

**THE STRATEGIES OF THE “MOVIMENTO PELA BASE” IN BUILDING THE
BNCC: CONSENSUS AND PRIVATIZATION**

**AS ESTRATÉGIAS DO “MOVIMENTO PELA BASE” NA CONSTRUÇÃO DA BNCC:
CONSENSO E PRIVATIZAÇÃO**

**ESTRATEGIAS DEL “MOVIMENTO PELA BASE” EN LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE
BNCC: CONSENSO Y PRIVATIZACIÓN**

Fabiola da Silva FERREIRA¹
Fabiano Antonio dos SANTOS²

ABSTRACT: This article presents the articulations of the Movimento Pela Base in the conduction of the process of construction of the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC) throughout the Brazilian territory. In a political and economic context influenced by the managerial discourse of reducing the role of the State, the Brazilian business community has become a central figure in most of the policy recommendations for the educational field, the result of an international growth trend in the third sector on public actions. The analysis of scientific productions about BNCC, considering books, articles, theses and dissertations, in addition to documents made available on electronic media, allowed us to demonstrate the capillarity of the movement, the involvement of public and private subjects and institutions and their intentions to educate for the new capitalist sociability, based on the need to form consensus around the idea of a collective social project of public policy.

KEYWORDS: BNCC. *Movimento pela base*. Privatization. Third way. Consensus.

RESUMO: *Este artigo apresenta as articulações do Movimento Pela Base na condução do processo de construção da Base Nacional Comum Curricular em todo o território brasileiro. Em um contexto político e econômico influenciado pelo discurso gerencial de redução do papel do Estado, o empresariado brasileiro torna-se figura central em boa parte das recomendações de políticas para o campo educacional, resultado de uma tendência internacional de crescimento do terceiro setor sobre as ações públicas. A análise das produções científicas sobre a BNCC, considerando livros, artigos, teses e dissertações, além de documentos disponibilizados nas mídias eletrônicas nos permitiu demonstrar a capilaridade do movimento, o envolvimento de sujeitos e instituições públicas e privadas e suas intencionalidades de educar para a nova sociabilidade capitalista, pautada na necessidade de formação de consensos em torno da ideia de um projeto social coletivo da política pública.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: BNCC. *Movimento pela base*. Privatização. Terceira via. Consenso.

¹ Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UFMS), Corumbá - MS - Brazil. Teacher of the Municipal Network of Corumbá. Master in Education (UFMS). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0917-8748>. E-mail: biola_nrt_silva@hotmail.com

² Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UFMS), Corumbá - MS - Brazil. Professor of the Pedagogy Course and the Postgraduate Program in Education. Doctorate in Education (UFSC). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7703-8520>. E-mail: fabiano.santos@ufms.br

RESUMEN: *Este artículo presenta las articulaciones del Movimento Pela Base en la realización del proceso de construcción del la Base Nacional Comum Curricular en todo el territorio brasileño. En un contexto político y económico influenciado por el discurso gerencial de reducir el papel del Estado, el sector empresarial brasileño se ha convertido en una figura central en la mayoría de las recomendaciones de políticas para el campo educativo, el resultado de una tendencia internacional de crecimiento en el tercer sector sobre las acciones públicas. El análisis de producciones científicas sobre BNCC, considerando libros, artículos, tesis y disertaciones, además de documentos disponibles en medios electrónicos, nos permitió demostrar la capilaridad del movimiento, la participación de sujetos y instituciones públicas y privadas y sus intenciones de educar para La nueva sociabilidad capitalista, basada en la necesidad de formar un consenso en torno a la idea de un proyecto social colectivo de política pública.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *BNCC. Movimento pela base. Privatización. Tercera vía. Consensos.*

Introduction

The involvement of the business group in education has intensified since the Reform of the Brazilian State, in the 1990s, and has been built as an expression of the model of social organization within the globalized era (LUZ, 2011). According to Neves (2005), the involvement of the business community has the fundamental function of educating for the new form of sociability, based on the creation of consensus around objectives considered “common” and that, therefore, should involve everyone, regardless of social class, everyone would become protagonists in the construction of a “collective” social project.

The National Common Curricular Base (BNCC), as well as the various reforms developed and directed to Basic Education, are outlined bringing in their context the discourse of improving the quality of education. Homologated by the Ministry of Education (MEC), in December 2017, BNCC serves not only to define the content of school curricula, but also to guide the production of other policies “[...] regarding teacher formation, assessment, the elaboration of educational content and the criteria for the provision of infrastructure [...]”³ (BRASIL, 2017a, p. 8), among others, assuming, therefore, a fundamental role in the regulation and control of other educational policies on a national scale .

Understood by several authors as a field of dispute, the process of building the BNCC developed in a tumultuous context, considering both the changes within the Ministry of Education itself and the more general context of national and international political and economic crisis. Added to this scenario were the various criticisms directed at the document,

³ “[...] referentes à formação de professores, à avaliação, à elaboração de conteúdos educacionais e aos critérios para a oferta de infraestrutura [...]”

which came mainly from educational entities, scientific associations, unions, researchers and teachers who denounced the centralization of the document construction process at the Ministry of Education and the strong influence of the business community on the definition of BNCC content.

In this research, we seek to present the way in which the articulations and performance of the *Movimento Pela Base*⁴ (MPB) were carried out in conducting the process of building the BNCC, considering the economic and political context that supported this process. Despite the large number of studies on the BNCC, from curriculum analysis, through relations with external assessments, to more specifically its interference on education levels (CAMPOS; DURLI; CAMPOS, 2019; COSTA; SILVA, 2019), it is still necessary to deepen the analysis on the privatist face that was/is behind the implementation of this document, which is certainly one of the most important of this new century for the education of the country.

