

ARTICLE

THE NEAR ABSENCE OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM GUIDELINES IN THE NATIONAL COMMON CURRICULUM BASE ¹

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the near absence of the National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education (in Portuguese, DCN) in the Common National Curriculum Framework (BNCC in Portuguese). We conducted a documentary study with a critical approach to the curricular debates anchored in the Historical-Critical Pedagogy theoretical-methodological foundations. The aim is to analyze and reflect on the educational guidelines for groups underrepresented in curricular educational policies to debate the formation processes of the subjects. The categories of analysis were: 1) modalities of education (Indigenous School; Quilombola School; Rural; Special; Youth and Adult; Vocational and Technological Schools); and 2) contemporary thematic axes (Environmental education; Human Rights Education; Education for young people and adults deprived of liberty in penal institutions; Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations and the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture; School assistance for children, adolescents and young people in itinerant situations). The results indicate a silencing and a setback in the BNCC, concerning some modalities and thematic axes that had their rights guaranteed in the DCN. On the other hand, in the BNCC, though presenting the principles of equality and universality, the subjects are homogenized, disregarding the differences and subjectivities that exist or may exist. We advocate for an education that effectively considers Brazilian society's diversity and profound inequalities, seeking an omnilateral formation of subjects from a social transformation perspective.

Keywords: DCN, BNCC, social exclusion, human formation.

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O ESVAZIAMENTO DAS DIRETRIZES CURRICULARES NACIONAIS NA BASE NACIONAL COMUM CURRICULAR

RESUMO: O presente artigo analisa o esvaziamento das Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação Básica (DCN) na Base Nacional Comum Curricular (BNCC). Trata-se de uma pesquisa documental de abordagem crítica inserida nos debates curriculares ancorados nos fundamentos teórico-metodológicos da Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica. Objetiva-se analisar e refletir sobre as diretrizes para a educação de grupos pouco reconhecidos e considerados nas políticas educacionais curriculares brasileiras, no sentido de fomentar o debate em torno dos processos de formação dos sujeitos que se pretende formar. As categorias de análise foram: 1) modalidades da educação (Escolar Indígena; Escolar Quilombola; do Campo; Especial; de Jovens e Adultos; Profissional e Tecnológica); e 2) eixos temáticos contemporâneos (Educação Ambiental; Educação em Direitos Humanos; Educação para jovens e adultos em situação de privação de liberdade nos estabelecimentos penais; Educação das Relações Étnico-Raciais e o Ensino de História e Cultura Afro-Brasileira e Africana; Atendimento escolar de crianças, adolescentes e jovens em situação de itinerância). Os resultados apontam que há um silenciamento e um retrocesso na BNCC, no que tange a algumas modalidades e eixos temáticos que já tinham seus direitos assegurados na DCN. Em contrapartida, na BNCC, mesmo apresentando os princípios de igualdade e universalidade, os sujeitos são homogeneizados, sem considerar as diferenças e subjetividades que existem ou podem existir. Posiciona-se aqui em defesa de uma educação que, considerando efetivamente a diversidade e as profundas desigualdades da sociedade brasileira, advogue por uma formação omnilateral dos sujeitos na perspectiva da transformação social.

Palavras-chave: DCN, BNCC, exclusão social, formação humana.

LA AUSENCIA DE LAS DIRECTRICES CURRICULARES NACIONALES EN LA BASE NACIONAL CURRICULAR COMUN

RESUMEN: El presente artículo analiza la ausencia de las Directrices Curriculares Nacionales para la Educación Básica (DCN) en la Base Nacional Curricular (BNCC). Se trata de un estudio documental de abordaje crítico de los debates curriculares fundamentados teóricamente en la Pedagogía Histórico-Crítica. El objetivo es analizar y reflexionar sobre las directrices para la Educación de grupos poco reconocidos y considerados en las políticas educacionales curriculares con el objetivo de promover el debate en torno de los procesos de formación de los sujetos que se pretende formar. Las categorías de análisis fueron: 1) modalidades de la educación (Escolar Indígena; Escolar Quilombola; del Campo; Especial; de Jóvenes y Adultos; Profesional y Tecnológica); e 2) ejes temáticos contemporáneos (Educación Ambiental; Educación en Derechos Humanos; Educación para jóvenes y adultos en situación de privación de libertad en establecimientos penales; Educación de las Relaciones Étnico-Raciales y la Enseñanza de Historia y Cultura Afro-Brasileña y Africana; Atención escolar de niños, adolescentes y jóvenes en situación de itinerancia). Los resultados indican que hay un silenciamiento y un retroceso en la BNCC, en algunas modalidades y ejes temáticos cuyos derechos ya habían sido asegurados en las DCN. En contrapartida, en la BNCC, aún presentando los principios de igualdad y universalidad, se observa que los sujetos son homogenizados, sin considerar las diferencias y subjetividades que existen o pueden existir. Se posiciona aquí en defensa de una educación que, considerando efectivamente la diversidad y las profundas desigualdades de la sociedad brasileña, abogue por una formación omnilateral de los sujetos en una perspectiva de transformación social.

