



BNCC AS A CONTROL MECHANISM OF EDUCATION

A BNCC COMO MECANISMO DE CONTROLE DA EDUCAÇÃO

BNCC COMO MECANISMO DE CONTROL DE LA EDUCACIÓN

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ABSTRACT: This text, the result of a PhD thesis in Education, which examines the process of implementation of the BNCC, aims to analyze the formulation contexts from two perspectives: first the process of elaboration of current Brazilian educational policies; and second the discourses that propagated by the media and during the CNE public hearings. The theoretical-methodological approach of this research is in the field of political sociology and social psychology. In this quantitative research, data were analysed from the context of the political text production dimension. For this, documental analysis and context of influence were analysed, including the thematic analysis of oral productions obtained from CNE's public hearings and journalistic articles. The results showed, on the one hand, that the social aspirations for the pursuit of educational quality were frustrated, as a technocratic vision and emphasis on control mechanisms in the ratified version of the document were implemented; and, on the other hand, that business foundations pressured the CNE for the approval of the BNCC through persuasive speeches, contrary to the warnings of the academic community about the weaknesses of the BNCC text. The data corroborate the idea defended in the thesis that it is necessary to understand how knowledge about the policy is generated, so that the effects, caused by the knowledge produced by these same policies, can be understood.

KEYWORDS: Curriculum policies. National Common Curricular Base. Policy cycles. Social representations.

RESUMO: Este texto, resultado de pesquisa de Doutorado em Educação, que tratou do processo de implantação da BNCC, tem por objetivo analisar os contextos de sua formulação, em dois enfoques, destacando: 1º o processo de elaboração das recentes políticas educacionais brasileiras; e 2º os discursos sobre a BNCC, que circularam na mídia durante as audiências públicas do CNE. A abordagem teórico-metodológica se fundamenta no campo da sociologia política e da psicologia social. Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa, cujos dados foram analisados a partir das dimensões do contexto de produção do texto político, realizando-se uma análise documental dos textos que geraram o PNE, e do contexto de influência, quando se realizou a análise temática de produções orais obtidas em audiências públicas do CNE e de análise reflexiva do conteúdo de artigos jornalísticos. Os resultados demonstraram, de um

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lado, que os anseios sociais de busca da qualidade educacional foram frustrados, visto ter se concretizado uma visão tecnocrática e de ênfase nos mecanismos de controle na versão homologada do documento; e, de outro, que as fundações empresariais pressionaram o CNE pela aprovação da BNCC por meio de discursos persuasivos, contrariando os alertas da comunidade acadêmica sobre as fragilidades do texto da BNCC. Os dados corroboram para a ideia defendida na tese de que é preciso entender como o conhecimento sobre a política é gerado, para que os efeitos, causados pelo conhecimento produzido por estas mesmas políticas, possam ser compreendidos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Políticas de currículo. Base Nacional Comum Curricular. Ciclos de política. Representações sociais.

RESUMEN: Este texto, resultado de una investigación de doctorado en Educación, que abordó el proceso de implementación del BNCC, tiene como objetivo analizar los contextos de su formulación, en dos enfoques, destacando: 1º el proceso de elaboración de las recientes políticas educativas brasileñas; y 2º los discursos sobre el BNCC, que circularon en los medios de comunicación y durante las consultas públicas del CNE. El enfoque teórico-metodológico se basa en el campo de la sociología política y de la psicología social. Se trata de una investigación cualitativa, cuyos datos fueron analizados desde las dimensiones del contexto de producción del texto político, a través del análisis documental, y del contexto de influencia, a través del análisis temático de producciones orales obtenidas en audiencias públicas del CNE y del contenido de artículos periodísticos. Los resultados mostraron, por un lado, que se frustraron las aspiraciones sociales por la búsqueda de la calidad educativa, pues se implementó una visión tecnocrática y con énfasis en los mecanismos de control en la versión ratificada del documento; y, por otro lado, que las fundaciones empresariales presionaron al CNE para la aprobación del BNCC a través de discursos persuasivos, contrarios a las advertencias de la comunidad académica sobre las debilidades del texto del BNCC. Los datos corroboran a la idea defendida en la tesis de que es necesario entender cómo se genera el conocimiento sobre la política, para que se pueda comprender los efectos, provocados por el conocimiento producido por estas mismas políticas.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Política curricular. Base Nacional Común Curricular. Ciclos de políticas. Representaciones sociales.

Introduction

Policies do not usually tell us what to do, they create circumstances in which the spectrum of available options about what to do is reduced or modified or in which goals or effects are established (BALL, 2006, p. 26, our translation).

In this study, we intend to analyze the process of implementation of the Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC) and its formulation contexts, motivated by the changing global education policy landscape and in a set of mechanisms of policy technologies and practices, which now constitute neoliberal reform processes in education.





At this moment, we cannot fail to highlight the National Education Plan (PNE) (BRASIL, 2014a), and to consider the concerns expressed by some researchers about the meanings that the BNCC seeks to hegemonize (MACEDO, 2014).

The PNE (BRASIL, 2014a) was, then, the first educational policy to adhere to the international trend that expresses the curriculum/evaluation binomial, by defining the obligation to build a common national curriculum base, having as a strategy to increase educational performance rates in standardized assessments. It was also in this Plan that the Basic Education Performance Index (IDEB) was established as an indicator of educational quality.

In this scenario, we found that the process of formulation of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) was marked not only by political tensions, but also by the dispute of meanings that put academics, researchers in the curriculum field, in opposition to groups formed mainly by business foundations. Both groups tensioned the process, with divergent positions on the goals, content, and even on the strategies for drafting the policy text.

Agreeing with the statements of Veiga-Neto (2008) and Lopes and Macedo (2013) about the crisis faced by the curriculum, we find that this crisis is not only "in the ways in which it works at different levels of education, but also in the very pedagogical theories that take it as an element of analysis and problematization" (VEIGA-NETO, 2008, p. 1, our translation). In addition, Lopes and Macedo (2013, p. 259, our translation) argue that the crisis faced by the curriculum is not restricted to "the political struggle for its own meaning, but also the meaning of what is society, social justice, emancipation, social transformation".

We know that this tension or this movement by dispute of meanings, of negotiations, is characteristic of the democratic formulation of any political text, be it educational or of any other nature. In this sense, the implementation³ of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b), object of this study, was analyzed in its drafting context, from the understanding that in the political text the social representation of a group is sedimented. Understanding, also, that this representation, usually, is formed in a context of social influence, which can affect not only the context of elaboration of the policy text, but that can penetrate the context in which the subjects put the text of the policy in play.

Thus, we took the policy cycles approach (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992; BALL, 1993) as a methodological option, to organize the data produced in the research. And, through the

³ The term implementation was used with the meaning of introducing, fixing; and implement to confer meaning of putting something into practice, execute. It is understood, therefore, that a law, as is the case of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017a), needs to be implemented, i.e., promulgated, sanctioned, only then to be implemented, i.e., executed.





discourses of influence, we analyzed the social representations (MOSCOVICI, 2012) of the subjects, who acted in each of the policy-making contexts.