The research was developed from the analysis of scientific productions on the BNCC, considering books, articles, theses and dissertations in addition to documents made available on electronic media. We use as a reference the method of Historical-Dialectic Materialism, guided by the Gramscian perspective, and the concept of active consensus is crucial for the development of the research, which in our view was the main strategy used by policy makers, with the aim of maintaining hegemony conducting and defining curricular reform.

The work is structured in two sections, in addition to the introduction and final considerations. In the first one, we approached the economic and political context in which the business community operates in order to guarantee the construction of the BNCC. In the second, we highlight the way in which MPB acted - understood as a private device of Hegemony - during the process of preparing the BNCC, analyzing the objectives of the organization and strategies used by its organic intellectuals to maintain control over the direction of the Base project which, among other points, is materialized by the great capacity for articulation that MPB has when involving a wide variety of subjects, individual and collective, from the public and/or private spheres, from the national and international context.

Economic and political context for business activity: the construction of BNCC

The discussion on the construction of a National Base is not recent, having been the subject of discussions since the 1980s (SAVIANI, 2016). It gains even more importance from

⁴ Movement for the Base

the 1990s onwards, with the growth of managerial management proposals in school institutions and the application of external evaluations, always justified to measure the quality of education. It was, still in the 1990s, that the country went through the reform of the state, causing an expansion of the managerial discourse and the idea of a costly and inefficient state. Like England, the reform of the Brazilian State had the strength of the Third Way assumptions, especially the call for civil society organizations to participate in public administration. The consequence was the understanding of the State as an enemy to be fought. Activism has proliferated especially in the name of a more representative than properly collective citizenship.

The proposal to reform the Brazilian State stimulated the creation of a kind of Third Sector, also known as a non-state public, assuming the partnership of the State with the market to provide public services to the population. This concept ends up designating a series of activities of the private initiative in a non-governmental public sense. Public, in the context of the reform, would refer to society and, state, to the State. Therefore, a non-state public would comprise activities aimed at society but not the exclusive responsibility of the State.

In the field of social and scientific services, ownership should be essentially non-state public. Social activities, mainly those of health, basic education and guarantee of minimum income, and the carrying out of scientific research involve positive externalities and concern fundamental human rights [...] Therefore, if they must not be private or state owned, the alternative is to adopt the non-state public property regime, it is to use organizations under private law but with public purposes, not for profit. “Public property”, in the sense that it must be dedicated to the public interest, which must be for everyone and for all, which is not aimed at profit; “Non-state” because it is not part of the state apparatus. Public non-state organizations can be largely - and in some cases, entirely - financed by the state (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2001, p. 246).⁵

The reform of the state was fertile ground for the businessmen to invest in strategic sectors such as education, since they saw there an important strategy for the development of their hegemonic project. With this terrain already widespread, the discussion about the need for a Curriculum Base takes on very different contours from those of the 1980s, when the interest of workers in education was to guarantee greater equality from the establishment of essential contents. Now, the discourse under the domination of the business community is different: to

⁵ No domínio dos serviços sociais e científicos a propriedade deverá ser essencialmente pública não-estatal. As atividades sociais, principalmente as de saúde, educação fundamental e de garantia de renda mínima, e a realização da pesquisa científica envolvem externalidades positivas e dizem respeito a direitos humanos fundamentais [...] Logo, se não devem ser privados, nem estatais, a alternativa é adotar-se o regime da propriedade pública não-estatal, é utilizar organizações de direito privado mas com finalidades públicas, sem fins lucrativos. “Propriedade pública”, no sentido de que se deve dedicar ao interesse público, que deve ser de todos e para todos, que não visa ao lucro; “não-estatal” porque não é parte do aparelho do Estado. As organizações públicas não-estatais podem ser em grande parte — e em certos casos, inteiramente — financiadas pelo Estado (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2001, p. 246).

develop education for productivity, for teaching knowledge useful to the market, to the economic model. It is in this context, therefore, that the first discussions on the construction of what we now know as BNCC were held.

Inspired by the American proposal for a common curriculum, implemented in 2010, (*Common Core State Standards Initiative*)⁶, Brazil starts discussions on the creation of the BNCC, justifying the fact that it is a measure already provided for in Law⁷ (LDB of 1996). What is evident in this new context is the outsourcing of the role of the state, accused of being inefficient with public management. Education, a strategic sector for the development of capital, gains special attention and several proposals are now being conducted by the private sector worldwide.

It is an international trend that has been built up linked to the policies of Multilateral Organisms and articulated with reformers and entrepreneurs in the national and international field. According to Peroni and Caetano (2015, p. 344):

These are changes based on reforms in the United States, Australia, Chile and the United Kingdom that recently built and implemented national curriculum standards and are currently being questioned by a group of researchers in the area about improvements and/or losses in the quality of education.⁸

Thus, the legalistic apparatus, established nationally around the construction of a National Common Curricular Base, contributes to legitimize curricular reform in the country. This reform has been developed with the Movement for the Common National Base (MPB) as its main guide. According to Freitas (2015c)⁹, MPB was created, in April 2013, from the International Seminar “Leading Educational Reforms”, which took place in São Paulo, at the Victor Civita Foundation - Abril Group -, an event organized by Yale University, in the United

⁶ Common Core is the common curriculum document, launched in 2010, in the United States, during the Obama administration. Like the BNCC, the Common Core defines the skills that should be developed by students in each grade, considering, however, as mandatory content only languages and mathematics.

⁷ In the legal scope, a series of documents were used to justify the creation of the BNCC, among them the Federal Constitution of 1998, which emphasizes: “Art. 210. Minimum contents for elementary education will be fixed, in order to ensure common basic formation and respect for cultural and artistic, national and regional values” (BRASIL, 1998, our highlights); the LDB, which in Item IV of its article 9, affirms the Union's responsibility to “establish, in collaboration with the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, competences and guidelines for Early Childhood Education, Elementary and Secondary Education, that will guide the curricula and their minimum contents, in order to ensure common basic formation” (BRASIL, 1996, our highlights); the PNE, in which the Common National Curricular Base is related to the goals of universalization of fundamental education.

