

The New High School: the dispute over an old educational project

La Nueva Enseñanza Media: la disputa sobre un antiguo proyecto formativo

O Novo Ensino Médio: a disputa em torno de um velho projeto formativo

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ABSTRACT: *This article presents an analysis of the dispute process that is configured around the New High School educational project. Developed through bibliographic research and document analysis, retake the formative perspectives expressed by the documents that shaped the training proposals for high school from the 90's. Addresses, mainly, the principles present in the High School Reform, instituted by law number 13.415/2017, in the High School Common Curricular Base, in the Nacional Curriculum Guidelines for High School, approved in 2018. It was found that the proposal of the New High School is marked by the return to the centrality of the curriculum based on competences and it is subject to the processes of capital restructuring, marked by the radical resumption of neoliberalism, resembling the movement that occurred in the 90's. Therefore, it resumes an old formative project, emphasizing the dualistic character of the formation proposed for High School.*

CURRICULUM POLICIES. HIGH SCHOOL REFORM. HIGH SCHOOL.

RESUMEN: *Este artículo presenta un análisis del proceso de disputa que se configura en torno al proyecto de formación del Nueva Enseñanza Media. Desarrollado mediante la investigación bibliográfica y el análisis documental, retoma las perspectivas formativas expresadas por los documentos que configuraron las propuestas de formación para el Enseñanza Media de los años noventa. Aborda, sobre todo, los principios presentes en la Reforma de la Enseñanza Media, instituida por la Ley n° 13.415/2017, en la nueva Base Curricular Común Nacional y en las Directrices del Currículo Nacional para el Enseñanza Media, aprobados en 2018. Se constató que la propuesta del Nueva Enseñanza Media está marcada por el retorno a la centralidad curricular basada en competencias y está sujeta a los procesos de reestructuración del capital, marcados por la reanudación radical del neoliberalismo, asemejándose al movimiento ocurrido en la década de noventa. Por tanto, retoma un antiguo proyecto formativo, enfatizando el carácter dualista de la formación propuesta para a Enseñanza Media.*

ENSEÑANZA MEDIA. REFORMA DE LA ENSEÑANZA MEDIA. POLÍTICAS CURRICULARES.

RESUMO: Este artigo apresenta uma análise a respeito do processo de disputas que se configura em torno do projeto formativo do Novo Ensino Médio. Desenvolvido por meio de pesquisa bibliográfica e análise documental, retoma as perspectivas formativas expressas pelos documentos que configuraram as propostas de formação para o Ensino Médio a partir da década de 1990. Aborda, sobretudo, os princípios presentes na Reforma do Ensino Médio, instituída pela Lei nº 13.415/2017, na nova Base Nacional Comum Curricular e nas Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para o Ensino Médio, aprovadas em 2018. Constatou-se que a proposta do Novo Ensino Médio é marcada pelo retorno à centralidade curricular com base em competências e está submissa aos processos de reestruturação do capital, marcados pela retomada radical do neoliberalismo, assemelhando-se ao movimento ocorrido nos anos de 1990. Retoma, portanto, um velho projeto formativo, acentuando o caráter dualista da formação proposta para o Ensino Médio.

ENSINO MÉDIO. POLÍTICAS CURRICULARES. REFORMA DO ENSINO MÉDIO.

Introduction

Educational policies have been subject to constant adjustments to adapt the educational processes, training for work and the conformity of the subjectivity of the subjects to the needs that emerge from the social and productive context.

Manfredi (2002) highlights that the relations between work, education, and professionalization result from a complex network of determinations, mediations, and tensions between the different spheres of society: economic, social, political, and cultural. Thus, educational policies are the result of a complex historical construction / reconstruction movement, determined by economic-social and political-cultural factors, which configure the context in the different social protagonists and their interests operate.

In this way, the discussions around the curriculum have raised intense disputes regarding the configuration of the formative project aimed at the basic education of subjects, in view of the correlation of forces that is expressed amid the contradictions of the capitalist system, based on the relationship labor/capital.

This article presents an effort of analysis around the prescriptive elements that configure the current High School Reform. It seeks to understand the context of dispute that permeates the construction of the New High School proposal, in the sense of re-establishing/strengthening a pragmatic and neoliberal¹ formative project.

Based on the assumption that the study of educational policies and reforms is inseparable from the understanding of capital restructuring and maintenance movements in a broader scope and their reflexes on the organization and functions assumed by the State, we propose an analysis based on a theoretical perspective materialistic, historical, and dialectical methodology, seeking to critically capture the historical movement that constitutes them.

In this perspective, we start from the understanding of the social reality considered as a product of human activity, composing a totality, a synthesis of multiple determinations, contradictions, and mediations. In this sense, the comprehension of the researched phenomenon implies apprehending this totality in a concrete way, starting from its particularity, and unveiling the determinations that constitute it.

Dialectical historical materialism allows a critical analysis of capitalist social relations, insofar as it makes it possible to unveil how they are essential as relations of work, culture, and education, starting from the understanding of man as being active in the production and transformation of social reality.

