

**SOBRE AS MUDANÇAS NO ENSINO MÉDIO: ALGUMAS (IN)CERTEZAS**

**ACERCA DE LOS CAMBIOS EN LA ESCUELA SECUNDARIA: ALGUNAS CERTEZAS (IN)**

**ON THE (RECENT) CHANGES IN HIGH SCHOOL: BEYOND A HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

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**RESUMO:** A descontinuidade das políticas públicas no EM é um fato e pode ser observado nas últimas duas ou três décadas, nos diferentes projetos lançados para esta etapa. Recentemente uma onda reformista vem propondo modificações no EM. Contudo, sabendo que as regras formais podem até direcionar as ações e orientar algumas propostas práticas, nos pautamos em Ball (1994) para afirmar que é a partir das regras informais que a política se adapta à realidade vivenciada. Partindo dessa premissa, consideramos que muitas são as incertezas a partir desta nova proposta para o EM, sobretudo a partir da estruturação curricular e da organização do ensino.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Ensino médio. Políticas públicas. Organização curricular.

**RESUMEN:** *La discontinuidad de las políticas públicas en la EM es un hecho y se puede observar en las últimas dos o tres décadas, en los diferentes proyectos puestos en marcha para esta etapa. Recientemente una ola reformista ha estado proponiendo modificaciones en el EM. Sin embargo, sabiendo que las reglas formales pueden incluso dirigir acciones y guiar algunas propuestas prácticas, nos guiamos por Ball (1994) para afirmar que es a partir de las reglas informales que la política se adapta a la realidad experimentada. Sobre la base de esta premisa, consideramos que muchas incertidumbres se basan en esta nueva propuesta para el EM, especialmente desde la estructuración curricular y la organización de la enseñanza.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Escuela secundaria. Política pública. Organización curricular.*

**ABSTRACT:** *The discontinuity of public policies in the HS is a fact and can be observed in the last two or three decades, in the different projects launched for this stage. Recently another*

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*reformist wave has been proposing changes in HS. However, knowing that formal rules can direct actions and guide some practical proposals, we are guided by Ball (1994) to affirm that it is from the informal rules that politics adapts to the reality experienced. Starting from this premise, we consider that many are the uncertainties from this new proposal for the HS, especially from the curricular structuring and the organization of the teaching.*

**KEYWORDS:** *High school. Public policy. Curriculum organization.*

## **Introduction**

There are times when Brazilian High School (HS) has motivated a series of discussions, either from its organization, from its operation and, mainly, from the indexes that denounce the failure of this last stage of Brazilian basic education.

However, in recent months, in view of the impacting events for the Brazilian HS, the discussions have been heated, especially in view of the transformations and modifications in the curricular structure and organization. Both the movements in defense, and those that criticize these changes allow us to realize the need to discuss some issues that are part of this movement experienced by the Brazilian HS.

Considering these issues, this article was organized in order to discuss the different movements that the Brazilian HS experienced, problematizing, from this trajectory, the central issue: recent changes. To this end, we initially explored the (dis) continuity of HS-oriented public policies, as well as some attempts to break the historically established duality. We then discuss the impact of these changes initially imposed via Provisional Measure and the propositions of these changes in the educational context of Brazilian HS.

## **Educational public policies for HS: some (mis)ways**

While recognizing the important moments that Brazilian HS (with another nomenclature) has gone through, since the conquest of the secular school, facing the duality of teaching - between the propaedeutic and the professional, we chose to accelerate our discussion and have as a stage the actions that took place from the 1980s onwards, mainly because we understand this period as fruitful for the most impacting changes in the world educational context.

The political and economic scenario experienced in the years prior to this period, in Latin American countries, was marked by crises that denounced from the increase in inflation and unemployment to the indebtedness of the public coffers. In an attempt to overcome this crisis and discuss actions that could boost growth in these countries, a meeting, known worldwide as the "Washington Consensus", was held in the US capital. The proposal discussed at this meeting, which was attended by American and Latin American economists, was to ensure the development of these countries in crisis. As a result of this meeting, a document was created with some orientations, among them, we highlight three proposals: 1. Privatization of state-owned companies; 2. Reduction of taxes for companies and; 3. Commercial and economic opening (DEMO, 1997).