Palabras clave: DCN, BNCC, exclusión social, formación humana.

INTRODUCTION

The latest version of the Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC) was approved in 2018. It is worth noting that the BNCC was already provided for in Article 26 of the National Education Guidelines and Bases (LDB) of 1996, which states that it should be "[...] complemented, in each educational system and in each school, by a diversified part required by the regional and local characteristics of society, culture, economy and students" (Brasil, 1996, p. 21, our translation).

The National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education (DCN) cover all stages and modalities of basic education and thematic axes (Brasil, 2013), as well as assigning and defining differentiated attention to groups historically excluded and marginalized by society. These guidelines have been democratically discussed and elaborated, and constitute a normative framework for Brazilian education, cited in the text of the BNCC itself, even if superficially, as a reference for the elaboration of curricula.

In light of the above, the problematic question of this study is not centered on what is commonly done: "what" is to be taught, but rather what subject is to be formed based on the assumptions of the BNCC under the gaze of the DCN 2013? Therefore, the objective will be to analyze and reflect on the guidelines contained in these documents that characterize groups or themes that are barely recognized in curricular educational policies, in order to discuss their importance in the construction of Brazilian society, with the aim of questioning and promoting debate around the process of training people.

It is a documentary research with a critical approach, inserted in the curricular debates. According to Cechinel et al. (2016, p. 4, translated by us), "[...] the documentary analysis begins with a preliminary evaluation of each document, examining and criticizing it [...]" according to the epistemological perspective of the researcher. After the preliminary analysis, a coherent and in-depth interpretation must be made, but without neglecting "[...] elements of the problematic or theoretical framework, context, authors, interests, reliability, nature of the text, key concepts" (Cellard, 2012, p. 303, translated by us).

From this perspective, the text was written based on studies, debates, and reflections based on theoretical references that deal with the curriculum from a critical, counter-hegemonic point of view and overcoming the "mercantilization of education" (Mészáros, 2008). The discussion of these legal documents responds to the need to analyze and question the context in which these regulatory frameworks were created and how this influences the understanding that these documents present of human formation in the educational process.

From the readings of the DCN and the BNCC, two categories of analysis emerged, as shown in Chart 1. Categorization can be understood as a process of data synthesis. Through this analysis, the aim is to develop a synthesis of communication that highlights the most important aspects of emptying the modalities and diversity and inclusion of basic education in the BNCC (Olabuenaga; Ispizúa, 1989).

Chart 1 – Categories and subcategories of the documents analyzed*

CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES
1. EDUCATIONAL MODALITIES	Indigenous School Education
	Quilombola School Education
	Rural Education
	Special Education
	Youth and Adult Education (EJA)
	Professional and Technological Education
2. CONTEMPORANEOUS THEMATIC AXES	Environmental Education
	Human Rights Education
	Education for young people and adults deprived of their liberty in prisons
	Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations and the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture
	School attendance for children, adolescents and young people in situations of itinerancy

Source: Compiled by the authors, based on the research data. *The names from subcategories may differ from a country to another.

Due to the near absence of an approach to the DCN in the BNCC text, the categories and subcategories in Chart 1 will be discussed in the topic that refers to the DCN. However, in order to understand the construction of the documents analyzed and their influences, we will first present a historical overview of public educational and curricular policies since the country's re-democratization through neoliberal bias.

CURRICULUM POLICIES IN BRAZIL

Changes in institutional relations occurred with the re-democratization of the 1980s, in the context of the transition from industrial to globalized market capitalism. Malanchen (2016) notes an effervescence of working-class struggles in Brazil, while neoliberal and postmodern ideas were spreading abroad. This period saw the beginning of the constructivist wave, which by the end of the decade was already proving to be a major fad in Brazilian education. The neoliberal project was institutionalized by the government of President Fernando Collor de Mello in the late 1980s. According to Coggiola and Katz (1996), the official representative of neoliberalism in the country was Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who, as a senator, imposed the fundamental principles of this doctrine in the 1988 constitutional reform: among the most important are political openness, allowing the involvement of international organizations in public education, and promoting privatization.