⁸ São mudanças baseadas nas reformas ocorridas nos Estados Unidos, Austrália, Chile e Reino Unido que construíram e implementaram, recentemente, padrões curriculares nacionais e que são questionados atualmente por um conjunto de pesquisadores da área sobre as melhorias e ou prejuízos à qualidade da educação .

⁹ Disponível em: <https://avaliacaoeducacional.com/2015/07/26/reformadores-e-base-nacional-personagens-i/>. Access: 28 Feb. 2019.

States of America, and by the Lemann Foundation. Confirming the fact, Peroni and Caetano (2015, p. 344) highlight that:

This movement started in April 2013, during an international seminar that brought together some Brazilian educational institutions organized by the National Council of State Education Secretaries (Consed) and Lemann Foundation. The National Union of Municipal Education Directors (Undime), the National Education Council (CNE), the São Paulo State Education Council (CEE-SP), the Education Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and the All for Education Movement participated.¹⁰

In the same period, in April 2013, there are records of the departure of a group of deputies to the city of New Haven, United States, to participate, "on official mission", of a Seminar during the 21st to the 24th, with the same name of the seminar held in São Paulo, whose registration can be found on the Chamber of Deputies page¹¹. In the report, deputy Alex Canziani¹² (PTB- PR), one of the seminar participants declares:

*[...] we were, last week, on an official mission in the city of New Haven, in the United States, at Yale University, at the invitation of the Lemann Foundation, to participate in a seminar called Leading Educational Reforms and Strengthening Brazil for the 21st Century. The Lemann Foundation, [...] is focused on education, develops beautiful work so that we can improve the quality of Brazilian education. [...] at the invitation of this foundation [...] we had the opportunity to hear experts. [...] And, through this seminar, we were able to follow the experiences of the United States with one situation: the common core, whose debate we want to bring to Brazil.*¹³

According to Andrade, Neves and Piccinini (2017), the period of implementation of the curriculum reform took place at a time of instability in the Ministry of Education, as a result of

¹⁰ Esse movimento iniciou em abril de 2013, durante um seminário internacional que reuniu algumas instituições brasileiras do setor educacional organizado pelo Conselho Nacional de Secretários Estaduais de Educação (Consed) e Fundação Lemann. Participaram a União Nacional dos Dirigentes Municipais de Educação (Undime), o Conselho Nacional de Educação (CNE), o Conselho Estadual de Educação de São Paulo (CEE-SP), a Comissão de Educação da Câmara dos Deputados e o Movimento Todos pela Educação.

¹¹ Available:

<https://www.camara.leg.br/internet/sitaqweb/TextoHTML.asp?etapa=2&nuSessao=093.3.54.O&nuQuarto=80&nuOrador=2&nuInsercao=0&dtHorarioQuarto=11:38&sgFaseSessao=BC%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&Data=30/04/2013&txApelido=ALEX%20CANZIANI&txEtapa=Sem%20supervis%3o>. Access: 06 Mar. 2019.

¹² President of the Mixed Parliamentary Front for Education and member of the *Movimento Pela Base*.

¹³ *[...] nós estivemos, na semana passada, em uma missão oficial na cidade de New Haven, nos Estados Unidos, na Universidade de Yale, a convite da Fundação Lemann, para participar de um seminário chamado Liderando Reformas Educacionais e Fortalecendo o Brasil para o Século XXI.*

A Fundação Lemann, [...] é voltada para a educação, desenvolve belo trabalho para que possamos melhorar a qualidade da educação brasileira.

[...] a convite dessa fundação [...] tivemos a oportunidade de ouvir especialistas. [...]

E, através desse seminário, nós pudemos acompanhar as experiências dos Estados Unidos com uma situação: o common core, cujo debate queremos trazer para o Brasil.

the political dispute that the country was going through and that the PT government made exceptions to negotiate its stay in power. Between 2014 and 2016, three different ministers passed through the Ministry of Education. The first version was under the tutelage of Renato Janine Ribeiro/PT-PMDB (term between April to September 2015), the second version of Aloísio Mercadante/PT-PMDB (term between October 2015 to May 2016) and the third version produced under the responsibility of José Mendonça Filho/DEM-PMDB (between the periods from May 2016 to April 2018).

The context of construction of the BNCC reveals instability not only within the scope of the Ministry of Education, but at the economic, political and social levels. This movement had as one of its fundamental dimensions the crisis of the Workers' Party (PT), which, among other factors, is represented by the fall of the Dilma Rousseff government, with the parliamentary coup, consolidated on August 31, 2016, and her impeachment. It is not the object of this text to carry out an analysis of PT governments, but we are interested in highlighting that between 2011 and 2016, when Dilma Rousseff is removed from the federal government, the role of the PT was fundamental because it instituted what Oliveira *et al.* (2010), called backwards hegemony. For the author, PT governments have paved the way for class appeasement, generating the cooptation of the main leaders of the working class in favor of their goals. Coutinho (2010), also analyzing this period, uses the notion of counter-reform to present how the Brazilian bourgeois class will produce its hegemony (through the process of passive revolution). As we will follow in this text, the process of business participation in the construction of BNCC found, in this period, a favorable environment to disseminate its guidelines and consolidate itself as the main movement in defense of BNCC.

Seeking to form a solid basis for the construction of the curriculum, the Ministry of Education incorporated as official partners in the process (all with active participation in MPB): the National Council of Education Secretaries (CONSED) and the National Union of Municipal Education Directors (UNDIME). The first preliminary version of the document was released to the public by the Ministry of Basic Education of the MEC (SEB/MEC), in September 2015, followed by the “Public Consultation” online through a platform. The second version was made available in May 2016, being debated through State Seminars held in all Units of the Federation, promoted by the State Secretariats and coordinated by CONSED and UNDIME. However, only the first version of the BNCC was opened for public consultation through the online platform. The third preliminary version of the BNCC, sent to the National Education Council in April 2017, was discussed in five Public Hearings, one in each region, held from June to September 2017.