¹ Neoliberalism has as main characteristics the minimal intervention of the State, the globalization of the economy, the sharp increase in privatizations, the deregulation of labor rights and the intensive application of new technologies. The neoliberal discourse attributes to the State intervention all social and economic evils, proposing, therefore, the redefinition of its role, the free market, and the free initiative.

The methodological movement that shapes the research was based on conducting documentary analysis, in order to understand the prescriptive configuration of the educational policy in progress, addressing the legal framework that constitutes the proposal for High School Reform, especially the documents: Law n. 13.415/2017 (Brasil, 2017), which institutes the New High School, the Common Base National Curriculum for High School (Brasil, 2018a) and the National Curriculum Guidelines for High School, updated in 2018 (Brasil, 2018b).

In bibliographic terms, we dialogue with authors around educational and curricular public policies, such as: Silva (2018); Silva and Scheibe (2017); Oliveira (2015); Freitas (2018); Lopes (2019); Neves (2005; 2011); Ciavatta and Ramos (2012); among others.

In the midst of capitalist social relations, marked by antagonistic interests around the private ownership of the means of production, the social division of classes and the exploitation of one class by the other, the State acts as a device of hegemony, seeking, through social policies, mitigate the effects of structures that produce inequality, guaranteeing the reproduction process of capital exploitation and accumulation mechanisms, without making a commitment to overcome these structures substantially.

In the process of dispute for hegemony around the formative project proposed by High School from the reform imposed by Law n. 13.415/2017, this study highlights the counter-reform² character assumed by the proposal, highlighting the role of the business sector in its configuration, resuming conservative and instrumental perspectives, and reducing the educational process to a unilateral, pragmatic and rudimentary perspective.

1 The disputes surrounding High School

Educational policies have been progressively advancing towards inserting adolescents and young people between 14 and 17 years old in compulsory public schooling, through the edition of legal texts. The Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988) ensured, in its article 208, item II, the progressive extension of the compulsory and gratuitous nature of secondary education. With the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, Law n. 9.394/1996 (Brasil, 1996), Secondary Education started to constitute the final stage of Basic Education, becoming a subjective right of all Brazilian citizens. However, only in 2009, Constitutional Amendment n. 59/2009 (Brasil, 2009) instituted the mandatory universalization of secondary education by 2016.

In practice, however, access to this stage of basic schooling remains a challenge. Historically permeated by the absence of its own identity and characterized by tension and dualism between work training and general training (Kuenzer, 2007), this stage is marked by high levels of school dropout and failure, in addition to the low performance shown by students in large-scale assessments. Access and guarantee of the permanence of young people in high school has not yet been universalized, requiring a set of actions and appropriate policies to ensure quality education.

In view of this situation, secondary education has been the target of constant reforms, under the pretext of expanding the universalization process, improving the performance indices presented and meeting the social pressures for higher quality. However, these objectives are linked to a greater interest:

² At times, the reformist bourgeois state acquires such a regressive character that it develops what Gramsci (2002) calls counter-reform. This process is characterized by the restoration and conservation of the social and political order, differing from the passive revolution, which, although maintaining the existing social structures, proposes small changes and concessions, being, therefore, marked by the revolution-restoration or modernization. For Gramsci (2002), the counter-reform is based on regressive conservatism, on the restoration of the old to maintain the reproduction and expansion of capital. Thus, counter-reform processes are defined at the discursive level as a reforming and progressive movement, in order to guarantee the legitimacy of their strategies, however, they represent cuts, restrictions and suppression of conquered social rights.

to adapt this stage of teaching to the productive needs of reproduction and expansion of capitalist accumulation.

According to the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education n. 9.394/1996, high school has the following purposes:

- I - the consolidation and deepening of the knowledge acquired in elementary education, enabling the pursuit of studies;
- II - basic preparation for the work and citizenship of the student, in order to continue learning, in order to be able to adapt flexibly to new conditions of occupation or further improvement;
- III - the improvement of the student as a human person, including ethical training and the development of intellectual autonomy and critical thinking;
- IV - the understanding of the scientific-technological foundations of the productive processes, relating the theory to the practice, in the teaching of each discipline (Brasil, 1996).

Thus, the training proposal foreseen for high school is based on three axes: the training of the citizen, the preparation for work and the preparation for the continuation of studies. It intends, on the discursive plane, to promote human formation both in the intellectual, scientific, ethical, aesthetic sense as well as in terms of training for work.

Based on these perspectives, several disputes permeate the definition of the High School training project. Libâneo; Oliveira and Toschi (2012) highlight that the offer of this stage of training involves different conceptions: propaedeutics, which aims to enable students to continue their studies in higher education; the technique, whose purpose is to prepare the workforce for the job market; and humanistic / progressive, which takes training in a broad sense, comprising the integration of the propaedeutic and technical dimension, in an integrated and dynamic way, for the full development of the subjects.

The correlation of forces around the formative project of High School has been configured, since the 1980s, between, on the one hand, the sectors of society that conceive the school from an efficient and immediate formation bias and, on the other, social sectors that aim for an integrated and polytechnic education for workers' children, which is not limited to training for work, but which also enables them to understand broadly and critically both the society in which they live and the way in which work is structured. that they carry out, with a view to building more humane and egalitarian ways of producing and living.