With the promulgation of the Federal Constitution (FC) of 1988 (Brasil, 1988), the fundamental rights of citizens were guaranteed, and education was declared a subjective human right in Article 205 and a duty of the State in Article 208. Thus, the first intention to establish a national curriculum appeared in the CF/1988 in Art. 210: "[...] minimum contents shall be established for primary education to ensure a common basic education and respect for national and regional cultural and artistic values" (Brasil, 2010, p. 137, translated by us).

In this context, coupled with changes in the world of work and the drafting of a new LDB, a debate on education emerged in society that included political dimensions committed to citizenship. On the other hand, there was a mobilization around the curriculum reform within the federal institutions to implement a common curriculum for technological education based on the link between teaching and work, excluding the opposition between culture and profession. From this perspective, there was a discourse of adapting school education "[...] to technological, cultural and socio-economic changes, but what was put into practice was an intense process of formatting the school according to the forms imposed by the logic of capitalism at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, according to the neoliberal ideology" (Malanchen; Santos, 2020, p. 3, translated by us).

The panorama of reforms that took place in most countries from the 1990s onwards had its starting point in the *World Conference on Education for All* in Jomtien, which resulted in the signing of the *World Declaration on Education for All and the Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs* (1993). These basic needs have been, and continue to be, defined according to adaptations to the new capital relations. This confirms the points made by Duarte (2018) in his article "The Curriculum in times of belligerent neoliberalism" (our free translation). In this sense, it is positioned here for the "enrichment of needs", rather than for the satisfaction of basic needs..

In Brazil, a central document in the reforms is the report of the *International Commission on Education for the 21st Century*, of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), entitled "*Education: a treasure to be discovered*", organized by Jacques Delors and published in 1998 in partnership with the Ministry of Education (MEC). This report presents and defends the four pillars of education - learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be - which signal the transfer of responsibility from the State to the individual.

A legislative milestone in education was the approval of the LDB on December 20, 1996, which defined and regulated the Brazilian education system. The passage of this law intensified the reform movement in Brazilian education, which took shape in subsequent regulations of the educational structure.

Malanchen and Santos (2020, p. 3, translated by us) state that "[...] the reforms in Brazilian schooling had the school curriculum as one of its targets, with the drafting of the National Curriculum

Parameters for Primary Education (PCN) being a milestone in this regard. This document indicated the work by knowledge areas and "transversal themes" (ethics, health, environment, cultural plurality, sexual orientation, and work and consumption). The foundations of the PCN are based on what was proposed in the Delors Report, i.e., to meet the demands of capitalist society while maintaining social cohesion, that is, to avoid the "impending fracture" of institutions caused by poverty, inequality, unemployment and social injustice (Hayek, 1985).

In order to formulate a policy of cultural diversity in the 1990s, the MEC acted in various ways, starting with an international seminar entitled "*Multiculturalism and Racism*," and tried to adapt the policies of North American multiculturalism to the Brazilian reality, highlighting what Historical-Critical Pedagogy (HCP) emphasizes about the struggles of historically excluded groups: "[...] that contradictions based on class interests cannot be overcome, but differences can be articulated" (Faustino, 2006, p. 107, translated by us).

In a context of criticism and negative reactions to the PCNs from representatives of the national academic environment, discussions on the elaboration of guidelines emerged, in which intellectuals from this field were invited to advise on the elaboration of the new National Guidelines for the Basic Education Curriculum. They did so based on multicultural theory, which had already been planted in the Delors Report and the 1997 PCN. One of the justifications for the reformulation of the DCN was Law No. 11.274 of 2006, which established the implementation of a nine-year primary education. As a result, an agreement was reached between the National Education Council (CNE) and various entities and institutions related to education to review and update the guidelines to meet the demands of the new way of providing basic education (Malanchen, 2016).

The 1990s were marked by curricular reforms in Brazilian basic education. These changes were ostensibly aimed at disseminating and implementing a new conception of the role of school, as well as curricular content and teaching and learning methods. In this way, the schooling process continued to be used as a mechanism for shaping the working class, now within a social paradigm renewed by the neoliberal spirit.