In order to reflect on the BNCC as a mechanism to control education, this text focuses on two issues: the process of elaboration of recent Brazilian educational policies; and the speeches about the BNCC that circulated in the media during the public hearings of the National Education Council (CNE).

In this direction of unraveling these two aspects, this text is structured, first, on the contributions of theories relating to the psychosocial and political sociology fields; second, on the paths of political instability, tension, and disputes for meanings in the contexts of elaboration of the PNE, the BNCC, the Public Hearings, and the printed and digital media; and, third, it seeks to weave some final reflections on the effects and resistance movements.

Contributions from the theories of psychosocial fields and political sociology

In the educational policy arena, the contexts and the actors involved in the political discourse are determinant for the results that will be imposed in the legal text. Because the very texts of public policies are the result of a struggle of interests, controlling their representation is problematic, since what is at stake are the attempts of various actors to control the meaning of the policy through their actions. Thus, policy makers cannot control the meanings of their texts and, as interpretation is also a matter of struggle, different interpretations will compete related to different interests; including, in the field of practice, where the policy is put into play.

The representations manifested by the production of formal and informal comments, uttered by politicians or official or unofficial representatives, offer a "meaning" to the official texts. In this aspect the media plays a crucial role in the propagation of these discourses, from official videos or other media with the same purpose.

It is also important to note that Moscovici's thought offers analytical possibilities for understanding education and social change by proposing tools for understanding the notion of social influence, as well as considering the notion of conflict as the crux of change. Social influence is a communicative genre that, as Moscovici (1985, p. 352, our translation) states, is "rooted in conflict and strives for consensus".

As Moscovici's (2005, 2011, 2012) research demonstrates, every individual in a group and every group in a society are both potential source and potential receiver of influence, at the margin of the amount of power the social system assigns to them.



Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) corroborate with this Muscovite vision when they affirm, through the concept of enactment, that once the policy is enacted, it enters the scene along with the subject. In this way, the political text has the subject as an interlocutor, who, by playing with it, stages and gives his own interpretation. And, perhaps, we can say that it starts to exert influence.

When considering the idea that the production of policies is constituted in a dynamic and flexible cycle, organized in different contexts, which maintain cyclical and continuous relationship, fixing ourselves in a dialogic position, we seek to understand the contexts in which the most recent educational policy in the curriculum field - the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) - was developed. And, in this perspective, analyze the context of production of political text and the contexts of influence, in which this policy was elaborated.

If the appeal of educational public policy makers is "based on common sense claims" (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992, p. 21, our translation), it is from the understanding of the representational universe of the subjects, in the analysis of the contexts, that we seek subsidies to achieve the goal proposed here.

The psychosocial field theory, developed by Serge Moscovici (MOSCOVICI, 1961, 2005, 2012), and that of political sociology, by Stephen Ball (1993) and his collaborators (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992), enabled us to understand the specific problematic of the implementation of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) as a public educational policy in the curriculum field. In Moscovici (2005, 2012) and his Theory of Social Representations (TRS), we analyze how the discourses are produced; and, through the Policy Cycle Approach, we seek to discuss the context and explain why the attitudes of the subjects.

From this perspective, we understand social representations (SR) as an active construction of social actors, and that constitute a privileged focus for understanding the social phenomenon. From the dynamic point of view (MOSCOVICI, 1998, p. 244, our translation), SRs emerge as "[...] a network of ideas, metaphors and images, which come from an internalized encyclopedia, which stores the central beliefs in our collective memory and around which these networks are formed.

SRs constitute a form of knowledge constructed in social relations and practices, integrating both the experience and the living of the subjects, as well as their history and culture, forming a link between social actors and the world. It is the result of the symbolic function, which involves the power to name, identify, and categorize, creating sense, tools, and understanding, domesticating the objective world and making it known.



SRs emerge, in this scenario, as a rich and complex social-psychological process, involving social actors, who have identity and emotional lives, who engage in relationships with others, who have reasons for doing what they do, and, by acting, reveal the purposes of their actions.

From this perspective, we also consider the psychological processes, which constitute SRs: objectification and anchoring. Objectification is the process that allows making a conceptual scheme real and giving an idea a material counterpart. In all forms of representation, there is a tension between the history of the object and the intention to re-signify it. This is what objectification is all about. The anchoring process consists of an attempt to connect the object with the past and its meanings.

Also, for the analysis of the forms of media communication, we revisit the modalities of: diffusion, propagation and propaganda (MOSCOVICI, 2012). Such modalities inform us how representations are produced, allowing us to connect knowledge and context and reveal their social and psychological connection. In this sense, diffusion aims to ensure access to information of general issues, creating a common knowledge, which can give rise to the emergence of diverse opinions. Propaganda is purely instrumental, occurs in the context of common cognitive and social norms, and aims at intervention in attitudes. And in propaganda, communication aims to influence the behavior of the receiver, through strategies of persuasion, which try to create or reinforce behavior.

In this way, the representations manifested by the production of formal and informal comments, uttered by politicians or official or unofficial representatives, offer a "meaning" to the official texts. This implies that SRs inscribe us in culture, and culture provides us with the first filters with which we will look at reality.

From the PNE to the BNCC: political instability, tension, and disputes over meanings

Like the process of drafting the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a), the construction of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) was marked by political instability, tension and disputes over meanings. To tell the story of the object of this study - the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) - and reflect on its implementation process, it is necessary to return to the drafting process of the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a), revealing the actors involved and unveiling their positions and stances according to the contexts described below.





The context of elaboration of the PNE

The federal government, with the objective of enabling democratic participation in defining the development directions of National Education, instituted the National Education Conference - CONAE in 2008. According to the MEC, "[...] the PNE was elaborated with the commitments, widely debated and pointed out as strategic by the society at CONAE 2010, which were improved in the interaction with the National Congress [...]" (BRASIL, 2014b, p. 9, our translation).

In the Final Document of the National Conference on Education - CONAE 2010, regarding the quality of education, there is the recommendation that were considered, among the guidelines, the "[...] indication of the epistemological bases that ensure the configuration of a curriculum that contemplates, at the same time, a national basis demanded by the national system of education and the regional and local specificities [...]" (CONAE, 2010, p. 40, our translation, our emphasis).

The federal government reinterpreted this recommendation, turning it into a goal in the first version of the Bill (PL) of the PNE, in order to define "learning expectations for all years of basic education" and recognize "[...] the specificity of childhood and adolescence, the new knowledge and school times (BRASIL, 2010).