Despite the disputes, during this period, the proposed educational reforms were hegemonically aligned with the neoliberal, pragmatic, and efficient perspective. Consequently, they had a strong business connotation, linking the restructuring of the educational system to the demands of subjective formation and training for the productive sector and to the guidelines of International Organizations.

This conception goes back to the rationality that has been implemented in the administrative and governmental management of the last decades, from the productive restructuring process of global capitalism, due to the exhaustion of the accumulation regime based on the Taylors and Fordist model³. This new rationality was marked by the deepening of the phenomenon of globalization and the implementation of neoliberal formulas for the dissemination of a set of political and economic guidelines that transformed the forms of State organization and the development of social policies (Harvey, 2016).

The process of global capital restructuring required the construction of a new sociability that extended to all spheres of life: moral, cultural, ethical, intellectual, spiritual, etc. The condition of

³According to Harvey (2016), from the 1970s, the Taylors - Fordist work organization model was exhausted, based on the rigid control of work processes, the separation between supervision and work execution, mass production, among others. Because of this exhaustion, there is a fall in profit rates and the Social Welfare State model is in crisis. Responding to the structural crisis of capital and the state, the ideological and capital production system was reorganized, based on neoliberal strategies that amalgamate the new capitalist production relations.

dependence on the world economy quickly led the countries of Latin America to implement the neoliberal globalizing agenda.

According to Silva and Abreu (2008), the globalization process led to privatizations and the reorganization of public services, with the reduction of the state structure and the expansion of the participation of private companies. The bases for a new way of rationalization were gradually instituted, which subjected public services to the logic of the market, to meet the interests of capital.

Neves (2005) highlights that in Brasil, from 1990 onwards, the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso restructured the State, giving it a managerial character, by transferring most of the productive functions and services to the private sector. In this vein, social policies have been largely privatized, through decentralization, fragmentation and targeting strategies, with the State having an intervention and management role.

Based on guidelines and reforms proposed by international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and pressured by factors related to external financing, social policies were adjusted to market demands, agendas, and guidelines.

According to Oliveira (2015), policy development has acquired, in the context of a Minimum State, increasingly, a compensatory and focal character, valuing the State's place as regulator and administrator. Because of the centralization of the role of the regulating State and of commercialization in the educational field, there was the necessary standardization of practices and curricula in the pedagogical scope, controlled by means of large-scale evaluations.

Thus, the educational processes had their focus transferred to the results, with the implementation of evaluation systems to measure and monitor the achievement of goals by the teaching systems and teachers.

The incorporation of microelectronic-based technologies and work management, according to the Toyota model⁴, imposed on the field of training for work a series of characteristics necessary for workers, such as flexibility, the ability to learn permanently, to make more complex uses and diverse types of oral and written language, among others.

These dictates directly affected the training project necessary to produce the worker able to work in the new scenario configured by global capital. According to Azevedo (2004), in the educational scope, the reforms impact the forms of management, organization, financing and regulation of the social function of educational institutions, propagating a pedagogical and curricular project aimed at the training of labor for work and the consolidation of neoliberal ideology, through the reproduction of values, cultural and moral standards, such as competition and individualism.

In this becoming, general training gained centrality, having as its primary function to develop the social skills necessary to adapt the worker to the new productive paradigm, based on flexibility, versatility, and efficiency.

Freitas (2018) highlights that, in this context, the business sector started to lead, in an increasingly intense way, the debates around the offer, curriculum and financing of basic education, seeking to give hegemony to a process of entrepreneurship in education.

⁴ Created in Japan in 1950, this new method of production partly coexists and partly replaces the assembly line with a more flexible form of production. In Toyotism, production is directed and driven directly by demand, being, therefore, diversified and with minimum stock. According to Oliveira (2006), toyotism is characterized by the best possible use of production time. In this new system, work suffers the impacts of deregulation, informalization, precariousness and intensification, being more versatile and multifunctional. The flexible organization is based on the involvement and expropriation of the worker's intellect. For this reason, it requires workers not only to carry out various tasks (versatility and flexibility), but also to participate in the implementation of improvements in work processes, with a view to minimizing costs and increasing productivity.

The entrepreneurial process of education, based on neoliberal logic, proposes the hegemony of a formative project aimed at the subjective and pragmatic formation of the popular classes based on the needs of the market, reproducing a poor and unilateral formation.

Within the scope of disputes over educational policies, entrepreneurs intend not only to participate and to make decisions, but also to expand the possibilities of capital accumulation, through marketing strategies, social responsibility, tax benefits and partnerships with the State (Zanatta, 2017).

Reiterating the dispute process surrounding the hegemony of the high school training project, Silva (2018) points out that in the last decades, this stage has undergone numerous reforms, configured from the development of National Curriculum Parameters, two curricular guidelines of national scope for High School, two for Technical Vocational Education at High Level, two Decrees for this modality, a constitutional amendment, and a bill⁵.