We understand that the path defined for the elaboration of the BNCC when opening to the participation of society, has a positive effect in the sense of legitimizing politics as a “collective” project. It seeks to build a favorable context for the construction of the two other versions of the document, as well as for its implementation, taking advantage of the political instability that the country faced. According to information available on the BNCC Portal, the result of the public consultation on the first version would have generated “more than 12 million contributions” - a speech that came to be used during the process of building the BNCC as evidence of the protagonism, especially of the teachers in preparing the document.

According to Cássio (2017, n/p) the speech disseminated by MEC and other interested in the production of BNCC - which includes institutes and business foundations - about these “contributions”, in reality, reveals a form of “participationism”, in which the consultation public service served more to legitimize the “official speeches about 'participation' [...] than as a producer of effective social participation in the construction of curricular policy”. Cássio (2017, n/ p) further declares:

The overexploitation of the showy number of 12 million “contributions”, the meaning of which can be questioned in many ways, inoculates the public debate with a false consensus, as if the collection of millions of clicks of agreement and the mere publication of the opinions of thousands of “individuals ”- education professionals or not - were able to automatically forge democracy in the process of building the Brazilian curriculum.¹⁴

Thus, the massive dissemination of the total number of “over 12 million contributions”, had as its main purpose the formation of consensus between educators and the community, consolidating the implementation of policies “from the bottom up”, that is, relying on the ideas of participation, autonomy and accountability, widely disseminated since the 2000s around the world (SANTOS, 2016).

In view of this scenario, it is possible to notice that the construction of the BNCC was full of contradictions and disputes of interests between different subjects and social classes, and that MPB had a decisive participation so that version 3 of the document - the one that met satisfactorily the demands of the business community - be finalized and delivered to society. It was no accident that after the delivery of the third version to the CNE, in April 2017, MPB has already started preparing the ground for its implementation in the context of the practice. When

¹⁴ A superexploração do vistoso número de 12 milhões de “contribuições”, cujo significado pode ser questionado de muitas formas, inocula no debate público um falso consenso, como se a coleta de milhões de cliques de concordância e a mera publicização das opiniões de milhares de “indivíduos” — profissionais da educação ou não — fossem capazes de, automaticamente, forjar a democracia no processo de construção do currículo brasileiro.

launching the guide “first steps for the implementation of the National Common Curricular Base”, it highlighted:

To start, however, there is no need to wait for BNCC approval. With the third version published, the networks can start work now on at least two fronts: communication and adaptation of curricula and pedagogical projects (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2017b, n/p).¹⁵

The political instability experienced in this period interfered with the definition of the BNCC, opening spaces for greater intervention by the business community in definitions and articulations. In the following section, we verticalized our analyzes to demonstrate how MPB is leading the process of building the BNCC, how it is articulated between public and private institutions, subjects so that the training project based on competencies is finally materialized.

The role of MPB in the construction of BNCC: public-private partnership to build consensus

When Gramsci (2010) analyze the role of organic intellectuals, it helps us to understand that these subjects fulfill a function that transcends a strict look. For him, the most appropriate methodological path is to understand their function articulated to the set of social relations in which such activity is developed. It is not, therefore, a group of enlightened people and alien to concrete reality, but a group organized around objectives defined a priori, closely intertwined with social relations, a global project of society and a specific functionality of the State.

This means that an embryonic group, which manifests itself in action and, therefore, discontinuously and occasionally - that is, when such a group moves as an organic group - borrows from another social group, for reasons of submission and intellectual subordination, a conception that is foreign to it; and that (the first) group affirms this conception in words, and also believes in following it, since it follows it in 'normal times', that is, when conduct is not independent and autonomous, but submissive and subordinate. That is why, therefore, the philosophy of politics cannot be highlighted; on the contrary, it can be shown that the choice and criticism of a worldview are also political facts (GRAMSCI, 1981, p 15).¹⁶

¹⁵ Para começar, no entanto, não é preciso esperar a homologação da BNCC. Com a terceira versão publicada, as redes podem começar o trabalho desde já em pelo menos duas frentes: comunicação e adaptação dos currículos e projetos pedagógicos (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2017b, s/p).

¹⁶ Isto significa que um grupo embrionário, que se manifesta na ação e, portanto, descontinua e ocasionalmente – isto é, quando tal grupo se movimenta como um conjunto orgânico – toma emprestada a outro grupo social, por razões de submissão e subordinação intelectual, uma concepção que lhe é estranha; e aquele (o primeiro) grupo afirma por palavras esta concepção, e também acredita segui-la, já que a segue em ‘épocas normais’, ou seja, quando a conduta não é independente e autônoma, mas sim submissa e subordinada. É por isso, portanto, que não se pode destacar a filosofia da política; ao contrário, pode-se demonstrar que a escolha e a crítica de uma concepção do mundo são, também elas, fatos políticos. (GRAMSCI, 1981, p 15).