The Bill prepared by the executive branch, once submitted for discussion in the legislative sphere, underwent several other changes during its passage through the National Congress. There were almost 3,000 (three thousand amendments) from the members of the Chamber of Deputies (CD) and the Federal Senate (SF); besides several educational entities that submitted suggestions for amendments to PL 8.035/10 (BRASIL, 2010).

Considering that the scenario we are interested in knowing is only the one that generated the changes that culminated with the insertion of the BNCC concept in the PNE, the emphasis in this text will be restricted to the proposed changes related to the curricular field.

Among the suggested amendments, it is worth noting that the Center for Studies Education & Society (CEDES) expressed itself for the suppression of the strategy of defining the need for learning expectations for all years of basic education in the PNE, arguing that this is one of the functions of the CNE, and that: "[...] should be articulated to the guidelines of basic education in its different modalities and not as an isolated goal, as if the expectations were independent of the Curricular Guidelines" (BRASIL, 2012b, s/p, our translation).



In the House of Representatives, while it was being processed by the Constitution and Justice and Citizenship Commission, the text received a second version, in which the wording and the position of the strategy within Goal 2 were changed:

2.7) the Ministry of Education, in coordination and collaboration with the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, must, by the end of the 2nd (second) year of this PNE, prepare and submit to the National Education Council, preceded by national public consultation, a proposal of rights and learning and development goals for students in elementary school (BRAZIL, 2012a, our translation).

It can be observed that, in this new version, the suggestion of CEDES was partially accepted, in view of the recognition of the CNE's competence regarding the definition of the matter. There was, however, the substitution of the term "learning expectations" for "rights and learning and development objectives".

At this point, it should be noted that this change was incorporated into the CONAE 2014 Reference Document (CONAE, 2013) and approved at the Conference, as can be seen in the Final Document (CONAE, 2014). This may indicate that there was consensus on this aspect.

In the Federal Senate, where the matter was processed for more than a year by the Committees of Economic Affairs, of Constitution, Justice and Citizenship and by the Committee on Education, being also appreciated by the plenary of that revising House, we highlight that it received a Substitute, in which the strategy **2.7** acquires more relevance, being renumbered, divided into two and repositioned. It is in this new strategy that the proposal of a pact for the configuration of the Common National Curricular Base for primary education "emerges":

2.1) present to the National Education Council, by initiative of the Ministry of Education, by the end of the second year of this PNE, after hearing society through national public consultation, a proposal of rights and learning and development goals for each year of elementary school.

2.2) agree between the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, in the context of the permanent body referred to in Article 7, § 5 of this Law, to implement the rights and learning and development objectives that will form the national common curricular base for basic education (BRASIL, 2013, p. 48, our translation).

When this Substitute returns to the House of Representatives, it is submitted to a Special Committee, which had the specific task of analyzing the changes that the senators made to the text. According to the Opinion to the Senate Substitutive (BRASIL, 2014c, p. 14, our translation), after the public hearing with several educational institutions, the idea of a pact for the elaboration of the national common curricular base was removed from the text of the



strategy, on the grounds that "national base" and "rights and objectives" are concepts related to two distinct curricular dimensions. There was also a manifestation for the return of strategy 3.10 of the text of the House of Representatives.

The proposed deletion, however, was not maintained for long, having been overturned in the 49th^a Ordinary Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies (BRASIL, 2014d), through the approval of the "Destaque" (Highlight), which reestablished, in its entirety, the wording of strategy 2.2, contained in the Senate Substitutive. Given the approval of this and other "Highlights", the reformulated opinion (BRASIL, 2014d) closes the discussions about the PNE in the legislative sphere, as stated in the Final Report (BRASIL, 2014e) and also in the Law n° 13.005/2014 (BRASIL, 2014a), which approves the PNE.

The two strategies linked to Goal 2 of the PNE were published with the following wording:

2.1) the Ministry of Education, in coordination and collaboration with the States, the Federal District, and the Municipalities, must, by the end of^o the second year of this PNE, elaborate and send to the National Council of Education, preceded by national public consultation, a proposal of rights and learning and development goals for students in elementary school.

2.2) agree between the Union, the States, the Federal District, and the Municipalities, in the context of the permanent instance referred to in § 5° of art. 7° of this Law, to implement the rights and learning and development objectives that will configure the national common curricular base for elementary education (BRASIL, 2014a, our translation, our emphasis).

But it is in Goal 7 of the PNE that the concepts of quality and educational results measured by evaluation appear linked: "promote the quality of basic education in all stages and modalities, with improvement of school flow and learning [...] (BRASIL, 2014a). And it is, in this Target, that the need for the elaboration of the BNCC gains strategy status to achieve the desired quality, also pointing to the establishment and implementation of both pedagogical guidelines, leaving no room for doubt as to the need for the existence of both documents: establish and implement pedagogical guidelines for basic education and the common national basis of the curricula with rights and learning objectives (BRASIL, 2014a).

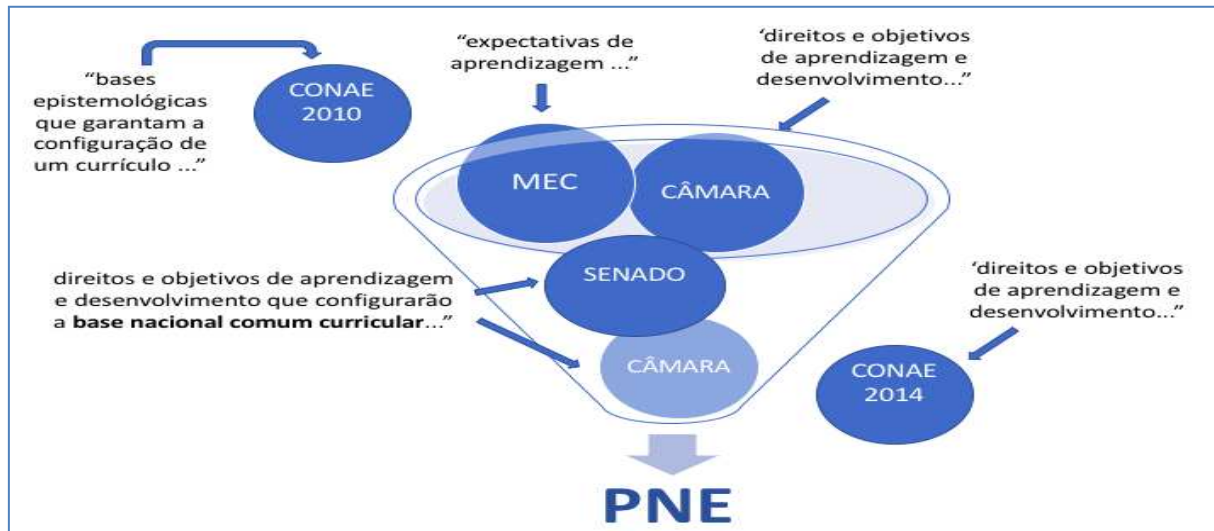
Thus, from 2014 on, with the approval of the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a), the Ministry of Education is responsible for elaborating a proposal of rights and learning and development goals for students in elementary school, in which the Common National Curricular Base is established.