Schooling is considered indispensable to the project of nationhood and the construction of a new society. Education is seen as the primary condition for becoming citizens and access to social, economic, civil, and political rights, as well as for full human development in conditions of freedom, dignity, respect, and appreciation of differences.

NATIONAL CURRICULUM GUIDELINES (DCN)

The 2013 publication brings together the new DCNs, which constitute the common national basis responsible for guiding the organization, articulation, development, and evaluation of the pedagogical proposals of all Brazilian education networks. For the elaboration of these guidelines, the CNE relied on the participation and contribution of specialists, researchers, members of educational systems, MEC technicians, and members of organizations representing educational workers, who participated in seminars, debates, and public hearings. This was done to promote the improvement of national education to meet the new educational demands generated by social and economic transformations and the accelerated production of knowledge. Thus, the revision of the DCN is an instrument that introduces and seeks to rethink the basic education curriculum, characterized by a progressive bias that highlights social movements. In this sense, the document was democratically constructed.

In this way, the MEC provides educational institutions and systems throughout Brazil with a set of curricular guidelines that articulate the principles, criteria, and procedures that must be followed to achieve the objectives of basic education. The BNCC are mandatory standards for basic education that guide the curriculum planning of schools and the education system. Even after the development of the BNCC, the Curriculum Guidelines are still in force and are intended to complement and structure this normative framework by detailing content and competencies. In the 2013 DCN, work is understood as an educational principle, unlike what is established in Resolution No. 3 of November 21, 2018, which

updates the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education, emphasizing qualification based on education for the world of work (Brasil, 2018b).

The DCN brings together resolutions and opinions that establish, in the form of a law, references for basic education in the country. These guidelines were the result of a broad debate in the educational field aimed at promoting a broad education that takes into account the different social, cultural, emotional, physical, and ethnic-racial conditions of the students, which represented a major advance in the educational agenda, outlining the political-pedagogical concepts for all stages and modalities of education, in addition to the guidelines and resolutions of the contemporary thematic axes.

Concerning Category 1 (Chart 1), which refers to the modalities of education, the DCN, about the subcategory of Indigenous schooling, highlights the specificity of Indigenous peoples and the leading role they play in the Brazilian educational scenario. This is due to the struggle of teachers' organizations, occupations in strategic institutional spaces such as schools, Indigenous coordinators in education departments, the multidisciplinary technical working group of the MEC's National Commission for Indigenous Schooling, and the CNE itself. This type of education aims to guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples, whose rights have been violated throughout history. As the text itself points out, "[...] by building a more respectful relationship that promotes social justice through the practice of school education, these guidelines are constructed as a way to promote the expansion of intercultural dialogue between the Brazilian state and indigenous peoples" (Brasil, 2013, p. 375, translated by us).

Another subcategory specified in the DCN is Quilombola school education, which aims to educate Quilombola students. The educational process in Quilombola educational units takes into account all the aspects that guide black culture, which requires its pedagogy that respects the ethno-cultural specificity of each community and the specific training of its teachers. Based on this assumption, "[...] the political-pedagogical project to be built is one in which Quilombola students and other students present in quilombola school education schools can study this reality in an in-depth, ethical and contextualized way" (Brasil, 2013, p. 450, translated by us).

These discussions at the national and international levels have contributed decisively to the creation of Quilombola education, which proposes a training process based on the reality of life in the remaining communities, to preserve their cultural manifestations and the sustainability of their traditional territory (Brasil, 2013).

For the subcategory of Rural Education, the operational guidelines described in Resolution No. 1 of April 3, 2002, express an important warning about the recent concern for this modality in the country and the need to "[...] use the space of the field as fundamental in its diversity, for the constitution of the identity of the rural population" (Brasil, 2013, p. 282, translated by us). This milestone represents a major step forward for basic education in schools in these places because, for the first time in the history of Brazilian education, a legal document has been created to guide and deal with the organization of the training process for the rural population, so that students can have their social and cultural rights guaranteed and reaffirm their identity without de-characterizing the training environment.