The Italian author shows us, therefore, that these subjects play an important role in the production of consensus and, therefore, in the maintenance of hegemony, or in the production of a counter-hegemony. He highlights, mainly, the tricks used by the dominant class to remain, also, as a directive class. These strategies are linked, as he says, to the theoretical and political spheres. It also affirms that although it is possible to consider everyone as intellectuals, it is the specificity of their function in a given context that will reveal their organicity with the different social classes.

there is no organization without intellectuals, that is, without organizers and leaders, without the theoretical aspect of the theory-practice connection, it can be distinguished concretely from an extract of people specialized in conceptual and philosophical elaboration. But this process of creating intellectuals is a long, difficult one, full of contradictions, advances and setbacks, splits and groupings; and, in this process, the 'fidelity' of the mass (and fidelity and discipline are initially the form that the mass takes on and its collaboration in the development of the cultural phenomenon as a whole) is subjected to hard tests (GRAMSCI, 1981, p. 21-22).¹⁷

Exactly due to the economic adversity in which society finds itself, the business community needs to produce speeches that represent solutions to social problems. They know that capitalist society is contradictory, they intend to maintain inequalities, since they are the main privileged with this. For this, they use a sophisticated discourse, start to encourage the creation and strengthening of social projects (a kind of action that produces high adhesion of a good part of society, for involving the solidarity participation of people). Although it is evident that this practice comes close to a notion of corporate philanthropy (MARTINS, 2009), companies appear to be involved in social responsibility actions. For Martins (2009, p. 164), these entrepreneurs have developed, over the past decades

Projects that: encouraged the development of social capital for poor communities; stimulated the growth of volunteering; boosted the implementation of "standards of management excellence" in civil society organizations, responsible for implementing social policies in different areas, seeking to transform civil society into an instance of harmonious relations, collaboration between individuals and civic cohesion identified with the neoliberal program Third Way.¹⁸

¹⁷ não existe organização sem intelectuais, isto é, sem organizadores e dirigentes, sem o aspecto teórico da ligação teoria-prática se distinga concretamente de um extrato de pessoas especializadas na elaboração conceitual e filosófica. Mas este processo de criação dos intelectuais é longo difícil, cheio de contradições, de avanços e de recuos, de cisões e de agrupamentos; e, neste processo, a 'fidelidade' da massa (e a fidelidade e a disciplina são inicialmente a forma que assume a adesão da massa e a sua colaboração no desenvolvimento do fenômeno cultural como um todo) é submetida a duras provas (GRAMSCI, 1981, p. 21-22).

¹⁸ Projetos que: incentivaram o desenvolvimento do capital social das comunidades carentes; estimularam o crescimento do voluntariado; impulsionaram a implantação de "padrões de excelência de gestão" em organizações da sociedade civil, responsáveis por executar políticas sociais em diferentes áreas, procurando transformar a

When studying the role of entrepreneurs in the Brazilian educational scenario, we cannot disregard this broader context of hegemonic dispute, and of conflicting and quite adverse social relations (class struggle).

Exactly because they are immersed in such an adverse situation, they need to produce speeches that represent the univocal solution of the problems. Entrepreneurs, as intellectuals, exercise the function of “representatives of the dominant group” (GRAMSCI, 2010, p. 21) establishing the spontaneous consensus of a large contingent of people, always guided by the dominant fundamental group. The success of their speech is mainly due to the positive influence they have on the social group. Such influence is acquired by the prestige achieved historically, generating wide confidence in its recommendations.

For Gramsci (2010), these intellectuals have the function of consolidating the consensus, using convincing strategies.

Patient and systematic repetition is a fundamental methodological principle: but non-mechanical, obsessive, material repetition, but the adaptation of each concept to the different cultural peculiarities and traditions, its presentation and representation in all its positive aspects and in its traditional negations, always placing each partial aspect in its entirety (GRAMSCI, 2010, p. 206).¹⁹

Based on the Gramscian description of the role of organic intellectuals, it is possible to see that the performance of the Brazilian business community has a strategic function: the production of consensus. These entrepreneurs are inserted in several private devices of hegemony, such as the media, Multilateral Organizations and even unions to perform from technical and specialized work in knowledge of the most diverse areas, to functions directed to the legal-administrative sphere, with a view to maintaining the hegemonic social group.

In a context of redefining the role of the State and overlapping the private in relation to the public, the business community has increasingly approached the State, in order to influence the definition of social policies. In the discussion on the formulation of a national curriculum, it becomes the main target of entrepreneurs, not only because it offers conditions to profit through the sale of educational materials, courses and consultancies, but also, based on the curriculum, to guide on a national scale the principles and contents to be taught in all school institutions in Brazil. That is, it creates the possibility for entrepreneurs to point out the desirable

sociedade civil numa instância de relações harmoniosas, de colaboração entre indivíduos e de coesão cívica identificados com o programa neoliberal de Terceira Via.

¹⁹ A repetição paciente e sistemática é um princípio metodológico fundamental: mas a repetição não mecânica, obsessiva, material, e sim a adaptação de cada conceito às diversas peculiaridades e tradições culturais, sua apresentação e representação em todos os seus aspectos positivos e em suas negações tradicionais, situando sempre cada aspecto parcial na totalidade (GRAMSCI, 2010, p. 206).

skills that future workers must develop during the school period. What interests us in this article, however, is the articulation between the business community and the State, in a clear manifestation of privatization of education.

According to Peroni and Caetano (2015), the public privatization process takes place in several ways, both by the direction and by the execution, implementation and dissemination of educational policies. According to the authors, in this process of implementation and dissemination, the private sector has stood out in the protagonism and direction of school objectives and purposes. "The private sector, due to the great influence it has on the current process of correlating forces, can greatly influence the definition of the national curriculum, which will bring even greater consequences for democratization in the country, with the increase in the process of marketification already underway"²⁰ (PERONI; CAETANO, 2015, p. 338).

The privatist process occurs, less explicitly, through the so-called "partnerships" that take place between the public and the private. In this case, particularly for the purposes of this article, the participation of the [business] Movement for the Base stands out.

As shown on the organization's page²¹, MPB is a non-governmental group formed by individuals and organizations working in the educational area, composed of "[...] civil society organizations, academics, researchers, classroom teachers, municipal, state and federal managers, specialists in curricula, assessments and public policies"²² (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2017a, n/p). Individual and collective subjects who met and act since 2013 with the purpose of "facilitating" the process of construction and implementation of the Common National Curricular Base.