These conditions, when accepted by these countries, ensured the spread of neoliberalism and began to influence other contexts that went beyond the economy, including education. Above all, because (powerful and influential) institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) used the typically neoliberal proposals as a necessary condition for granting new loans.

The Brazilian context, marked by political, economic and social struggles and, stimulated by the desire of civil society for the return to democracy, was, during this period, the scene of some reforms that gave a new configuration to Brazilian society. The Federal Constitution - CF (Portuguese initials) of 1988 as well as the Law of Guidelines and Bases - LDB (Portuguese initials) of 1996 assumed a central role in relation to these new changes in the educational scenario of the country, which, as in other sectors, was directly modified after the dictatorial period, above all, with the arrival of these movements influenced by Neoliberalism.

The CF, symbol of the democratization of the country, assumed an intentional relationship with education, favoring the global development of the student, contrary to the Taylorist/Fordist formula that influenced education hitherto guided by the dictatorial regime. In its wording, education was cited in article 205 with the following text: "Education, the right of all and the duty of the State and the family, will be promoted and encouraged with the collaboration of society, aiming at the full development of the person, his preparation for the exercise of citizenship and its qualification for work".

Likewise, the new LDB number 9394, approved in 1996, expressed, from its text, democratic characteristics, which marked important changes, especially considering education as a public good and the right of all citizens. However, in the midst of contradictions, this same

legislation imprinted, in practice, a neoliberal discourse on education in the country, which according to Nascimento (2007), was characterized by flexibility in adapting to current standards of deregulation and privatization, also taking into account, to the interests of the government. These interests, which provided LDB with a function not only of “change-inducing, but also as a result of the change framework” (MOEHLECKE, 2012, p. 56), were mainly based on the need for adaptation in the country, to be linked to capitalist sociability and to guarantee its insertion in the world economy. This adjustment process experienced by the country during this period was also influenced by international organizations.

Using the discourse of inserting Brazil in this new world order, in the logic of international economic globalization, the Brazilian government, and many other countries, welcomed the formula of Neoliberalism as the immediate solution to the recurring problems that the country was experiencing, opting for actions such as the deregulation of the economy, minimal state intervention, privatization, tax reduction, the encouragement of competition and profit making.

With education as one of the main targets, neoliberal hegemony remained linked to the idea that the State, by adhering to such a proposal, would no longer maintain bureaucratic structures, disregarding expenditures, leaving private education to promote quality in order to guarantee efficiency.

From the adaptations necessary to the intervention of the neoliberalist project, a series of changes led to a new conception of education. In the case of HS, the first refers to the change of nomenclature: the former *2º grau* (Second level in a literal translation) has been renamed “High School”. With a new denomination, the HS started to be considered, from this legislation, as the final stage of basic education, assuming its formative function. In addition to these, Law nº 9394/96 brought another change: by denying the legal provisions of Law nº 5692/71, the paragraph 2 of Art. 1 determines that school education and, consequently, the HS, must be linked to the world of work and social practice. The HS, from Article 35 of the referred law, had the purpose of ensuring the

[...] consolidation and deepening of knowledge acquired in elementary school, enabling the continuation of studies, basic preparation for work and the citizenship of the student, to continue learning in order to be able to adapt flexibly to new conditions of subsequent occupation or improvement; the improvement of the student as a human person, including the ethical formation and the development of intellectual autonomy and critical thinking; the understanding of the scientific-technological foundations of the productive

processes, relating theory to practice, in the teaching of each discipline (BRASIL, 1996).<sup>3</sup>

The changes established by LDB were soon added by others that, in Frigotto's (2005) view, were strictly based on authoritarian and mercantilist actions. On April 17, 1997, under the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government, Decree nº 2208, made public the new direction that the HS would take, and, since then, the technical education offered in a complementary, parallel or sequential way, necessarily separated from the regular HS. Art. 5 of this decree pointed to the main change in this type of teaching: "Vocational education at technical level will have its own curricular organization independent of high school". Thus, it was evident the rupture between the process that was developing, through an integrated curriculum between professional education and HS. According to Morais (2013, p. 22), this new curricular configuration, combined with political changes, favored the implementation and economic rationalization of a private base. This has resulted, as announced, in the strong presence of international institutions in the reform, financing and organization of HS education in the country.