As far as the subcategory of Special Education is concerned, in January 2008, the new National Policy on Special Education from the Perspective of Inclusive Education was published by the Secretariat for Special Education (SEESP), which began to guide education systems in organizing special education services and resources as a complement to regular education, as a compulsory offer and the responsibility of education systems. This policy recovers the meaning of Special Education expressed in the Federal Constitution of 1988, which interprets this modality as not a substitute for ordinary schooling and defines the provision of Specialized Educational Assistance (AEE) at all stages, levels, and modalities, preferably in the public school system. The concept of Special Education from the perspective of inclusive education seeks to overcome the view of organizing separate educational spaces for students with disabilities. This understanding means that the provision of Special Education will be planned to be carried out in the opposite shift to that of schooling, effectively contributing to guaranteeing these students access to ordinary education and providing the services and support that complement the teaching of these subjects in ordinary classes in the regular education network. Given the complementary nature of this modality and its transversal nature in all stages, levels, and modalities, the policy aims to accommodate students with disabilities, global developmental disorders, and high abilities and giftedness, and innovates by providing guidance on the accessibility conditions for students necessary for them to

remain in school and continue their academic careers. In addition, the DCN points out that, since 2010, these students should be counted twice within the framework of the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Valorization of Educators (FUNDEB), when they are enrolled in ordinary regular education classes and specialized educational care.

The subcategory that discusses Youth and Adult Education is expressed in Resolution No. 3, of June 15, 2010, which establishes Operational Guidelines for Youth and Adult Education in aspects related to the duration of courses and the minimum age for admission to EJA courses; and the minimum age and certification in EJA exams and Youth and Adult Education developed through Distance Education (EaD). This policy maintains the minimum age for enrolling in YAE courses and taking YAE graduation exams in elementary and high school at 15 and 18 years, respectively. This was already observed in Article 4, Item VII, of the LDB/1996 (Brasil, 1996). The novelty of this Directive concerning EJA is the standardization of the modality developed by EaD. In this regard, article 9 specifies the recognition of the virtual environment as a learning space limited to the second segment of primary and secondary school. It also details the workload and minimum age for primary and secondary education.

The last subcategory of the educational modalities discussed here is that of Professional and Technological Education, which, according to the LDB/1996, as amended by Law 11.741/2008, includes initial and continuing training or professional qualification courses; Technical Professional Education at the Secondary Level and Technological Professional Education at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. According to the DCN, Technical Professional Education at the Secondary Level can be developed in articulated and subsequent forms to Secondary Education, the former of which can be integrated or concurrent with this stage of Basic Education, as the Federal Institutes and some institutions that provide this modality, and which became compulsory after the publication of the document.

As already mentioned, in addition to the guidelines for the mentioned modalities, the DCN 2013 provides for the contemporary thematic axes dealt with in Category 2 (Chart 1), such as Environmental Education (EE), described in Resolution No. 2 of June 15, 2012, based on Law No. 9.795/1999, which establishes the obligation and right to include EE in school curricula in Brazil. The document states that environmental education should be addressed in a cross-curricular and interdisciplinary manner at all levels and modalities of the educational process (Brasil, 2013). To this end, teachers must be aware of this legal instrument and, based on it, organize their activities in a way that overcomes the fragmented way environmental education is carried out in formal and non-formal educational settings. The inclusion of environmental issues in educational practice is essential for the formation of people because it makes it possible to rethink and reflect on actions for planetary environmental problems as consequences of anthropic actions resulting from capitalist relations of production.

The subcategory of Human Rights Education is described according to the guidelines of Resolution No. 1 of May 30, 2012, which is described as "[...] the fruit of the struggle for the recognition, realization, and universalization of human dignity" (Brasil, 2013, p. 515, translated by us). In this normative document, education is understood as a fundamental part of overcoming the historically constructed contradictions and inequalities that characterize and plague Brazilian society and education and is recognized as part of the set of subjects' rights. In this context, human rights appear as a necessity to adopt new forms and measures in educational organizations to overcome the existing homogenizing paradigms.

Human Rights Education is reflected in the very concept of education expressed in the CF/1988 and the LDB/1996, in the search for the redefinition of national commitments to the formation of the rights and duties of subjects; in other words, it means that everyone has the right to a democratic and non-discriminatory education that respects the subjectivity of each individual and that educates children, adolescents and adults to exercise their rights and participate in society in an active and civic manner, respecting and promoting the rights of others.

Concerning the subcategory of education for young and adults deprived of liberty in penal institutions, it should be noted that even before the approval of the DCN, the Brazilian Penitentiary System Law (LEP) (Law No. 7.210, of July 11, 1984), the main legal framework in this area, expressly established that institutions should respect human rights by offering and providing educational assistance to prisoners. However, the LDB/1996, although it came after the LEP, did not contain specific

provisions on education in places of deprivation of liberty. This omission was rectified in the National Education Plan (PNE), established by Act No. 10,172 of January 9, 2001. Regarding the rights of persons deprived of their liberty, the DCN states that they "[...] retain their other fundamental rights, such as physical, psychological, and moral integrity. Access to the right to education must be universally guaranteed, in the perspective outlined above and with respect for the norms that guarantee it" (Brasil, 2013, p. 317, translated by us).