We verified in the document analysis that, although part of the formulations approved in the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a) originated in the discussions of CONAE 2010, only the texts



produced by the executive and legislative spheres went through the approval funnel, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Textual changes in the National Education Plan Bill



Source: Prepared by the authors

It is important to highlight that not even the almost four years of the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a) ensured that the social desires were contemplated in its text, being, on the contrary, emphasized the control mechanisms of educational quality dissociated from the set of proposals expressed in the conferences.

These deviations, pointed out in the preparation of the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a), had important consequences in the subsequent process of BNCC processing, since they caused another long process of more than three years until its approval, in which new discursive battles were fought.

To understand the deviations in the initial proposal of the PNE, concerning the aspects related to the concept of educational quality, we resorted to the analysis perspective proposed by Ball (1993) and collaborators (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992), which guide us to study the policies as text and as discourse to understand the contexts of influence.

From the analysis of the construction process of the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a), we can infer that the debate on the quality of national education became associated with the production of educational results obtained in national and international evaluations, converging on the need to build a national common curricular base as a response to the desire to achieve educational equity.



The context of BNCC elaboration

The process of drafting the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) was equally turbulent and conflictive. From the moment the law establishing the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a) was published until the ratification of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b), exactly 42 months elapsed, during which Brazil was governed by two presidents of the republic: Dilma Rousseff (Jan./2011 to Aug./2016) and Michel Temer (Sep./2016 to Dec./2018).

The first 12 months after the approval of the PNE (BRASIL, 2014a) were of great instability in the command of the MEC. The body was managed by four different ministers, and only during the management of the fourth minister was the process of building the BNCC initiated. Frame 1 summarizes the chronology of this process, highlighting the actors present in each of its stages.

Frame 1 – Timeline of BNCC-EI/EF construction

STAGE	MONTH/YEAR	EVENT	ACTORS
1	Jun./2015	Publication of MEC Ordinance n° 592, establishing a group to draft the BNCC.	MEC / CONSED / UNDIME
	Sep./2015	Release of the 1st BNCC-EB Version.	MEC / CONSED / UNDIME
	Oct./2015 to Mar./2016	The MEC makes the on line platform available for public consultation.	MEC / Civil Society and Teachers.
	May2016	Finalization of the systematization of the contributions received through the digital platform.	University of Brasilia
	May2016	Release of the 2nd Version of the BNCC-EB.	MEC / CONSED / UNDIME / Universities
2	Jun. to Aug./2016	Holding state seminars.	CONSED / UNDIME / Administrators, teachers and students.
	Jul./2016	MEC Ordinance n° 790 is published, establishing the BNCC Steering Committee.	MEC
	Sep./2016	Finalization of the systematization of the contributions received through the state seminars.	CONSED / UNDIME
	Apr./2017	Forwarding the 3rd Version of the BNCC-EI/EF to CNE.	MEC / CONSED / UNDIME
3	Jun. to Sep. / 2017	Public Hearings held by CNE.	CNE / Academic entities / business foundations / guests
	Oct./2017 to Nov./2017	CNE systematizes the contributions and presents suggestions for changes to the MEC.	CNE
4	Dec./2017	MEC forwards the 3rd version of the modified BNCC-EI/EF to CNE.	MEC
		On the 15th the CNE approves the final version of the BNCC-EI/EF.	CNE
		On the 20th the MEC will approve the final version of the BNCC-EI/EF.	MEC

Source: Prepared by the authors





In the first stage, the MEC establishes, through Ordinance No. 592 of June 17, 2015 (BRASIL, 2015), the Committee of Experts for the Preparation of Proposal of the Common National Curriculum Base. The Commission was composed of 116 members, teachers and experts from state, municipal and Federal District networks, based on indications from CONSED and UNDIME, and researchers from universities (UFJF, UFMG, UFRGS, UFRPE, PUC/RIO, USP, UFPE and UERJ), with recognized contribution to basic education and teacher training.

The following month, on July 30, 2015, the MEC launched the Portal of the Common National Curricular Base, which aimed to present to the public the process of drafting the BNCC; as well as establish channels for communication and participation of society in the process. This process was accelerated, and on September 16, 2015, five months before the initial deadline, the MEC, then, under the command of Minister Renato Janine Ribeiro, makes available the 1st version of the BNCC for Basic Education and sets a deadline of March 2016 for public manifestation.

The 1st version of the BNCC-EB received a lot of criticism, mainly about the lack of participation and more in-depth discussion. In response to these questions, over 300,000 entries were recorded on a MEC Portal⁴, 207,000 of which were from teachers. In the same Portal, there is information that half of the contributions came from 45,000 schools, totaling the receipt of more than 12 million contributions.

Despite the huge numbers, criticism about the participation continued, as many complained that no real opportunities were created for teachers to deepen their reading and discussion of the document. In addition, the MEC did not clearly disclose the procedures for analyzing the contributions received or even the criteria that were used to accept or not the suggestions.

Despite the lack of information on the procedures, several changes were made to the content and form of the BNCC, and the MEC, at this time under the command of Minister Aloisio Mercadante, and the 2nd version of the BNCC-EB was launched in May 2016. A second stage then began, in which CONSED and UNDIME entered the scene, leading the holding of seminars in all Brazilian states from June to August 2016. However, there was little participation and, notably, in the south and southeast regions, the number of participants was even lower than in other regions of the country.

⁴ Available: <http://pne.mec.gov.br/noticias/473-consulta-publica-sobre-base-nacional-comum-recebeu-mais-de-12-milhoes-de-contribuicoes>. Access: 10 Feb. 2021.





In Table 1, below, it is presented a proportionality relation between the number of municipalities in each region and the number of participants in the Seminars. Even though we do not have indicative data about the offer of participation vacancies to the municipalities, we can infer, from the numbers presented, that in the south and southeast regions some municipalities were not even represented. And, even in the other regions, it is not possible to affirm that there was an equitable distribution of vacancies for the municipalities.

Table 1 – Proportion of participants per municipality

REGION	MUNICIPALITIES	PARTICIPANTS	PROPORTION
SOUTH	1.188	928	0,78
SOUTHEAST	1.668	1.205	0,72
NORTHEAST	1.794	3.431	1,91
WEST CENTER	466	1.391	2,98
NORTH	500	2.318	4,63

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data obtained from the MEC's Portal

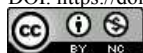
Despite the low participation in the Seminars, the 2nd version was also criticized, according to the Synthesis Report⁵, made available by the MEC. This document presents a synthesis of the answers and comments recorded about the 11 (eleven) questions proposed in the "Introductory Texts" section, as well as the observations (optional) that some of the states made in relation to the knowledge areas, pointing out criticisms about the knowledge areas and the training axes.