It is clear that the political and economic context experienced in this period in Brazil was influenced by the conditions established since the 1990s, and from then on, State reform was necessary. Such state reorganization - which occurred in several countries that had a dependency relationship with developed countries, especially in Latin America, resulted in the provision of technical and financial support by international organizations. According to Frigotto and Ciavatta (2006, p. 624), these supports, despite meeting the need for financial resources that Brazil was experiencing at the time and, mainly, promoting the country's insertion in the globalized economy, contributed negatively to the expansion of the HS, especially because in these neoliberal principles "was present the productivist view, called the accumulation (or theory) of human capital that conceives education as preparation of individuals for the labor market".

Article 7 of Decree nº 2.208/1997, establishes that, for the elaboration of the curricular guidelines for the technical education "studies of identification of the profile of skills necessary

<sup>3</sup> [...] consolidação e aprofundamento dos conhecimentos adquiridos no Ensino Fundamental, possibilitando o prosseguimento de estudos, a preparação básica para o trabalho e a cidadania do educando, para continuar aprendendo de modo a ser capaz de se adaptar com flexibilidade a novas condições de ocupação ou aperfeiçoamento posteriores; o aprimoramento do educando como pessoa humana, incluída a formação ética e o desenvolvimento da autonomia intelectual e do pensamento crítico; a compreensão dos fundamentos científico-tecnológicos dos processos produtivos, relacionando a teoria com a prática, no ensino de cada disciplina (BRASIL, 1996).

for the required activities must be carried out, after hearing the interested sectors, including workers and employers". What makes it clear, therefore, that the curricular organization, according to this intentionality, followed a competency model necessary for the individual performance of development and was at the service of organicity, flexibility and adequacy to productive activities.

Concerning curricular organization, this tendency was influential, as it hypertrophied "the individualistic dimension and competition and induced the light training of young and adult workers in pragmatic, technical and fragmented courses, or brief work preparation training". What was experienced from this context was an adaptation of the curriculum to meet the needs of the labor market, meeting an economic logic. For Isleb (2014, p. 29):

It is noteworthy that both DCNEM and PCN's were constituted as central curriculum policies in the 1990s. Their principles were based on the development of competences and skills, which linked the formation of subjects in a more pragmatic and strict manner, focused on meeting the demands of the world of work.<sup>4</sup>

Although these documents were criticized, since their preparation did not involve the participation of teachers and there was no popular debate, they were milestones in this historical context and contributed to the organization of education, especially in HS. The National Curriculum Parameters – PCNs (Portuguese initials), defined a modification in the curricular organization, when it was no longer organized by disciplines and started to be organized based on guidelines that allowed the formulation of professional profiles, based, as stated, on the development of competences. Likewise, the National High School Curriculum Guidelines – DCNEM (Portuguese initials), elaborated at the end of the 1990s, were based on these determinants: education was subject to market subordination. Moehlecke (2012) and Lopes (2006) contribute: through the hybrid discourse of the guidelines, there were biased and intentional plans and actions that focused on education as a manpower educator, focused exclusively on meeting market needs. Following the same tone, Czernisz states, there was a

[...] reinforcement of the tendency of a training characterized by a strong connection with the demands of the worker by a market guided by the technological advance. In high school, this data is reinforced by item II of article 35 of LDBEN n. 9.394/96, which comments on adapting flexibly to new occupations. It is also reinforced by article 39 of this Law when referring

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<sup>4</sup> Ressalta-se que tanto as DCNEM quanto os PCN's se constituíram como políticas curriculares centrais na década de 1990. Seus princípios estavam baseados no desenvolvimento de competências e habilidades, que atrelavam a formação dos sujeitos de maneira mais pragmática e estrita, voltada a atender às demandas do mundo do trabalho. **RPGE**– Revista on line de Política e Gestão Educacional, Araraquara, v. 23, n. 3, p. 680-695, set./dez., 2019 ISSN: 1519-9029 DOI: 10.22633/rpge.v23i3.12943



to training that includes work, science and technology as a way to be linked to productive life (CZERNISZ, 2013, p. 264).<sup>5</sup>

Faced with this “model”, it was up to the schools to organize their own and differentiated objectives: on the one hand the schools of normal HS, with the curriculum aimed at preparing for higher education or ensuring simple terminality, while, on the other hand, vocational schools, with the responsibility to establish their own curriculum projects, by qualification or area, by subjects or modules, respecting the limit of 30% of the minimum compulsory workload. Considering, besides these, the characteristics of the economy, technological advance and local society.