From this perspective, the DCNs are not intended to "solve" administrative or prison enforcement issues but rather prison education policy issues, which are the responsibility of the national education regulatory body. Until now, there has been no national guidance in the form of a standard, certainly not to prevent the policy of providing education in prisons from being ad hoc, dispersed, and without public guidance. There is no uniform national experience of education in prisons, nor is there a national policy for implementing the LEP. National policy action is needed. The offering of education in prisons is important to change the current prison culture based on raising awareness and mobilizing society around the educational rights of prisoners. On the contrary, it is a subjective human right established in international and Brazilian legislation, and it is part of the public policy proposal for the execution of sentences, intending to enable the social reintegration of prisoners and, above all, guarantee their full citizenship.

Another subcategory is the Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations and the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture, based on CNE/CP 6/2002 and regulated by the amendment of LDB/1996 by Law No. 10.639/2003. This guideline deals with the right to equal living conditions and citizenship, as well as the history and culture that have been the mainstay of the identity of the Brazilian people under CF/1988. These discussions reinforce the need to develop curricula that respond to the demands and urgencies of the process of recognition of the different racial-ethnic groups that have historically been in a state of inferiority, denied rights, and, above all, victims of structural racism. Therefore, the DCN emphasizes the need to create affirmative action policies based on the historical, social, and anthropological dimensions of the Brazilian reality, intending to repair the demands of the Afro-descendant population through the development of reparation policies and the recognition and appreciation of their history, culture, and identity. These legal provisions included in the curricula are based on the demands and proposals of the Black Movement throughout the 20th century, highlighting the need for guidelines to guide the formulation of projects committed to the appreciation of the history and culture of Afro-Brazilians and Africans (Brasil, 2013).

The last subcategory of the contemporary thematic axes deals with the guidelines for school attendance for children, adolescents, and young people in situations of itinerancy. The discontinuity and lack of permanence of children, adolescents, young people, and adults in school, caused by the condition of itinerancy, has affected their education in basic education, preventing them from exercising their right to education. Thus, the CNE, through Resolution No. 3 of May 16, 2012, established guidelines for school attendance in early childhood education and in primary and secondary education for children, adolescents, and young people in a situation of itinerancy, "[...] belonging to different social groups who, for cultural, political, economic, health reasons, among others, are in this condition outside the school environment" (Brasil, 2013, p. 417, translated by us). In short, these guidelines are relevant today because they establish, in the form of a law, guidelines that are not limited to the enrollment of these students, but concern their permanence in school, guaranteeing their rights to pedagogical activities and strategies that are appropriate to their learning needs and that take into account the particularities of these subjects, without prejudice and discrimination, to guarantee their right to education.

In the last decade, significant progress has been made and important contributions have been made to the development of regulations aimed at a socio-historical and cultural understanding of the country, as presented in the DCN. These advances have led to the recognition and appreciation of this socio-cultural diversity in the curriculum. Therefore, it is important to mention that the DCN, by considering the mentioned teaching modalities and contemporary thematic axes, emphasizes the development of curricular proposals that think of the particularities of these groups that have historically experienced the process of silencing. However, even considering the progress that these guidelines have brought, the BNCC, built in an era of belligerent obscurantism, "[...] is about spreading an attitude of attack against knowledge and reason" (Duarte, 2018, p. 139, translated by us), which has led to a

weakening of the organization of the curricular proposal for basic education, which will be discussed below.

COMMON NATIONAL CURRICULUM BASE

The expression "common national basis" has been used in education since the 1980s (Cássio, 2019). Eight years after the CF/1988 was approved, the LDB/1996 was approved, which states in Art. 26 states that "[...] the curricula of primary and secondary education must have a common national basis" (Brasil, 1996, p. 21, translated by us). In this way, the process of constructing the BNCC was conceived in the long term and articulated with institutions and organizations linked to a project of neoliberal society; that is, the recent approval of the BNCC demonstrates the capacity of articulation and commitment since 2013 of a new conglomerate of economic forces for education - the Movement for the Base (MPB) - that goes beyond Todos Pela Educação and is composed of monopoly groups of financial capital, fractions of the Brazilian big bourgeoisie (Neves; Peccinini, 2018).