Another reason for the postponement may be located in the political crisis, which the country went through due to the removal⁶ of the president of the republic and the consequent change in the command of the country and changes in the composition of ministries, especially the MEC.

Only in April 2017, the MEC, supporting the BNCC implementation agenda, even in a scenario of political turmoil, promoted new changes in the proposal. And, again, without revealing the criteria for analyzing the results of the state seminars or consulting the experts who prepared the first versions, Minister Mendonça Filho sent the 3rd version of the BNCC to the CNE. This time, however, the high school stage had been removed from the document.

⁵ Available: <http://historiadabncc.mec.gov.br/documentos/relatorios/Relatorios-Sintese%20dos%20Estados.pdf>. Access: 10 Feb. 2021.

⁶ The *impeachment* of Dilma Rousseff consisted of an open procedural issue aimed at preventing the continuity of her mandate as President of the Republic. The process began with the acceptance, on 12/2/2015, by the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Eduardo Cunha, of an accusation of crime of responsibility offered by retired prosecutor Hélio Bicudo and lawyers Miguel Reale Júnior and Janaina Paschoal, and ended, on 08/31/2016, resulting in the removal of Rousseff from office.





The CNE, as the normative body of the national education system, in compliance with the Law n° 9.131/95 (BRASIL, 1995), was in charge of evaluating the BNCC-EI/EF proposal to produce an opinion and a draft resolution, which, when approved by the Minister of Education, became a national standard.

In view of this assignment, the CNE chose to hold a new public consultation through five regional public hearings in: Manaus, Recife, Florianópolis, São Paulo and Brasília. The meetings took place in each of the country's regions, with an exclusively consultative character, to collect subsidies and contributions for the elaboration of the norm that instituted the Common National Curricular Base.

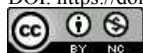
Bodies, entities and specialists in education were invited by the CNE. In addition to this group, registration was open to the interested general public, through pre-registration, for the few remaining places. The participants had three minutes each to orally expose their positions on the subject matter of the public hearing and could also deliver to the Presiding Board the content of their manifestations.

The CNE was also willing to receive documents, with substantiated and detailed contributions, prepared by representative entities and experts involved with the theme of the Common National Curricular Base, with identified and qualified authorship, by electronic means in text format, until the date of the last public hearing, on September 11, 2017.

The public hearings were also attended by representatives of the MEC, who used the time and space allotted by the CNE to present summaries of the BNCC and explanations of the changes that have occurred in the different versions of the document.

The moment when the 3rd version of the BNCC was discussed, which was initially called "final" but was further changed, without ever being recognized as the 4th version, was marked by the clash of ideas between members of the scientific community, educational entities, and business foundations.

Several spaces were used for the propagation of public discourse about the new curriculum policy in formulation. We will present, first, the space of public hearings promoted by the CNE, in which oral speeches were produced, broadcast live via the Internet and with fully recorded content and subsequently made available by the CNE. And then, the space of the printed and digital media, in which speeches were given, through opinion articles or interpretations of their ideas in editorials published in newspapers of large national circulation. The goal is to identify the possible "pressures that determine social change" (MOSCOVICI, 2011, p. 104).





The space of the public hearings

Throughout the hearings, we observed that the entities representing the academic community pointed out several weaknesses in education policies, sustaining, almost unanimously, blunt criticism of the content and the process of drafting the BNCC.

The statement in the previous paragraph can be evidenced, both in articles published in scientific journals (LOPES, 2015; PEREIRA, COSTA; CUNHA, 2015; CARVALHO, SILVA; DELBONI, 2017), and in the manifestations that occurred in the context of public hearings, promoted by the CNE. For analysis purposes, we selected a sample with 10 (ten) oral manifestations from each group, two from each region of the country. We thematically organized the speeches of the selected groups, in order to highlight the central ideas or key nuclear ideas of the speeches (BARDIN, 2004).

The selected cutout is composed of two groups of entities: representatives of the scientific community (ANFOPE, ANPEd, CEDES, and FORUMDIR) and business entities and foundations (Airtón Sena Foundation, Lemann Foundation, and Movimento Pela Base), which work in the educational field.

In the statements of the representatives of the academic community, we found that the content of the speeches can be grouped into three thematic units, as shown in Frame 2.

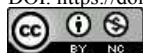
Frame 2 – Manifestations of the entities

Entities	Thematic Units
Academics	Questions about the content of the BNCC
	Repudiation of the BNCC drafting process
	Complementary educational policy needs
Corporate Foundations	Needs related to educational policies
	Leverage for education
	Accurate educational guidance

Source: Research data referring to the oral productions selected by the researchers

We note that the entities representing the academic community pointed out several weaknesses of educational policies, sustaining, almost unanimously, blunt criticism of the content and the drafting process of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b).

As for the content, they mainly questioned that: a) the competency model meets the technical rationality; b) there was anticipation of the literacy process for pre-school; c) the content and materials are the same for students with different social and knowledge experiences, which will not promote the equalization desired and announced by the BNCC; d) the





fragmentation of the curriculum elects and privileges isolated content; e) there is a need to address the issue of gender and sexual orientation in the curriculum.

Regarding the drafting process, the representatives of the academic entities, reacted to: (a) possible threat to the autonomy of state and municipal education systems; (b) exclusion of the high school stage in the formulation of the BNCC, arguing that this decision breaks with the organicity provided for in the DCNEB; (c) the logic of the commodification of Education identified in the 3rd version of the BNCC, whose brand makes education more of a commodity in the country; (d) changing the directions of the work already done and the abandonment of the nearly 12 million contributions addressed to the Secretariat of Basic Education of the MEC; e) delivery of schools to social organizations and creation of charter schools, with private management of schools, whose proposal is present in several states, claiming that this seriously compromises the public school in our country; f) dynamics of the hearings held by the CNE from the regions, arguing that this format does not ensure a broad and representative debate of the 3rd version.

The third theme, raised by the academic entities, was the need for complementary educational policies, in the sense of: a) preventing the adoption of distance education; b) implementing the public sample evaluation system; c) including institutional evaluation; d) seeking to develop an autonomy process; e) strengthening professional valorization policies.

Resuming the concepts of anchoring and objectification, in TRS (MOSCOVICI, 2012), and agreeing with Vala and Castro (2017, p. 588-589, our translation), that they are intrinsically linked processes and have a temporal relationship, we seek, first, to differentiate the categories that the group knows best, and that are used to anchor what is unfamiliar. Subsequently, to observe that these same categories serve as the source of the metaphors for objectification. We also consider that the anchoring process reveals how the positioning of individuals in the social structure guides social thinking and the construction of meanings. Thus, taking these concepts - objectification and anchoring - we can say that the SRs of the members of the academic entities are anchored in **negative categories**, objectified in questioning the content, repudiation of the process and in points about the need for other educational policies to complement the BNCC, so that it can be consolidated as a curriculum policy.