Among these documents, there are substantive divergences regarding the identity and the purposes assumed for the stage, highlighting the correlation of forces that configure the formative projects requested for High School.

The National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education elaborated in 1998 (Brasil, 1998), shortly after the approval of the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education in 9.394/1996, aimed at adapting the stage of formation of Secondary Education to the guidelines and standards disseminated by International Organizations due to the productive restructuring process of capitalism.

The purposes of Secondary Education were contemplated in the National Curriculum Guidelines (Brasil, 1998) based on the character of general education, which should be aligned with the preparation and understanding of work processes, through knowledge about the technologies inherent to technical-scientific.

In this sense, the general preparation for work, as provided for in Article 35 of the Law on Guidelines and Bases for National Education, was proposed through a basic training process. As a result, high school took on a restricted formative perspective, with a view to developing skills for social and productive life.

However, the democratization of basic schooling was not linked to the possibility of expanding access to scientific and cultural knowledge by workers, given the simplification of work procedures made possible by microelectronic and digital molecular technology, but rather the prospect of preparing them and adapt them to face the flexibility of productive work, the processes of deregulation, precariousness, and unemployment.

In this way, the educational policies adopted based on business logic were based on a perspective of democratization of general training, aimed at training a large mass of workers who would take on flexible and precarious jobs and training with a technical and technological basis for a limited number of more complex jobs.

This led to a focus on general education in the high school stage and professional training was relegated to levels after high school. Still in 1997, Decree n. 2.208/1997⁶ formalized the separation between general training and professional and technical training.

⁵ The National Curriculum Parameters for Secondary Education (Brasil, 2000); Resolution n. 03/1998, which defines the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education (Brasil, 1998), based on Opinion n. 15/1998; Resolution 4/1999, which deals with the National Curriculum Guidelines for Professional Education (Brasil, 1999); Resolution n. 2/2012, which defines the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education (Brasil, 2012a), based on Opinion n. 05/2011; Resolution n. 06/2012, which Defines National Curriculum Guidelines for High School Technical Professional Education (Brasil, 2012b); Constitutional Amendment n. 59/2009 (Brasil, 2009) which establishes the mandatory schooling for the age group of 15 to 17 years; o Bill of Law 6.840/2013 (Brasil, 2013).

⁶ Federal Decree n. 2.208/1997 regulated articles 39 and 42 of the Law on Guidelines and Bases for National Education and organized vocational education at three levels: basic, aimed at qualifying, requalifying, and re-professionalizing workers, without considering prior education; the technician, intended for students enrolled or

Subsequently, the preparation of the National Curriculum Parameters (Brasil, 2000) synthesized the hegemony of business interests in the definition of the Basic Education formative project. The purpose of the document was to produce a curricular standardization in the country, at all levels of Basic Education, as established by Article 26, of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, in relation to the development of a common national curriculum.

It was intended to establish a training project based on the philosophy of “learning to learn”⁷, focusing Basic Education on a light training, aiming at the development of skills and abilities and the preparation, especially subjective, of individuals for the demands of the labor market, to the detriment of the formation of a critical and potentially emancipated subject.

In this document, the High School curriculum was organized from three main areas: Languages, Codes, and their Technologies; Natural Sciences, Mathematics, and its Technologies; and Human Sciences and their Technologies. The inclusion of the term “and its Technologies” in each area of knowledge, which had already been introduced in the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education (Brasil, 1998), was intended to serve the purpose of scientific-technological understanding of the fundamentals of production and preparation for work, as foreseen by the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (Brasil, 1996).

Silva (2018) points out that the overlap of the term “and its technologies” in each area of knowledge spells out a reductionist conception of technology, understood as a technique to be applied. In this sense, the concept of technology was limited to the application of certain knowledge, negating the social relations that constitute the processes of technological production, marked, above all, by the economic and productive scope.

Thus, the understanding of the scientific-technological foundations of the productive processes and the preparation for work and citizenship, proposed in Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, became restricted in the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education and in the National Curriculum Parameters, to the learning of the employment of the technology based on practical activities, valuing the utilitarian character of knowledge, in a limited and pragmatic perspective, aiming to adapt training to changes in work organization processes and in line with a reductionist conception of human formation.

This logic is opposed to the concept of integrated and humanistic training, which has as its principle the guarantee of the apprehension of the scientific and technological foundations of production and the technical basis of the respective professions by the subjects, in an omnilateral⁸ perspective of human formation.

graduating from high school, as a form of professionalization; and technological, aimed at higher education courses, with reduced duration, in technological areas. Regarding the curriculum, Decree n. 2.208/1997 established that professional education at a technical level would have its own curricular organization, independent of secondary education, and could be offered concurrently or sequentially. In this way, Professional Education started to be developed in parallel to regular education or in continuing education modalities, being able to be carried out in regular schools, in specialized institutions or in the work environments (Brasil, 1997).

