educational policies of imperialism that are being implemented in our country, against the precariousness and scrapping of public education, against the class structures of bureaucratic capitalism, backward and semifeudal, which is expression in education. It is necessary to raise our class consciousness and actively act in the defense of public education, free, democratic, scientific and at the service of our people.

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Submitted: Sep. 13 2020.

Accepted: Feb. 15 2021.