According to Andrade, Neves and Piccinini (2017), the MPB articulators are the organizations that make up the so-called "third sector", in addition to the private organizations, which act representing the interests of bankers and entrepreneurs, in which, one of the main influential actors in the educational medium is the Lemann Foundation, which has been operating since 2002 producing policies, studies and materials to supposedly "assist" in improving the quality of education. It is important to highlight that MPB has great capillarity, maintaining relations of partnership with "family" corporate and/or supra-corporate

²⁰ "O privado, pela grande influência que tem no atual processo de correlação de forças, pode influenciar muito na definição do currículo nacional, o que trará consequências ainda maiores para a democratização no País, com o aumento do processo de mercadificação já em curso"

²¹ Who we are. Available: <http://movimentopelabase.org.br/quem-somos/>. Access: 28 Feb. 2019.

²² "[...] organizações da sociedade civil, acadêmicos, pesquisadores, professores de sala de aula, gestores municipais, estaduais e federais, especialistas em currículos, avaliações e políticas públicas"

foundations, among which the following stand out: "Itaú, Natura, Ab Inbev, Grupo Globo, Odebrecht, Braskem, Credicard, Procter & Gamble, Shell, LIDE Consortium, Suzano Celulose, Samsung, Playstation, Avon, Dudalina, Englishtown, Citibank, Nestlé, Odontoprev, Oracle, Droga Raia, Boeing, Souza Cruz, [...]" (ANDRADE; NEVES; PICCININI, 2017, p. 8) As a rule, these institutions are "concerned" with the students' learning, and place themselves as bastions of the quality of education, always presenting prescriptions so that a quality education can be established in the country.

As its main concern expressed would be with the quality of education and student learning, Movimento Pela Base seeks to build its discourse around the content of BNCC. For its creators, this document would not function as a minimum content curriculum, but a general guide on principles. Based on these principles, they point to work with skills and abilities as the alternative for this supposed non-targeting of the school curriculum. According to Adrião and Peroni (2009), the search to build a Base oriented to the development of competences, gives education the role of developing human capital, objectives that are alien to its nature, and which is strictly linked to the capitalist market. In this sense, privatization is not only due to the classic definition of public sale, but of its appropriation for private use, or better, for the use of the principles that guide private logic. These business organizations define the school content that the systems must disseminate, in addition to executing "[...] proposal[s] through formation, evaluation of monitoring, awards and sanctions that allow a control that their product will be executed"²³ (PERONI; CAETANO, 2015, p. 339).

According to Peroni and Caetano (2015), the process of "marketification" relies on the active participation of subjects who, in turn, constitute complex networks of subjects and institutions, as is the case of MPB. In this understanding, reifying the *Movimento*, as if it had a life of its own, or reducing it to the expression of a single subject, political or business group, does not reveal all its complexity and penetration in the Brazilian educational field. This understanding offered by the authors allows us to analyze MPB in its essence, as an important private device of hegemony in service of the expansion of capital and organized in a wide and complex network. According to the authors, networks are built through the action of individual and collective subjects articulated nationally and internationally, through common interests, whose main purpose is to interfere in the process of elaborating educational policies, a movement that contributes to the process of "marketification the education". On this point, the authors declare that:

²³ "[...] proposta[s] por meio da formação, da avaliação do monitoramento, premiação e sanções que permitem um controle de que seu produto será executado"

[...] the marketification of public education is not an abstraction, but occurs via subjects and processes. These are individual and collective subjects that are increasingly organized, in networks from local to global, with different degrees of influence and who speak from different places: financial sector, international organizations and government sector (PERONI; CAETANO, 2015, p 338-339).²⁴

The understanding of the *Movimento Pela Base* as a network involving individual and collective subjects demanded an important effort to reveal the economic and political aspects, as well as the internal forms of organization that allowed transforming the BNCC into a regulatory and formative document for the sociability of capital.

Shiroma (2020) offers us a fundamental analysis of the role of policy networks in the dissemination of ideas and principles that come to be considered very solid truths, when they reach the context of practice. In an understanding that the most contemporary policies do not follow a monolithic model "from the top down," the author analyzes how these networks materialize exactly because of their great ability to establish interconnections. Following this logic, the role of the *Movimento Pela Base* is to connect the entrepreneurial and managerial principles of education to the social imaginary in the least visible way possible. The author also states that a policy implemented by force does not have the concern, on the part of its developers, to convince, build consensus. Consensus is, therefore, the clearest form of the *modus operandi* adopted by the *Movimento Pela Base*, as we have already presented when using the public consultations of the first version in its favor, implying that it was a democratic and participatory process.

With this, the *Movimento Pela Base* seeks to crystallize, in the social imaginary, that its will is the collective will. The effect of this is the contagion of "policy makers", and of their recipients, with the idea that the defense of a basic document would be of national and even international interest.

Following the analysis of MPB, now characterized as a private device of hegemony, we will further verticalize the analysis and identify some of the subjects involved in the implementation of BNCC, shedding light on the whole articulation involving MPB and various public and private institutions. On its website, the movement presents its mission, confirming the assumption that its supposed efficiency would assist the State in carrying out its task with education.

²⁴ [...] a mercadificação da educação pública não é uma abstração, mas ocorre via sujeitos e processos. Trata-se de sujeitos individuais e coletivos que estão cada vez mais organizados, em redes do local ao global, com diferentes graus de influência e que falam de diferentes lugares: setor financeiro, organismos internacionais e setor governamental (PERONI; CAETANO, 2015, p. 338-339).

BNCC determines learning and development rights for all Brazilian children and young people. We work to **ensure that these rights are fulfilled**, supporting the quality implementation of BNCC and New High School in all public schools and networks in the country. **We monitor and give visibility** to the progress of the implementation on several fronts. **We articulate for the alignment of policies and programs** - curricular, teacher formation, teaching materials and assessments - to BNCC, always seeking the coherence of the educational system. **We survey, in partnership with national and international organizations**, evidence and best practices to guarantee the quality and legitimacy of the processes. **Together with the education departments, we build and disseminate consensus and technical guidelines** for the construction of curricula and teacher formation. And we take the debate on a more meaningful and connected learning to the students' life for the whole society (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2020, our highlights).²⁵

In its mission, it is made clear the centrality that the movement would have in guaranteeing a quality education and that the State would have greater efficiency whenever it suffered interferences in the guarantee of rights, in the monitoring and implementation of actions for education, in the alignment and articulation of policies and processes, developing partnerships and working together with education departments. Using these strategies, the *Movimento Pela Base* was instrumental in drawing up the BNCC, promoting the exchange of information and calling on political actors to contribute to what they call “a more meaningful and connected education with students”.