However, the production of the BNCC went through three versions: the first in 2015, the second in 2016, which defined the guidelines for Early Childhood Education and Primary Education, and the last version approved at the end of 2017. For secondary education, the approval came in December 2018, shortly after the reform of secondary education, which reaffirmed the fragmentation of basic schooling. It's important to highlight the political context and disputes involved in the construction and drafting of this document, which began under the government of Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016). Until its publication and final approval, it passed through the governments of Michel Temer (2016-2018) and Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), characterizing the area of conflict that took place at a time of pressure from monopoly groups for the "businessification of education".

According to Malanchen and Santos (2020), in the first version of the BNCC, the focus on the pedagogy of competences was not explicit. In the second version, approved in the middle of the political coup of 2016, the transformations between the lines are already perceptible and represent an accelerated and anti-democratic construction process. In the third and final version, approved in December 2017, "[...] as well as in the version approved for secondary education at the end of 2018, the document is all defined and organized by competences and skills [...]", in other words, the model of the pedagogy of competences "[...] already criticized at the time of the PCNs and is back in the BNCC" (Malanchen; Santos, 2020, p. 6, translated by us). From this perspective, the authors confirm the fragmented way in which this document was drafted, as well as the inclusion in the text of basic learning needs to meet the needs of the labor market through training paths and life projects that assign responsibility for one's own training to the student, defining success through a meritocratic bias.

The authors also point out that the regulatory framework for the implementation of the Pedagogy of Competences in Brazil was the LDB/1996. This law assumes that educational training is based on the development of competences and skills for the labor market. This orientation is linked with the pedagogical assumptions emanating from multilateral organizations, especially UNESCO and the World Bank.

The BNCC is a normative document that guides the curricula of the educational systems and networks of federal units, as well as the pedagogical proposals of all public and private early childhood, primary, and secondary schools in Brazil, with which the curricula must identify themselves in the community of principles and values that guide the LDB/1996 and the DCN/2013. In this way, it is recognized that education commits to the global formation and development of the human being, in its intellectual, physical, affective, social, ethical, moral, and symbolic dimensions (Brasil, 2018a).

The BNCC and the curricula play complementary roles in ensuring the essential learning defined for each stage of basic education since this learning is only materialized through the series of decisions that characterize the curriculum in action. It is these choices that adapt the proposals of the BNCC to the local reality, taking into account the autonomy of the educational systems or networks and school institutions, as well as the context and the characteristics of the students. This openness is given

by the BNCC, which can occur - as it does - in a process of emptying what the curriculum guidelines propose.

He agrees with Saviani's question in why so much effort is being put into drafting a document on the common curricular basis when the DCN defined by the CNE is still in force. To understand the answer, it is necessary to understand the whole political, economic, social, and educational context of the past few decades and to deduce that the ideal of the subject that the school wants to form is inextricably linked to the educational policies of each historical period (Saviani, 2016).

DCN *VERSUS* BNCC

An analysis and comparison of the DCN and the BNCC reveals many discrepancies. The first is the treatment of the guidelines in the BNCC document, where the DCN is referenced in the body of the text and the resolutions and opinions are cited in footnotes because they are still in effect. In addition, the BNCC emphasizes the need to use the DCN in curriculum development. However, the normative document directs the autonomous construction of the curriculum of the modalities to the state and municipal secretariats. As such, these decisions must be adapted to the local reality and take into account the particularities and uniqueness of the students. This openness leads to fragility, that is, the freedom that educational institutions have to include or not include the modalities in the curriculum proposals and the lack of guarantee of compliance due to the lack of inspection by the competent bodies and public policies since the Secretariat for Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (SECADI) was extinguished at the beginning of the Jair Bolsonaro government's term by Decree No. 9,465/2019 (Brazil, 2019). SECADI developed policies to improve indicators in basic education, and these policies aimed to improve the quality of schools and ensure that the needs, social rights, and comprehensive training of students were maintained. This decree did not give the same importance to the inclusion and diversity policies developed by previous governments as a result of the different debates and social movements that have erupted in recent years.