For Moehlecke (2012, p. 56), during this period many of these documents were “presented to the school community in order to direct the changes deemed necessary at this level of education”. These documents, the author continues, “were intended to propagate an unrealistic discourse that HS was “for life” with a curriculum centered on general education”. Corroborating, Lopes (2006) states that the real intention of the reform was to increase enrollment rates and ensure the formation of subjects with skills and competences, essential in life and work.

In the government of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, these new proposals encouraged the repeal of the old decree, resulting in the creation of Decree n° 5.154, of July 23, 2004, which started to unify professionalizing HS to normal HS. The decree pointed to the perspective of integrated education between the contents of general education and vocational training, which, in the idealists' view, would mean the first step towards a unitary education project. Intrinsic to this movement was the project of integral human formation, based above all on an integrated curriculum conception in an attempt to overcome the historical duality experienced by HS.

This new legislation also indicated three forms of articulation between technical vocational education at secondary level and secondary education: integrated, concomitant and subsequent. For Costa (2013), these Brazilian educational policies have created, in recent decades, a favorable context for the consolidation of enrollment in the last stage of basic education in the state public schools and,

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<sup>5</sup> [...] reforço à tendência de uma formação caracterizada por forte vinculação com os requisitos exigidos do trabalhador por um mercado norteado pelo avanço tecnológico. No ensino médio, esse dado é reforçado pelo inciso II do artigo 35 da LDBEN n. 9.394/96, que comenta a adaptação com flexibilidade às novas ocupações. É reforçado também pelo artigo 39 desta Lei ao se referir à formação que contempla o trabalho, a ciência e a tecnologia como forma de se vincular à vida produtiva (CZERNISZ, 2013, p. 264).

A new reality in middle school: workers now have as their main alternative non-vocational training. Decree n° 2.208/97 amends the dual proposal, with middle school of general education now also for those who live from work. Non-vocational high school is no longer exclusive to the bourgeoisie and vocational school for workers (COSTA, 2013, p. 191).<sup>6</sup>

Moehlecke (2012), when doing another analysis, states that the promise that was implicit in the documents that dealt with HS and had as its theme the integration of studies, was a forged action for improvement, as it still continued in favor of neoliberal conditions. In charge of education systems and networks, this integration between the types of HS generated some implications that responded, as stated, to the neoliberal context established in the 1990s in the country and in the world, resulting in partnerships with the private sectors, pilot programs, and the secondization of education to the detriment of legal and market demands.

Although, as the author states, this project did not break with neoliberal conceptions (and it is said that this was not even its main objective), much progress has been made from this decree. The question of funding, when the HS came to be covered by the National Fund for the Financing of Basic Education – FUNDEB (Portuguese initials), was one of the important changes that underpinned a series of other actions that were triggered over the following years. Among them, the Program for the integration of Vocational Education with Education of Youth and Adults; the Brazil Professionalized Program, which encourages vocational education in public schools; the establishment of the Innovative High School Program and the encouragement of state education networks to create innovative curriculum initiatives, among others, were actions aimed at diversifying opportunities, especially considering the need experienced at the time to increase enrollment in HS .

These actions marked the beginning of a new time for the Brazilian HS, which, although serving the neoliberal ideals (LOPES, 2006; MOELECKE, 2012), began to consider the project of integral human formation through unitary education, aiming to articulate education and work, as expressed in the new DCNEM, which started from this conception, having as its central theme the curriculum issue, to defend another dynamic to this which is the last stage of basic education, seeking, through different forms of curriculum organization, the resignification of school knowledge so that they were able to check quality and extend the permanence of young people in school. The role of the HS, according to the documents,

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<sup>6</sup> Uma nova realidade da escola média: os trabalhadores passam a ter como principal alternativa uma formação não profissionalizante. O Decreto n° 2.208/97 altera a proposta dual, com escola média de educação geral agora também para os que vivem do trabalho. O ensino médio não profissionalizante deixou de ser exclusividade da burguesia e a escola profissional somente para os trabalhadores (COSTA, 2013, p. 191).