Seeking to identify the public and private actors involved in the production of the BNCC text, Andrade, Neves and Piccinini (2017) find two central axes, represented by the public and private sphere: on one side would be the Ministry of Education - and with it the institutions : National Education Council (CNE); National Education Forum (FNE); National Council of Education Secretaries (CONSED); and the National Union of Municipal Directors of Education (UNDIME) - and, on the other, the Movement for the National Common Curricular Base, together with its members and institutional partners, which include, above all, other

²⁵ A BNCC determina os direitos de aprendizagem e desenvolvimento para todas as crianças e jovens brasileiros. Nós trabalhamos para **garantir que esses direitos sejam cumpridos**, apoiando a implementação de qualidade da BNCC e do Novo Ensino Médio em todas as redes e escolas públicas do país. **Acompanhamos e damos visibilidade** para o andamento da implementação em diversas frentes. **Articulamos para o alinhamento de políticas e programas** – curriculares, de formação docente, materiais didáticos e avaliações – à BNCC, sempre buscando a coerência do sistema educacional. **Levantamos, em parceria com organizações nacionais e internacionais**, evidências e as melhores práticas para garantir a qualidade e a legitimidade dos processos. **Junto com as secretarias de educação, construímos e disseminamos consensos e orientações técnicas** para a construção dos currículos e a formação dos professores. E levamos para toda a sociedade o debate sobre uma aprendizagem mais significativa e conectada com a vida dos estudantes. (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2020, grifo nosso).

served on the National Education Council, chairing the National Education Plan Commission. His great participation in the political scenario is not only in the public sphere, as he has worked in the educational affairs consultancy of Itaú Social Foundation and one of the enthusiasts and supporters of the *Movimento Pela Base*, contributing with the production of materials for the dissemination of the principles and guidelines of the public Management.

The analysis of policy networks allows us, as demonstrated, to understand the Movement Pela Base, in addition to guaranteeing the “legal frameworks that support the BNCC” (BRASIL, 2017a, p. 10), revealing the articulation of subjects and organizations, nationally and internationally, which, with the purpose of reforming education based on its objectives, establishes curriculum reform as the most emerging target, which is linked to external evaluation and teacher training policies, as explained by Peroni and Caetano (2015) .

Final considerations

In the contemporary capitalist economic context, themes such as the production of a National Curricular Base go beyond national borders, constituting an articulated international movement to expand the capitalist hegemony, through the domain of the educational sector. The interest in education is not restricted, therefore, to the content taught or learned, it concerns the productivity of a system that aims to maximize profit. In this article, we present how the *Movimento Pela Base* was articulated to act in guiding and directing the construction of BNCC.

Acting as true organic intellectuals, the business community sought to maintain control of the process from the first moments, even when the first meetings were held to structure the discussions that would result in the BNCC versions. The latest version explicitly demonstrated that the interest of the business community was to guarantee instrumental formation, since competences and skills are introduced and have become central to the document that has become the official one.

The result of these business ventures is the replacement of the State in the leadership of the elaboration and implementation of public policy by the business movement, which is hidden under the discourse of active and conscious participation in education, which would represent positive impacts on the future of the population. Therefore, they become the heralds of measures considered exemplary to overcome the educational difficulties that the State was unable to do.

The *Movimento Pela Base* was one of the most important and representative movements of the Brazilian business community today. Due to its capillarity, the performance involved public and private institutions and counted on the active participation of subjects of great

importance for the development of the economy. What we demonstrated in this article was the movement's architectural performance to guarantee its interests in the realization of the BNCC, a process that developed in a troubled economic and political context, but which, however, instead of being an obstacle to the implementation of curricular reform, revealed itself as an actually fertile ground. In this way, it was possible for MPB to establish itself as the main driver of BNCC, transforming the document into an important instrument in the process of regulation and control of other educational policies, as well as, of formation for the sociability of capital.

Therefore, as a consequence of the Reform of the 1990s, there is not only greater openness for the business community to interfere in the definition and implementation of social policies, but also new forms of policy implementation are consolidated, marked by greater participation, decentralization and “democratization” in the process of production and implementation of policies, a movement that in essence reveals the accountability of society; and, by focusing on education, it shows mainly the accountability of teachers for educational problems. This movement is materialized, above all, through the production of active consensus, that is, by the intentional inclusion of the subjects in order to facilitate the incorporation of the hegemonic project by the subordinate groups.

These characteristics were present in the process of building the BNCC - in which we identified both the incentive for the participation of teachers, managers and other subjects directly involved in the implementation of the curriculum reform, disguising the direction of BNCC content by civil society organizations, with emphasis for the activities of the *Movimento Pela Base* and the Lemann Foundation - which has also interfered in directing the process of its implementation by States, the Federal District and Municipalities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: To the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) for granting a scholarship, thus making research possible.

REFERENCES

- ADRIÃO, Thereza, PERONI, Vera Maria Vidal. A educação pública e sua relação com o setor privado: implicações para a democracia educacional. **Retratos da Educação**, v. 03, n. 04, 2009.
- ANDRADE, Maria Carolina Pires de; NEVES, Rosa Maria Corrêa das.; PICCININI, Cláudia Lino. Base nacional comum curricular: disputas ideológicas na educação nacional. **Colemarx**, 2017. Available: <http://www.niepmarx.blog.br/MM2017/anais2017/MC37/mc373.pdf>. Access: 15 June 2018.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. **Base Nacional Comum Curricular**. Terceira versão homologada. Brasília: MEC, 2017a. Available: <http://basenacionalcomum.mec.gov.br/a-base/>. Access: 15 Apr. 2018.