⁷ This perspective, as well as that of competency-based training, was influenced by the Jaques Delors Report (Delors, 1998), originating from UNESCO's International Meeting on Education for the 21st Century, which defined the four major learning needs or the four pillars education: learn to know, learn to do, learn to live and learn to be, establishing as the main purpose of contemporary education the formation of flexible personalities to adapt to the unstable social and productive reality that was being established..

⁸ For Manacorda (1991), omnilaterality is the achievement of total, complete, multilateral development, of all human senses and faculties, through the appropriation by man of all the productive forces. This type of training requires technological education that integrates theory and practice, taking work as an educational principle and addressing three aspects: intellectual education, corporal education, and technological education. The production of the omnilateral man requires the overcoming of the division of labor and the union of manual and intellectual work, through effective social experience and productive work. In this perspective, omnilaterality requires the construction

According to Silva (2018), competency-based training is associated with the concept of technologies, aiming to adapt the training processes to the demands posed by the changes resulting from the process of social and productive restructuring. For this reason, the researcher highlights that technologies, skills and abilities and adaptation to the world of work are central categories in the curricular reform proposals of the 1990s.

The changes in the Brazilian political scenario with the first government of the Workers' Party, in 2003⁹, sparked debates around the purposes of high school. This year, the National High School Seminar was held in Brasília, organized by the Secretariat for High and Technological Education. It contained the central ideas that would support the conceptual, epistemological, and methodological conceptions of another training project proposed for the final stage of Basic Education.

Technical Vocational Education of Secondary Level became the object of attention, being altered by Decree n. 5.154/2004¹⁰, which brought the possibility of offering Integrated High School. The offer of vocational education integrated with secondary education was based on a theoretical perspective that diverged from the national curriculum guidelines outlined in the 1990s.

The conceptual bases of Integrated High School are structured in the perspective of work as an educational principle, in the concept of polytechnic training and in the process of curricular organization based on the integration between science, culture, technology and work, thus resuming an omnilateral training perspective.

According to Ciavatta and Ramos (2012), based on work as an educational principle, research as a pedagogical principle, the inseparability between education and social practice, the proposal for the new National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary School was based on the possibility of integration general and technical-professional knowledge, carried out from the perspective of interdisciplinarity and contextualization, relating theory and practice in understanding the forms of production, work and science and culture.

These orientations and conceptions impacted the formative proposals of High School as a whole. However, only in 2012 were they materialized in the new National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education, approved by Resolution n. 02/2012 (Brasil, 2012a) and prepared based on Opinion n. 05/2011.

The redefinition of the National Curriculum Guidelines allowed advances in the sense of overcoming, at least in the formal sphere, the character strictly and pragmatically linked to the labor market that characterized the previous guidelines, enhancing the possibilities of access to the knowledge historically produced based on the relations between the work, science, culture, and technology.

However, shortly after its approval, a new milestone was set in the scene of disputes surrounding the high school training project. In 2013, a Special Commission was created in the Chamber of Deputies,

of a new society, in which work, as a manifestation of man's conscience, in the face of his needs and wants, is not strange, alienated, as it appears in capitalist society.

⁹ While Fernando Henrique Cardoso's two liberal governments dismantled the foundations of developmental capitalism and defined a new legal framework for the implementation of neoliberal policies, Lula da Silva's government made use of the economic, legal and political structure set up to establish a new relationship between the State and civil society, which enabled the implementation of neo-liberal privates policies and focused on meeting social demands, giving your government a more popular character, although the foundations of its political projects are identical (Neves, 2011). This attitude reconciled the correlation of forces between neoliberal and developmentalist positions, which according to Neves (2011) ended up configuring a hybrid mode of development for the country, seeking to associate economic growth and the reduction of social inequalities, through greater investment in social politics.

¹⁰ The publication of Decree n. 5.154/2004 (Brasil, 2004) revoked Decree n. 2.208/1997 and determined that Vocational and Technical Education for Secondary Level be developed in conjunction with Secondary Education, in an integrated manner. It brought advances in relation to the previous normative framework, maintaining, however, the possibility of offering professional training in the concomitant and subsequent modality, corroborating the continuity of the training model underway in the country.

with the purpose of establishing changes in the organization of the last stage of basic education. The work of this commission resulted in Bill 6.840/2013 (Brasil, 2013), whose drafting involved a strong participation of the business sectors and the challenge of groups and sectors linked to schools and universities.

This project, which already diverged substantially from the Guidelines approved in 2012, was filed with the edition of Provisional Measure n. 746/2016, imposed by Interim President Michel Temer without dialogue and consultation with the various sectors of society, shortly after the coup that culminated with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff¹¹, as one of the measures to recover the bourgeois hegemony, which, in a way, reconciled some popular desires during the Workers' Party governments.

The Provisional Measure resulted in Law n. 13.415/2017, which amended the Law of Directives and Bases of Education regarding curricular organization and Law n. 11.494 / 2007, which regulates the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Education Professionals, proposing a New High School based on the principle of flexibility. According to Silva and Scheibe (2017), the elaboration of the proposal presented authoritarian contours and had an intense role for business sectors, assuming similarities with the concepts and strategies implemented in the 1990s reform, as we will demonstrate in the next section this text.