The representatives of the business foundations, on the other hand, presented arguments favorable to the form and content of the 3rd version. In highlight, we selected some clippings of the text with the arguments used by representatives of business foundations to refer to the BNCC as state policy, putting on the agenda that the BNCC: a) should be understood as an achievement of supra-partisan national interest; b) has fidelity of origin, since it stems from





current legislation: CF, LDB and PNE; c) has the digital, not of all, but of millions of managers, teachers and civil society; d) reveals commitment of several successive governments and indicates the perennality of a policy with several digital.

In other segments of the oral text of these representatives, their representations of the BNCC as being the bearer of precise educational guidance are clear, and that: a) it is like a compass, so that teachers can have clear guidance on how to organize their work at school; b) it is a document that has clarity, and is written in good Portuguese; c) it has a great structure, which, for its clarity, can be improved.

The third representational image is of the BNCC as a lever for education, and was reinforced in the speech of several subjects of this Group, as we highlight in the text segments: (a) inducing an education, with a focus on comprehensive development, that points to the future; (b) necessary advance to ensure curricular policies promoting comprehensive learning and equity nationwide; (c) indispensable to ensure more consistent and focused educational policies so that student learning happens looking forward; (d) fundamental for the curriculum to introduce more engaged practices that bring back students' enthusiasm with learning.

Thus, from the analysis performed, based on TRS (MOSCOVICI, 2012), we can say that the representatives of the business foundations anchor their SRs of the BNCC in **positive categories** and that they objectify them in their discourses as a state policy, which brings precise educational guidance and will serve as a lever for education.

From the print and digital media space

Newspapers of large national circulation dedicated space in editorials and published opinion articles, as well as special education sections throughout the process of drafting the BNCC. Considering the power of influence of these discourses, in this section, we will present those that have been tensioned, through discussion and analysis of articles published by these print and digital media vehicles.

To this end, we collected articles in editorials or special sections of the newspapers Folha de São Paulo and O Globo. As a result of this search, we located 24 articles published in the years 2016 and 2017, whose list is shown in Table 3 below.

Observing, initially, the titles of the journalistic articles, it is evident that some of them already bring a reference that points to the intentionality of the issuer in demonstrating an attitude of approval, since they use terms with positive connotation. As an example, we





highlight the following titles: "A firmer base"; "More solid base"; "Teaching with a guideline"; "Beyond addition".

Frame 3 – Opinion articles, by date, vehicle and title (2016-2017)

CODE	DATE	JOURNAL	ARTICLE TITLE
AJ-01	29/01/2016	Folha de SP	In addition to the addition
AJ-02	03/06/2016	Folha de SP	A firmer foundation
AJ-03	26/09/2016	Folha de SP	Rescue teaching
AJ-04	20/12/2016	Folha de SP	20 years of LDB
AJ-05	18/02/2017	Folha de SP	Against evasion
AJ-06	08/03/2017	O Globo	Removing history from required courses is 'absolute mistake', says USP professor
AJ-07	06/04/2017	O Globo	Common National Base: a step forward for education
AJ-08	07/04/2017	O Globo	Religious Caucus asked Temer to remove gender issue from the Base
AJ-09	08/04/2017	Folha de SP	More solid base
AJ-10	23/04/2017	Folha de SP	The basis of teaching
AJ-11	10/05/2017	Folha de SP	On the basis of caution
AJ-12	02/12/2017	Folha de SP	Temer administration speeds up vote on the curricular base without new debate
AJ-13	04/12/2017	O Globo	Gender and sexual orientation should not be explicitly addressed in the BNCC
AJ-14	06/12/2017	O Globo	Government removes mention of unions from the Curricular Base
AJ-15	07/12/2017	O Globo	Educators fear that controversy over terms in the Curricular Base will prevent its approval
AJ-16	10/12/2017	Folha de SP	Guideline Teaching
AJ-17	15/12/2017	Folha de SP	The BNCC needs to reach the education networks
AJ-18	15/12/2017	O Globo	Basis of education
AJ-19	15/12/2017	O Globo	Approval of the Curricular Base divides educators
AJ-20	19/12/2017	O Globo	A battle won with the Curricular Base
AJ-21	20/12/2017	Folha de SP	Basis for education to move forward in Brazil
AJ-22	20/12/2017	O Globo	Minister says the Curricular Base respects plurality
AJ-23	21/11/2017	O Globo	A nod to freedom
AJ-24	22/12/2017	Folha de SP	Just the beginning

Source: Prepared by the authors

In other titles, the intentionality is even more incisive, as an example, in the titles: "Resgatar o ensino"; "Base para a educação avançar no Brasil"; "Base Nacional Comum: avanço para a educação". In these titles, it is clear the appeal to the idea that the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b) promotes not only the rescue of education, but that it also causes its advancement. Besides the title "A BNCC precisa chegar às redes de ensino" (The BNCC needs





to reach the education networks), which carries the idea of a necessary urgency to implement the BNCC in the education networks.

In order to deepen the analysis, the collected material was processed using a computational tool called Iramuteq - Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires, developed by Pierre Ratinaud (2009), which is anchored in the software R and allows different forms of statistical analysis on textual corpus. We chose to use another feature of the Iramuteq Program, which allows multivariate analyses, such as the Descending Hierarchical Classification (CHD), in which text and vocabulary segments are correlated, forming a hierarchical class scheme, which aims to obtain text segments. According to Camargo and Justo (2013, p. 516, our translation): "This analysis aims to obtain classes that present vocabulary similar to each other, and vocabulary different from other classes".

As a result, the 24 texts that make up the general corpus were subdivided into 329 text segments (TS), with 267 TSs (81.16%).

The CHD generated by the software is represented by a Phylogram (FIGURE 2), below, which favors the visualization of the main words, which form each class built by the software (CAMARGO; JUSTO, 2013).



Figure 2 – Descending Hierarchical Classification Flowchart



Source: Filogram referring to the Descending Hierarchical Classification (CHD) obtained by Iramuteq

We explain some aspects, here, to better understand the Phylogram, verifying that the more at the top of the list and the larger the word size, the greater influence on the class. We also observe that, in the Phylogram (FIGURE 2), classes 1 and 2, which compose the subramification R1, are the ones with the greatest closeness and textual correlation. The two, grouped together, correspond to 51.7% of the arguments used in the analyzed journalistic texts.

With this in mind, we found that in R1, the classes are formed by words, such as teaching and fundamental (class 1); learning and learning (class 2); and Portuguese, science and history (class 3). On the other hand, in R2, gender, question and respect made class 4 disconnected





from the others. This led us to characterize it as a solitary class, whose text segments will be analyzed separately.