[...] goes beyond vocational training, reaches the construction of citizenship. We need to offer our young people new cultural perspectives so that they can expand their horizons and endow them with intellectual autonomy, ensuring their access to historically accumulated knowledge and the collective production of new knowledge, without losing sight of the fact that education is also, largely a key to the exercise of other social rights (DCNEM, 2010, p. 145).<sup>7</sup>

However, these actions, although recognized as an effort to try to give other characteristics to HS, were not able to reverse the historical problem experienced: the numbers indicate that, even after these new promises of a new HS, combined with the proposed actions from of educational programs and actions that were based on integral human formation, evolution has not been able to modify the low and persistent index of students' permanence in HS, thus denouncing that something is wrong, either in structure or organization of the current HS (GRIKE, 2016).

### **The latest changes: a new HS(?)**

Recognizing this scenario, in which the HS presented with low and persistent rates, as well as the need to modify it, a Special Committee to promote studies and propositions for the reformulation of the HS - CEENSI, of the Chamber of Deputies, created the Bill (PL, Portuguese initials) n° 6.840/2013 with the purpose of proposing changes to the structure of the current HS.

Since then, debates about improvement actions for this, which is the last stage of Brazilian base education, have been heated. On the one hand, its defenders, who propose a modified HS, especially in its structure. Arguing that the current curriculum is “outdated, extremely loaded, over-content, formal, standardized, with many compulsory subjects in a dynamic that does not recognize individual and geographical differences of students”, the project rapporteurs propose amendments to the National Education Guidelines and Bases - LDB to ensure the organization of HS curricula by subject areas. On the other hand, those who criticize and deny the actions proposed by the Commission, presented in the form of PL 6.840/2013.

<sup>7</sup> [...] vai além da formação profissional, atinge a construção da cidadania. É preciso oferecer a nossos jovens novas perspectivas culturais para que possam expandir seus horizontes e dotá-los de autonomia intelectual, assegurando-lhes o acesso ao conhecimento historicamente acumulado e à produção coletiva de novos conhecimentos, sem perder de vista que a educação também é, em grande medida, uma chave para o exercício dos demais direitos sociais (DCNEM, 2010, p. 145).

These criticisms generated important contrary movements (SAVIANI, 2016) to the proposed actions. One of the most important was created from the meeting of the main entities related to education in the country (ANPED - National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Education, ANFOPE - National Association for the Training of Education Professionals and ANPAE - National Association of Policy and Administration of Education) and resulted in the group National Movement in Defense of High School, created in early 2014, in Paraná, represented by a group of specialists from the Federal University of this state. This group stated, in a public document, contrary to the proposal:

[...] the proposition of formative options in student choice emphasizes reinforces the fragmentation and hierarchy of school knowledge that DCNEM has managed to face. PL 6.840/2013 retakes the curriculum model of the times of the military dictatorship, with an efficiency and market bias. Organizing with emphases choice for one area or another contravenes both the Federal Constitution and the LDB, which ensure the full development of the student and the common formation as a right.<sup>8</sup>

However, the approval of MP n° 746 in the second half of 2016 ignored these actions and the discussions around the proposals, which further intensified the wave of criticism. Other demonstrations were held: specialists discussing HS and/or curricular issues, such as Silva and Krackvitz (2016), Saviani (2016), Frigotto (2016), expressed their opinion, contrary to the actions of the new government<sup>9</sup>, while the students were protesting when they occupied school headquarters, impeding the functioning and continuity of the classes, supported, in some circumstances, by parents and teachers.