2 The New High School

Sanctioned by Law n. 13.415, in February 2017, the reform of secondary education proposed changes in the curricular organization of secondary education, in the form of offer, in the pedagogical organization and in financing. He proposed to make the curriculum more flexible, by defining a general training, based on the Common National Curriculum Base, focusing mainly on the Portuguese Language and Mathematics, limited to 1800 hours, and by training itineraries, to be defined by the education systems, with emphasis on the following areas of knowledge or professional activity: I - languages and their technologies; II - mathematics and its technologies; III - natural sciences and their technologies; IV - applied human and social sciences; and V - technical and professional training (Brasil, 2017).

It established in item 2 of article 3 that the only compulsory subjects in the three years will be Portuguese, Mathematics and English, which, according to Gonçalves (2017), indicates a bias in preparing students for performance tests and improvement of national education quality indicators, linking the curriculum to a preparatory, immediate and pragmatic approach.

Disciplines such as Sociology, Philosophy, Physical Education and Art are included in the general training part of the curriculum based on the “study and practices” of its contents, giving these areas of knowledge a secondary character in the basic education of the student.

The Reform also proposed the provision of full-time secondary education, providing for a progressive extension of time to 1400 hours per year, without, however, sustaining itself in a perspective of comprehensive training that considers students in its multiple dimensions and without guaranteeing expansion the financing necessary for the operationalization of the extension of school time with structural and human quality.

Contradictory to the possibility of extending the time of school education, the reform limited the training possibilities of students, by restricting the time allocated to general education, proposing a flexible

¹¹ In 2016, the then President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff underwent an orchestrated impeachment process through a legal, parliamentary and media coup, which took her out of power and led a far-right, conservative and radical neoliberal group to command the country. The current situation pointed to an even more vigorous return to the neoliberal logic in the country. In the field of educational policies, the current counter-reform focuses in a special way on Secondary Education and Technical Education on the Secondary level, proposing changes focusing mainly on the standardization process of national curricular bases.

curriculum, early specialization and the terminal character of high school to all those who attend a course. technical and professional training itinerary.

Thus, by enabling different paths to high school and implementing technical and professional training in Basic Education, instead of providing for the integration of general and technical knowledge, the reform limited the possibilities of basic training for students, promoting fragmentation and curricular disruption, separating and hierarchizing sciences and humanities, work and language, human and social sciences, resuming the pragmatic character based on the concept of training based on the development of skills expressed in the policies of the 1990s.

It allowed institutions to establish partnerships for the provision of professional and technical education, intensifying associations with the business community and allowing the transfer of public funds from Basic Education to the private sector, articulating the educational offer with the productivity and market logic (Gonçalves, 2017).

By making it possible to offer up to 20% of Secondary Education in the distance modality for the age group of 15 to 17 years and up to 80% in the case of youth and adult education, the Reform was once again meeting the market interests of the business sectors, that expand their possibilities of profit and accumulation, transforming education and, above all, the offer of the technical and professional training itinerary into a commodity.

Worsening the conditions of supply of technical training, the reform allowed the technical and professional training itinerary to consider the possibility of granting intermediate qualification certificates for the job, organizing the training in stages with terminality, allowing multiple possibilities of taking advantage of studies and experiences for curricular integration, without further regulation, causing the itinerary to be completed even without having been fully attended.

It established the recognition of notorious knowledge of professionals to “teach content in high schools related to their training or professional experience, attested by specific qualifications or teaching practices in public or private educational units (Brasil, 2017)”, which it contributes to disqualify the teaching work and to depreciate its identity.

By understanding professional education as a formative itinerary, to be optionally taken in the final stage of high school by students, from a pragmatic and purely technical perspective, disjointed from the general training provided for in the stage, it breaks with a perspective of integration and of training based on work as an educational principle and on the axes of science, culture and work, as envisaged by the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education (Brasil, 2012a) and for Technical Vocational Education of Secondary Level (Brasil, 2012b) .

Thus, in the proposal of the New High School, the technical and professional training integrated to Basic Education defended by critical educators as a right and condition for a full training of students, is again denied, becoming an itinerary apart from general training. common, whose offer will be facilitated and made cheaper.

While it limits the propaedeutic character of High School, by fragmenting the training possibilities through the training itineraries, relegating higher quality training to schools destined to the formation of the elite (private), the reform resumes the character of training for the simple work, driven by the demands for qualification of young workers and the ease of implementation of this training itinerary through profitable partnerships for the private sector.

With this, the purposes of Secondary Education, defined by the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education of 1996 as the consolidation and deepening of knowledge, enabling the continuation of studies and basic preparation for the work and citizenship of the student are given to young people according to their position of class in the social division of labor, resuming the dual character historically present in this stage of education, marked by the dichotomy between general training and training for work.

3 The New Common National Curriculum Base and the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education

Based on the historical resumption of the dispute process around the configuration of educational policies and the formative project of High School, we proceeded to the analysis of two fundamental documents in the process of sustaining New High School, to identify the similarities and divergences in relation to the devices developed in the 1990s and 2000s.