Starting with the R1 branch, to give more consistency to the analysis, we performed the thematic categorization of the text segments, in which the terms of each class are correlated. In this process, we identified the emergence of four categories: a) clarity; b) essential/nursing; c) equity/quality; and d) evaluation.

As an example, we highlight some text segments associated with each of the emerging thematic categories. The code refers to the journalistic article cited, according to what was defined in Table 3:

a) Clarity:

(AJ-02) - "It has already become a consensus that there is an urgent need for a BNCC. There is no longer any doubt that Brazilian education, to get out of the current quagmire of mediocrity, needs a list that can be understood by all - parents, teachers and students - of what should be taught and learned in the classroom.

AJ-04) - "The adoption of a common national curriculum (BNCC) directly addresses this problem. Schools and teachers will be clear about what their students should learn and what they should be able to do with that learning.

(AJ-09) - "Considerably improved document that will give clarity to teachers and parents about what each student has a right to learn and the school has an obligation to teach."

(AJ-13) - "According to the counselor [Siqueira - from CNE], an effort was made to value aspects such as play, place the child as the protagonist of his/her development, and also "up the ruler" in the learning objectives for the stage. "There was criticism of the lack of clarity in relation to the progression of learning; the objectives for each age group needed to be defined. This was corrected. The relationship between learning objectives and child development was also corrected.

(AJ-19) - "The document that was approved brought a text that opened the black box of literacy. We were in the dark and this has improved."

b) Essential/Northernational:

(AJ-13; AJ-15; AJ-19) - "The BNCC will guide the curricula throughout the country.

(AJ-15) - "The document will serve to guide the curricula of all schools in the country. Today, public and private institutions only follow CNE guidelines.

(AJ-24) - "Brazil finally has an essential charter of learning rights and school obligations, baptized the common national curriculum base (BNCC).



c) Equity/Quality:

(AJ-07) - "The document defines what all students in basic education have the right to learn, creating conditions for more equity and organization of the educational system."

(AJ-17) - "By defining what all students have the right to learn, the document is a fundamental step towards ensuring equity and quality in the Brazilian education system."

(AJ-20) - "The curriculum for early childhood and elementary school - the one for middle school is missing - decades after the charter and the guidelines law, helps in the quality revolution that education needs."

(AJ-21) - "By ratifying this Wednesday (20) the Common National Curricular Base (BNCC), we begin a new era in Brazilian education and align ourselves with the best and most qualified educational systems in the world."

(AJ-21) - "Reducing educational inequalities and promoting the quality of Brazilian students' learning are possible tasks. We have just taken a decisive step toward achieving these goals."

d) Evaluation:

(AJ-04) - "The poor results of Brazilian students in recently released national and international assessments can be largely explained by the absence of clear indications of what students must learn to successfully meet the challenges of the contemporary world."

(AJ-10) - "This newspaper has long argued that the time for innocuous theories, purposeless experimentation and pedagogical condescension in public education is over. With Brazil's successive dismal performances in reading, science, and math on the international Pisa exam, it seems clear that national education has stalled at a very low level of quality."

(AJ-16) - "The BNCC defines content to be studied and competencies and skills that students should demonstrate at each step of their school life. It sounds obvious, but there is no standard valid throughout the country that precisely establishes the progression of education and what should be expected as a result."

(AJ-20) - "It became possible to set goals, starting from the realization of the poor quality of education, shown, for example, in the international examination Pisa (Programme for International Student Assessment), applied by the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), which brings together developed and associated nations like Brazil."

In a more detailed analysis of the lexical choice, we identified that the use of adjectives, adverbs and metaphors seem to have been used as a persuasive strategy employed to convince the reader of a favorable view regarding the approval of the BNCC.



For example, in the excerpts - "An essential charter of learning rights and obligations for the school"; "A decisive step for education to move forward in Brazil"; "It establishes progression in a precise way" -, we highlight that the use of adjectives or adverbs were used as explicit arguments with the intention of judging and highlighting qualities of the document.

Through the analysis of these excerpts, we infer that the media vehicles used their spaces not only to inform, but to try to convince the reader about an argument, using techniques that meet the objectives of the communicative modality of propaganda. Which reminds us of Moscovici (2012, p. 399, our translation), when he states that the goal of propaganda is to "produce an action" and that: "The cunning of thought in propaganda consists, in fact, in presenting a single solution, a single way out, a possible link, the negative pole existing to reaffirm and reinforce the opposite" (p. 399, our translation).

We observe, in this sense, the use of metaphors with implicit favorable qualifiers in the statements: "We are aligned with the best and most qualified educational systems in the world" and "will serve to guide the curricula of schools. This contrasts with the depreciative way in which current education is (un)qualified, as in: "We were in darkness" and "it needs to reach the education networks for Brazilian education to get out of the current quagmire of mediocrity".

We realize, in agreement with Bowe, Ball, and Gold (1992), that policy makers cannot control the meanings of their texts. The interpretation of curriculum policy is a matter of struggle, in which different interpretations related to different interests compete. Thus, thinking with Moscovici (1985), when he states that social influence is a communicative genre that is "rooted in conflict and strives for consensus" (p. 352, our translation), we observe the effort of influence propagandized through print and digital media. This effort is evidenced by the use of persuasive resources in the published speeches, which bring arguments predominantly favorable to the form and contents of the BNCC.

Considering what Moscovici (2005) teaches us, we conclude that the process of objectification of the BNCC by the media occurs through the construction of the image of the document as a clear and essential guideline, which will ensure quality and equity to education and will enable the overcoming of undesirable educational results in standardized assessments.

Retaking the phylogram of the CHD (FIGURE 2), we observe that Class 4 of words represents the terms that had less representativeness in the set of texts. Thus, we can say that this Class 4, in which the term gender is highlighted, the text segments correlated with the second branch (R2) make up the field of peripheral representations. Nevertheless, we will take



a closer look at the textual segments in which the term gender was uttered, because we consider the importance of the clash generated around this theme reported below.

In this sense, we highlight that the MEC removed from the latest version, at the last minute, mentions of the expressions of gender identity and sexual orientation, after the Federal Government apparently suffered pressure from the religious bench of the National Congress. The removal of the expressions was minimized in several articles published at the time. In one of them, as shown in the highlighted text segment, the writers say that this issue needs to be clarified, although it is not crucial:

(AJ-09) - It would also be helpful to clarify the confusing episode of cutting out mentions of sexual orientation and gender identity; not that such notions are crucial, but a consensus base cannot be built without a minimum of transparency.

(AJ-15) - Changes in the text of the latest version of the Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC) for early childhood and elementary education made by the Ministry of Education (MEC), which deleted passages on issues of gender and sexuality, still divide the National Education Council (CNE), which analyzes the document before sanctioning the latest version for approval by the Minister of Education, Mendonça Filho. According to sources heard by GLOBO, council members gathered in Brasilia since Monday have already prepared about 200 amendments modifying the text sent by the MEC. The impasse worries educators, who fear that the discussion on details of the text overshadows the quality of the document as a whole and slows the approval of the Base, which, according to them, needs to occur this year. The MEC is also in a hurry.