BRASIL. **Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil (1988)**. Brasília, DF: Senado Federal, 1988. Available: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicaocompilado.htm. Access: 11 Mar. 2019.

BRASIL. Lei de Diretrizes e Base da Educação Nacional 9.394/96. Available: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/19394.htm. Access: 05 Aug. 2020.

BRESSER-PEREIRA, Luis Carlos. Do Estado patrimonial ao gerencial. *In*: PINHEIRO, Paulo Sérgio; SACHS, Ignacy; WILHEIM, Jorge (Orgs.). **Brasil: um século de transformações**. São Paulo: Cia. Das Letras, 2001.

BUFFA, Ester; ARROYO, Miguel; NOSELLA, Paolo. **Educação e cidadania: quem educa o cidadão?** Volume 19. 5. ed. São Paulo: Cortez, Coleção Questões da Nossa Época, 1995.

CAMPOS, Roselane de Fátima; DURLI, Zenilde; CAMPOS, Rosânia. BNCC e Privatização da Educação Infantil: impactos na formação de professores. **Revista Retratos da Escola**, v. 13, n. 25, 2019.

CÁSSIO, Fernando. Participação e participacionismo na construção da Base Nacional Comum Curricular. **NEXO**, São Paulo, 2 dez. 2017. Available: <https://www.nexojournal.com.br/ensaio/2017/Participa%C3%A7%C3%A3o-e-participacionismo-na-constru%C3%A7%C3%A3o-da-Base-Nacional-Comum-Curricular>. Access: 13 Aug. 2019.

COSTA, Marilda de Oliveira; SILVA, Leonardo Almeida da. Educação e democracia: Base Nacional Comum Curricular e novo ensino médio sob a ótica de entidades acadêmicas da área educacional. **Rev. Bras. Educ.**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 24, e240047, 2019.

COUTINHO, Carlos Nelson. A hegemonia da pequena política. *In*: OLIVEIRA, Francisco de; BRAGA, Ruy; RIZEK, Cibele Saliba (Org.). **Hegemonia às avessas: economia, política e cultura na era da servidão financeira**. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2010

FREITAS, Luiz Carlos de. Reformadores e base nacional: personagens – I. **Blog do Freitas**, 2015c. Available: <https://avaliacaoeducacional.com/2015/07/26/reformadores-e-base-nacional-personagens-i/>. Access: 28 Feb. 2019.

GRAMSCI, Antonio. **Cadernos do cárcere: os intelectuais. O princípio educativo. Jornalismo**. 5. ed. Trad. Carlos Nelson Coutinho. Volume 2. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2010.

GRAMSCI, Antonio. **Concepção dialética da história**. 4. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1981.

LUZ, Liliene Xavier. Empresas privadas e educação pública no Brasil e na Argentina. **Educ. Soc.**, Campinas, v. 32, n. 115, p. 437-452, abr./jun. 2011.

MARTINS, André Silva. **A direita para o social: a educação da sociabilidade no Brasil contemporâneo**. Minas Gerais: UFJF, 2009.

MOVIMENTO PELA BASE. **Quem Somos**. 2017a. Available: <http://movimentopelabase.org.br/quem-somos/>. Access: 24 Mar. 2019.

MOVIMENTO PELA BASE. **Primeiros Passos Para a Implementação da Base Nacional Comum Curricular**. 2017b. Available: <http://movimentopelabase.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/BaseGuia.pdf>. Access: 04 jul. 2020.

MOVIMENTO PELA BASE. **Nossa Missão**. 2020. Available <http://movimentopelabase.org.br/quem-somos/#:~:text=A%20BNCC%20determina%20os%20direitos,e%20escolas%20p%C3%ABAblicas%20do%20pa%C3%ADs>. Access: 02 Aug. 2020.

NEVES, Lúcia Maria Wanderley (Org.). **A nova pedagogia da hegemonia: estratégias do capital para educar o consenso**. São Paulo: Xamã, 2005.

OLIVEIRA, Francisco de. Hegemonia às avessas. *In*: OLIVEIRA, Francisco de.; BRAGA, Ruy; RIZEK, Cibele. (Orgs). **Hegemonia às avessas: economia, política e cultura na era da servidão financeira**. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2010.

PERONI, Vera Maria Vidal; CAETANO, Maria Raquel. O público e o privado na educação Projetos em disputa. **Revista Retratos da Escola**, Brasília, v. 9, n. 17, p. 337-352, jul./dez. 2015.

SANTOS, Fabiano Antonio dos. Do global ao local: a implantação das políticas de responsabilização docente, gestão gerencial e avaliação por resultados. **Acta Scientiarum. Education**, v. 38, n. 3, p. 293-302, 2016.

SAVIANI, Dermeval. Educação Escolar, Currículo e Sociedade: o problema da Base Nacional Comum Curricular. *movimento-revista de educação*, **Submissões**, v. 1, n. 4, 2016.

SHIROMA, Eneida Oto. Redes, experts e a internacionalização de políticas educacionais. **Revista de estudios teóricos y epistemológicos en políticas educativas**, Ponta Grossa, v. 5, 2020.

How to quote this article

FERREIRA, Fabíola da Silva; SANTOS, Fabiano Antonio dos. The strategies of the “Movimento Pela Base” in building the BNCC: consensus and privatization. **Doxa: Rev. Bras. Psico. e Educ.**, Araraquara, v. 22, n. 1, p. 189-208, Jan./June, 2020. e-ISSN: 2594-8385. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30715/doxa.v22i1.14031>

Submitted: 30/02/2020

Approved: 30/05/2020

Published: 01/06/2020