The High School Reform was supported by the definition of a Common National Curriculum Base, whose configuration has been the object of criticism from researchers in curriculum and educational policies, such as Silva (2018), Lopes (2019), among others.

Lopes (2019) highlights that a common curriculum base presupposes the definition of certain contents or knowledge as the only valid ones, to which the status of essential knowledge to be taught and learned is attributed, imposing uniform goals and fixed identity projects, preconceived life trajectories, pressure to contain the translation and impose a standard curriculum reading.

Silva (2018) problematizes that the standardization inherent in the National Common Curricular Base disregards the inequalities of supply conditions that mark educational networks and institutions, contributing to broaden them, insofar as those institutions that fail to adapt the pedagogical practices to the prescriptions of the new curriculum base will be considered inefficient, regardless of the context that accompanies the process of developing educational policy within the school.

Costa e Silva (2019) highlights problems of legitimacy in relation to the National Common Curricular Base production process, as the document was not the result of collective participation and consultation with specialized entities, in the same way as occurred with the High School Reform.

Morello and Horn (2020) point out that the National Common Curricular Base had its first version published for public consultation in 2015. The document organized the contents through learning and development objectives for all stages of Basic Education. Elementary and Secondary Education, the proposal was organized by areas of knowledge, presenting the objectives of all curricular components (disciplines) that make up the Basic Education curriculum.

In 2016, before the publication of Provisional Measure n. 746/2016, a second version of the National Common Curricular Base was released for a new public consultation process. This document maintained the organization by areas of knowledge presenting curricular components for each one, but it grouped the learning and development objectives in curricular units.

After the publication of Provisional Measure n. 746/2016, and its subsequent transformation into Law n. 13.415/2017, in 2017, a third version of the document was substantially different in terms of the organization and expressions used.

The National Common Curriculum for Secondary Education was only approved in 2018 by the National Education Council, clearly adequate to the changes proposed by the Secondary Education Reform.

Considering that the process of selection and curricular elaboration is the object of disputes and interests, the correlation of forces around the curricular text assumed by the new National Common Curricular Base expresses hegemonic interests related to the strategies of maintenance and expansion of capitalist accumulation mechanisms.

In this sense, we emphasize that the document re-elaboration process presented a confluence with market interests, confirmed by the presence of business reformers (representatives of the Lemann Foundation, Everyone for Education, Movement for the Base, among others) as protagonist voices in the reformulation of the text (Silva; Scheibe, 2017).

In the approved version, the term "learning and development objectives" was changed to "skills and competences", taking up most of the principles contained in the 1998 National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education (Brasil, 1998) and the National Curriculum Parameters (Brasil, 2000).

A brief analysis of the document shows that the descriptors, the alphanumeric codes and their extreme prescription, align with the evaluation strategies on a large scale, revealing a curricular configuration guided by standardization and standardization.

In this sense, it is emphasized the adequacy of the curricular proposals to the monitoring and control mechanisms, instituted, above all, through the application of large-scale evaluations, which work both for the control and for the induction of the curriculum, in a clear alignment with the neoliberal rationality applied to educational policies since the 1990s, which continued in the following decades.

Lopes (2019) draws attention to the fact that the National Common Curricular Base for Secondary Education, in the opposite direction to what is done by the National Common Curricular Base for Elementary Education, does not indicate skills to be developed over years or by disciplines (except for Portuguese and Mathematics, which have centrality in relation to others, with the skills and competences described in detail), nor establish sequences or simultaneities, in order to make the curriculum even more flexible.

In this sense, it differs even from the National Curriculum Parameters, which listed competences by subjects, producing a hybrid organization, reconciling the curricular structure by areas of knowledge with the disciplinary perspective. Thus, the regressive aspect assumed by the current reform is even more striking in comparison to the reform of the 1990s, in which the specificity of each discipline in the composition of the areas of knowledge and its articulation with the development of skills was maintained, without making content of the school invisible. Sociology, Philosophy, Art and History.

The curricular organization by competences assumes centrality in the document of the New Common Base National Curriculum, reinforcing the instrumental and regressive trail. Based on a pragmatic bias, the organization of the curriculum based on competences reduces school knowledge to its condition of immediate applicability, causing a weakening in the training of students through the loss of centrality of knowledge.

The term competence is defined in the document as "the mobilization of knowledge (concepts and procedures), skills (practical, cognitive and socioemotional), attitudes and values to solve complex demands of everyday life, the full exercise of citizenship and the world of work" (Brasil, 2018a, p. 08).

This concept reiterates an economic perspective that intends to adapt the training project to the needs imposed by the productive system, focusing on training that ensures the development of general skills, linked to the "construction of knowledge, the development of skills and the formation of attitudes and values" (Brasil, 2018a, p. 09).

According to Silva (2018), far from representing an innovation, it is about the resumption of the model that was attempted to be implemented in the country at the end of the 1990s, as we discussed in the previous section.