Criticisms surrounding the changes in HS that were aimed at curriculum modifications and the increased length of student retention in school continued and were inflated as a result of this authoritarian, undemocratic movement (SAVIANI, 2016). The National Education Forum, contrary to the action, commented through a technical note:

We understand that a broad and effective transformation in high school and in Brazilian education will not happen in the drowning and cannot ignore movements that already have proposals built for the improvement of high school and education as a whole. There is no hasty and illegitimate measure capable of guaranteeing the right to quality education for the students, which

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<sup>8</sup> [...] a proposição de opções formativas em ênfases de escolha dos estudantes reforça a fragmentação e hierarquia do conhecimento escolar que as DCNEM lograram enfrentar. O PL n° 6.840/2013 retoma o modelo curricular dos tempos da ditadura militar, de viés eficientista e mercadológico. A organização com ênfases de escolha para uma ou outra área contraria tanto a Constituição Federal quanto a LDB que asseguram o desenvolvimento pleno do educando e a formação comum como direito.

<sup>9</sup> The MP was launched in a period of extreme instability for the country's political and economic scenario, following the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff and the beginning of Michel Temer office.

is why our position is for the withdrawal of the provisional measure and that the discussion be forwarded in other terms and instruments, including the National Congress, also pressured and disrespected by the government's accommodation, which did not propose to guarantee neither time nor space nor the participation of civil society for the qualified and responsible debate that is required for dealing with matters so dear to the Brazilian people, namely the education of our youth (BRASIL, 2016, p. 03)<sup>10</sup>

By interrupting the discussions proposed in PL 6.840/2013 and preventing community participation, as expressed by the FNE note, the MP brought a series of changes to the Brazilian HS. The main one refers to its explicit power, since it is an instrument with the force of law, which when adopted by the President of the Republic, in cases of relevance and urgency, produces immediate effects. And, as already announced, the MP fulfilled its legal function and paved the way for the approval of Law n° 13415/2017.

With the approval of this Law, changes in HS, both in the organization and functioning, since the curriculum structuring and the students' permanence have been defended by the government on the premise that this current model needs to be changed, to have reduced the number of compulsory subjects and guarantee students the choice of different degrees, including professional or technical.

Based on this premise and implementing the change plan for HS, MEC (Ministry of Education, Portuguese initials) issued a public notice at the end of 2016 to implement the new proposal in some state schools. In this regard, we consider the observations of Saviani (2016) and Silva (2016). For the first author, this new model serves as a “showcase” since it has only a few schools selected to participate in these changes. In addressing the issue of investment, the author problematizes the fact of the approval of PEC (Constitutional Amendment Project, Portuguese initials) 241/2017 and the limitation of investments: what democratic conditions are these, if some schools will benefit over others? For the actor, this model implemented by Law n° 13415/2017, may bring greater scope for action and/or partnerships of the private sectors, especially in the operationalization of training itineraries and the provision of vocational training - since infrastructure conditions are precarious in some Brazilian schools.

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<sup>10</sup> Compreendemos que uma ampla e efetiva transformação no ensino médio e na educação brasileira não se dará no afogadilho e não pode ignorar movimentos que já tem propostas construídas para a melhoria do ensino médio e da educação como um todo. Não existe medida precipitada, apressada e ilegítima que seja capaz de garantir o direito à educação de qualidade aos(às) estudantes, razões pelas quais nossa posição é pela retirada da medida provisória e que a discussão seja encaminhada em outros termos e instrumentos, inclusive no congresso nacional, também pressionado e desrespeitado pelo aqodamento do governo, que não se propôs garantir nem tempo nem espaço nem participação da sociedade civil para o debate qualificado e responsável que é requerido para o trato de matéria tão cara ao povo brasileiro, a saber, a educação de nossa juventude (BRASIL, 2016, p. 03)

However, given this proposal, there are many criticisms that comprise these formative itineraries. For Silva this movement will set precedents for an “indiscriminate and equally precarious form of technical-vocational training accentuated by privatization through partnerships” (SILVA, 2016, p. 7). This would lead, for Saviani (2016), to a setback to dictatorial times, when the vast majority of young people were removed from higher education and taken by the movement of generalized professionalization. Thus, establishing two distinct movements for (the same?) HS: one responding to the demand for labor formation - characteristic of neoliberalism and its consequences for the trajectory of HS (PINTO, 2002), and another preparing for “accession” to higher education - which would be embraced by private schools as a lucrative business - not unlike what we have already seen.