These speeches also reveal, implicitly, a vision of curriculum rooted in technical conceptions. This vision, linked to the traditional theories of curriculum, was observed both in the texts published in the media and in the speeches of the representatives of the business foundations. We observed that these actors demonstrated to conceive the curriculum only in the dimension of the text as a product, whose content is organized in a neutral way, not problematizing and that disregards the demands of difference, especially those of identity.

Although, in another article, the removal of the expressions is referred to as a mere detail of the text and that a representative of the MEC said that the suppression of the term was just a matter of editing, a simple copy editing. In practice, what was observed was, as a result, a conceptual change, as recorded in the following excerpt:

(AJ-14) - In the same topic of history skills in 9th grade, the government removed the command that mandated the study of "population dynamics" for understanding "ethnic-racial and gender identities in recent history. Instead, it determined the analysis of "aspects related to the phenomenon of terrorism in





contemporary times, including migratory movements and clashes between different groups and cultures.

The minimization of the content of the controversy that occurred around the theme, associated with pressure from the religious bench, made a conservative discourse prevail in the approved version of the BNCC (BRASIL, 2017b), as revealed in the aforementioned journalistic excerpt.

The choice of language in the journalistic articles, which deal with the removal of mentions of gender identity and sexual orientation, which we have evidenced in the highlighted excerpts, show that these journalistic texts do not carry the neutrality characteristics of a text, which aims solely at the dissemination of information.

Moscovici (1961/2012) named, as already announced, three communicative modalities, of which we take for this analysis: diffusion and propaganda. As seen previously, communication in the diffusion modality aims to guarantee access to information of general subjects, creating a common knowledge, which can give rise to the emergence of diverse opinions. On the other hand, propaganda "[...] is more concrete, it is not content to renew the meaning of a behavior, it tends to create or reinforce it" (MOSCOVICI, 2012, p. 361, our translation).

From the discourse analysis, we conclude that these texts, which circulated in the media, did not have the objective of diffusion only, since they were not restricted to information that could give rise to diverse opinions. On the contrary, the texts use strategies of persuasion similar to those employed in advertisements, clearly aiming to influence the readers' opinions and behavior.

We emphasize the importance of being attentive to the participation of business foundations that, by opposing themselves to entities of the scientific community, seek a space of collaboration aiming at the formulation of policies with the State, constituting networks of relations and developing heterarchical activities that operate in an organizational form. This form, which is between hierarchy and a network of relationships, in which different elements of the political process cooperate and strategically influence political agendas and internal decision-making processes.

Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) reinforce that the similarity between the transformations found in many nations, in which the social and ideological context and content are usually sponsored by a network of foundations, consultants, entrepreneurs and corporations, which are often linked to each other in complex and influential ways, and which may be hidden from public view. According to these authors, within all the mechanisms of choice of





technologies, leadership of devolution or management competition, privatization of entrepreneurship, and/or governance, are subject positions and a set of practices that create neoliberalism.

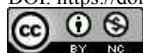
This neoliberal education is based on processes of flexibilization, the use of measurements, comparison processes of competition and choice, marketization, accountability, and, fundamentally, on processes of reconstruction of education financing. It is an economic approach, which brings about many changes in education, but mainly creates the opportunities for profit.

Final reflections: on the effects and the resistance movement to the BNCC

Despite the directions chosen by the two groups of entities having visibly frustrated the objectives of the CNE to collect subsidies and contributions for the analysis and preparation of the opinion and resolution that would establish the BNCC, the course designed by the MEC was not interrupted. In this sense, three Councilors - Márcia Ângela da S. Aguiar, Malvina T. Tuttman and Aurina O. Santana - within the CNE -, filed, with the President of the CNE, the request to review the drafts of the Opinion and the Resolution "because they considered that the BNCC was not completed, as well as, there were questions and doubts about these documents that needed to be better discussed and deepened by the CNE" (AGUIAR, 2018, p. 13, our translation).

Indeed, much of the academic community has expressed itself, very intensely and unsuccessfully, in opposition to the approval of the BNCC. The questionings were motivated mainly by the deviation from the notion of learning rights to a notion of developmental learning objectives, which was translated in the final version of the BNCC-EI/EF (BRASIL, 2017b), in a more technocratic view, to the concept of competencies and skills.

The academic community began to show concern about a possible intention that the document will have the force of a curriculum, as expressed by Cury, Reis and Zanardi (2018, p. 73, our translation): "Therefore, I assert that, in addition to the BNCC being a prescription of the national curriculum, it is a way of making consensus on what it intends to be the official knowledge". In contrast to this concern, in the body of the Opinion that gave rise to the Resolution (BRASIL, 2017a), which approves the BNCC, the Councilors of the CNE emphasized again the most constant discourse of the MEC throughout the hearings, by repeating the statement that the BNCC is not curriculum: "Regarding the character of the BNCC, it is necessary to emphasize that it is not a curriculum and, therefore, it is not enough to house and





give concreteness to the many dimensions involved in it" (BRASIL, 2017a, p. 26, our translation).

Despite all the resistance movement, the request for views and the opposing vote of the three mentioned counselors, Resolution CNE/CP n. 2 (BRASIL, 2017a), which establishes and guides the implementation of the BNCC-EI/EF, was approved by CNE and ratified by MEC in December 2017, bringing the definition of what should be taught in basic education and pointing performance standards for the minimum qualification at this level of education.

Since then, scholars and researchers (AGUIAR, 2018; BAZZO; SCHEIBE, 2019; ABDALLA; DINIZ-PEREIRA, 2020; EMILIO, 2020; FRANGELLA, 2020), in addition to academic entities⁷, continue, in a propositional resistance, to discuss the implementation process, raising questions in face of the challenges posed by the BNCC today. And, from this perspective, the data corroborate the defense of the thesis that it is necessary to understand how knowledge about the policy is generated, so that the effects, caused by the knowledge produced by these same policies, can be understood (EMILIO, 2020).

Finally, it should be noted that the circle of control over basic education imposed by the approval of the BNCC is not restricted to this stage of schooling, since, in higher education, this policy also indicates the need for the curricula of teacher training courses to have the BNCC as a reference for the composition of their curricula.

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⁷ Among the academic or scientific organizations, the following stand out in this struggle: the National Association for the Training of Education Professionals (ANFOPE), the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Education (ANPEd), the Brazilian Association of Curriculum (ABdC), the National Association of Education Policy and Administration (ANPAE), the Center for Studies Education and Society (CEDES), and the National Forum of Directors of Faculties, Education Centers or Equivalents of Public Brazilian Universities (FORUMDIR).





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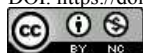
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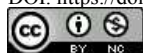
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