Lopes (2019) problematizes that the organization of the entire curricular proposal based on competences submits education to the instrumental record of a know-how, giving the formative process a narrowing of the curriculum. For the researcher,

With that, education again remains reduced to teaching and teaching, in turn, is restricted to meeting learning goals linked to know-how and solving problems associated with the demands of everyday life (as if such demands of what everyday life is supposed to be the same for everyone) (Lopes, 2019, p. 69).

In this conception, the knowledge historically elaborated, appropriated and transposed by the school institution for didactic purposes loses its historical and social dimension and is limited to a pragmatic and instrumental perspective, as ready and socially seen as necessary/useful knowledge, to be transmitted by the school. and acquired by students.

In the same way as the new National Common Curricular Base, the Curricular Guidelines for Secondary Education, updated by Resolution n. 3/2018 (Brasil, 2018b), propose a focus on the application of knowledge originating from different areas in the solution of problems, paying little attention to the economic, political and social genesis of such problems (Ferretti, 2018).

The approval of these regulations is associated with other normative provisions that intend to readjust and control the High School curriculum. This set of documents defines actions in relation to

governance and the collaboration regime; requires networks to redesign their resumes; proposes the adequacy of books and teaching materials, seeking to meet the skills and competencies imposed; proposes that initial and continuing teacher training be controlled through assessment and monitoring actions; it also establishes the adequacy of the large-scale assessment systems to the reform, enabling the regulation of training processes, achieving the intellectual autonomy of teachers and the democratic freedom of school communities.

Thus, supporting the High School Reform, the National Common Curricular Base and the New National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education present an efficient bias, insofar as they are opposed to the disciplinary curriculum and are in line with the notion of education aimed at the formation of competencies, based on immediately interested learning, supposedly necessary to face the challenges of contemporary society.

This discourse is resumed with a view to adapting the school to supposed changes in the world of work, mechanically and immediately associated with technological and organizational innovations, providing a “managed training”, controlled and instrumental (Silva, 2018, p. 11).

Silva (2018) highlights that this control occurs, mainly through evaluation strategies, which emphasize only the product, ignoring the educational process and its determinations in each context.

According to the author,

The notion of competences, incorporated as a device capable of producing changes in the curricular organization of high school to overcome the limits of excessive disciplinarization and based on the accumulation of information, is limited by its pragmatic and a-historical character. It reproduces in other bases the limits set by the disciplinary and sequential curriculum, as it does not carry out the necessary inversion, that is, it does not allow the learning and exercise of reflection with the depth that cultural formation requires (Silva, 2018, p. 12).

The link established between training by skills, training for the world of work and the exercise of citizenship seeks to adapt the formation of the subjectivity of the working class to the current stage of development of the productive forces, which assumes a regressive and instrumental character, deepening the precarious conditions of life and work of the popular strata in the name of the reproduction of capitalist accumulation.

Both the Common National Curriculum Base and the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education approved in 2018 represent a setback in relation to the educational policies developed in the normative scope after 2003, approaching and even accentuating the perspectives implemented in the 1990s. a process of restoration of neoliberal hegemony, related mainly to business forces, which intend, under the discourse of modernization and adaptation of the final stage of basic education, to impose their interests in the formative and productive scope, weakened, even if in a subtle way, by perspectives assumed in the 2000s.

Final Considerations

The recent reform of High School, triggered in a moment of political and economic turbulence, presents an authoritarian and regressive character, imposing a perspective of formation whose objective is to legitimize the neoliberal hegemony in the process of dispute between classes and fractions of classes, around the high school curricular and formative project.

The protagonism of the business sectors in the process of elaborating the educational policies in progress stands out, adapting the formative project of High School to productive interests, both about the formation of subjectivity and work, as well as the possibilities of bringing policies educational mechanisms of production of added value, that is, transforming services into merchandise.

The effort to analyze the documents that make up the normative framework of the Reform makes it possible to show a movement of privatization and subsumption of High School to the commercial logic. From the return to the competence-based curricular centrality, the reform intensifies the utilitarian character of education, basing the training process on skills and attitudes that meet the immediate needs of the labor market, while shifting the pedagogical core of training general (reduced both in the temporal and in the academic sense) for specialized education, by emphasizing the option for training itineraries limited to certain areas of knowledge or to technical and professional training.

The New High School represents a training project structured by the emptying of knowledge and the impoverishment of training practices, based on a process of prescribing curriculum standards. The proposal focuses on preparing young people for work or on the precariousness and flexibility of a future without work, undermining the possibility of training with a scientific, technical and technological basis and the right to effective citizenship (Frigotto, 2018).

Thus, it appears that the current educational strategies are subject to the processes of capital restructuring with the radical resumption of neoliberalism, reinforcing the counter-reform and conservatism character of the measures taken and their approximations, keeping the historical singularities, with the movement that occurred in the 1990s. Therefore, it resumes an old formative project, emphasizing the dualistic character of the formation proposed for high school.

Such a process does not take place in a passive or neutral context. The contradictions between capital and labor ignite disputes over the configuration of educational projects that meet the expectations of workers. Although historically and hegemonically committed to bourgeois interests, educational policies for secondary education have been constantly strained by the organized participation of the working class, in the struggle for the construction of a humanist and progressive training project.

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