In considering this set of proposals in practice, based on Ball (1994) and his studies on the policy analysis cycle. For the author it is from the written text that politics is constituted, and “the answers to these texts have real consequences. These consequences are experienced within the third context, the context of practice” (MAINARDES, 2006, p. 53). Considering that the text proposes, however, does not dominate the practice, we understand that readers and/or interpreters are not neutral, they are drenched in stories, beliefs, wills, desires and needs. In the words of this author, quoted by Mainardes (2006, p. 53),

Policies will be interpreted differently since stories, experiences, values, purposes and interests are diverse. The point is that the authors of political texts cannot control the meanings of their texts. Parts may be rejected, selected, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, replicas may be superficial, etc. Also, interpretation is a matter of dispute.<sup>11</sup>

In the midst of this discussion, focusing on the new HS, this is an issue that, despite recognizing its possibility, we cannot yet discuss. The actions and reactions of the written text put into practice are still impossible to analyze, given the prematurity of events. What we know, based on the theories of some authors, is that the officially determined curricular organization will suffer interference in practice. Since the formal or official curriculum, determined by a political-administrative decision, is in the hands of the teachers who will shape them and have the final decision in their organization (LOPES, 2006; PACHECO, 2009). Since, for this latter author, “every policy is dependent on formal and informal rules strongly internalized at the

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<sup>11</sup> Políticas serão interpretadas diferentemente uma vez que histórias, experiências, valores, propósitos e interesses são diversos. A questão é que os autores dos textos políticos não podem controlar os significados de seus textos. Partes podem ser rejeitadas, selecionadas, ignoradas, deliberadamente mal-entendidas, réplicas podem ser superficiais etc. Além disso, interpretação é uma questão de disputa.

various levels of decision” (p. 67). This statement is in line with the curriculum policies for HS, which has been undergoing changes, responding to various interests.

Formal rules may even direct actions and guide some practical proposals, however, it is from the informal rules that the policy adapts to the lived reality, is conditioned. For we know that policies express movement and are understood far from a linear and systematized perspective, but rather from a diverse and conflict oriented one - which is closely related to the context of practice, experienced in daily school life.

### Considerations

In the case of Brazilian MS, there are many discourses, as we have seen in the discussions on the subject, that propose, from this new model, significant changes to reverse the current situation. The need for a reform - broadly understood - to change the educational structure (YOUNG, 2007) is unquestionable, especially if we accept the premise that “this is not simply a response to change, but a requirement of the set of reforms that put pressure on the school institution” (PACHECO, 2005, p. 149).

In the Brazilian case, the reformist wave (SANTOS, 2007) experienced after the 1990s (although marked by previous episodes, mainly as the movements of *escolanovismo* at the beginning of the last century) gained space in the educational context, especially in the context of HS, having as reference the new LDB. With changes in their amendments, influenced by extra-educational issues and directly reflecting the organization of the curriculum, announcements of new directions for HS, albeit marked by failure, became constant. From these announcements, new and different conditions were applied to the discussions that had in the curriculum the centrality of the reforms. Above all, when the understanding given to the curriculum, based on Pacheco (2009), is of a broad field of knowledge, centered in time and space, able to pervade power relations, being centered in educational policies.

These new changes in HS, experienced in recent months, can (and tend to this) ensure a reform in the Brazilian educational landscape, imprinting changes in structure and functioning, especially those focused on the curriculum. However, we cannot be sure that these will, in fact, affect teachers' practice and student learning. Since teachers are policy makers or adapters in the context of practice. However, it should be problematized that neither the concept of change nor actions have, in fact, any relation with improvement. The conceptual chasm between curriculum reform and curriculum innovation may, depending on the discourse, place on the

teacher the responsibility of being a protagonist; one who in practice must choose to make his praxis different or respond to legally imposed needs. Thus, as stated by Canário (2003), it is up to the teacher to decide whether to be the executor of the proposals or the producer of innovations.

Therefore, given this context in which the current Brazilian HS is, we have uncertainty in the conception of innovation. For, as Goodson (2001, p. 31) states, invention in the context of practice without the support of larger external groups cannot print new patterns that will become curricular traditions over time. For the author, "fundamental change requires the" invention of (new) traditions". Therefore, when thinking about this new HS, especially when put into practice, we can problematize the need to discuss, in addition to organizational and normative changes, the curricular practices developed at school and classroom level - as these will determine and help to answer where does the (new) Brazilian HS actually go.

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