From this perspective, there is a process of invisibility in the BNCC concerning what is proposed in the DCN. According to Evangelista and Shiroma (2018), it is necessary to decipher the explicit or implicit objectives and silenced voices in educational policy documents to understand their contribution to the reproduction of bourgeois hegemony. In this sense, normative documents state that:

[...]they must take into account the need to overcome these inequalities. To this end, education systems, networks, and institutions must plan with a clear focus on equity, which requires recognizing that students have different needs. In particular, planning with an equity focus also requires a clear commitment to reversing the situation of historical exclusion that marginalizes groups - such as Indigenous peoples and the populations of the remaining quilombo communities and other Afro-descendants - and people who have not been able to study or complete their schooling at the right age. It also requires a commitment to students with disabilities, recognizing the need for inclusive pedagogical practices and curricular differentiation, as established in the Brazilian Law for the Inclusion of People with Disabilities. (Lei nº 13.146/2015) (Brasil, 2018a, p. 15-16, translated by us).

However, the BNCC does not support these considerations by not specifying the teaching modalities and the subjects that have been historically excluded by society, thus attempting to homogenize teaching. In this sense, "[...] adapting subjects to capitalism means maintaining educational inequalities in terms of school attendance for the target population of special education" (Ferreira; Moreira; Volsi, 2020, p. 4, translated by us). Added to this adaptation is the publication of Resolution No. 1/2021, of May 28, 2021, which establishes the Operational Guidelines for Youth and Adult Education in aspects related to its alignment with the National Literacy Policy (PNA) and the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), and Youth and Adult Distance Education (Brasil, 2021b). Regarding the drafting of the document, it can be seen that there was no dialogue or participation of the different

social segments, including the EJA Forums in Brazil², to guarantee a democratic construction and to extend the right of the population to define the direction of Brazilian education. Although there were several protests against this directive, there was no position from the MEC, which was to be expected given the demise of SECADI. In this sense, it is "[...] appropriate to denounce that in the current historical moment, the EJA is relegated to invisibility within the management structure [...]" (Sousa; Dantas; Conceição, 2021, p. 324, translated by us) of the Federal Executive Authority.

CNE/CEB Resolution No. 1/2021 and CNE/CEB Decision No. 1/2021 (Brazil, 2021a) are in line with Decree No. 10.502 of 2020, which establishes the principles of the National Policy for Special Education: Equitable, Inclusive and with Lifelong Learning (PNEE) (Brazil, 2020). This decree has been widely criticized by researchers and Inclusive Education activists as a step backward in the struggles for equity, access, permanence, and quality of care for the public in mainstream schools. Therefore, the resolution analyzed cannot be expected to be inclusive.

It is important to note that the repeal of Decree No. 10,502/2020, which supported the PNEE, was already included in the final government transition report, and on January 1, 2023, the current president, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, repealed it through Decree No. 11.370/2023 (Brasil, 2023b). In addition, the current president reinstated SECADI by Decree No. 11.342/2023 (Brasil, 2023a). However, it is worth reflecting that although it is a breakthrough that the current government is reinstating the secretariat that deals with the development of inclusion and diversity policies, there is a consensus that it will be a major challenge to overcome the weaknesses caused by the dismantling that the Bolsonaro government has unleashed in education.

Teacher Salomão Barros Ximenes of the Federal University of ABC (UFABC), a specialist in public policy, explained in an interview with the National Confederation of Education Workers (CNTE) in January 2023 that the current challenge for SECADI is to include the right to an expanded education in its agenda (Lula [...], 2023). That requires articulated actions that cut across different government secretariats and social movements and the provision of debates and reflections on the blatant reality that plagues historically silenced peoples, such as the genocide and the failure to provide aid to the Yanomami Indians. It is important to notice that these changes will be gradual once they require time, caution, and restructuring. These necessary transformations cannot be expected to happen in a short period, especially given the polarization that still exists in the political field; however, it is necessary for the different educational systems, educational researchers, and other social organizations to develop an articulated work of mobilization to overcome the weaknesses that still prevail in the national context and that so weaken inclusive education.

An expression that appears several times, both in the statement and in the resolution and guideline, is "lifelong learning" - a neoliberal appropriation of a principle that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century and is linked to the ideals of popular education, which provides for human formation in a state of permanent education, in its emancipatory and democratic character. This principle considers that lifelong learning is articulated with school and non-school spaces (Gadotti, 2016), taking into account that the school institution is the place that allows the greatest possibility of access to historically elaborated and systematized knowledge. According to Rodrigues and Costa (2018, p. 462, translated by us), in popular education, "[...] work, science and culture must be in permanent dialogue with general and professional education". In this sense, permanent education opposes the neoliberal ideology that characterizes the clash between capital and labor in institutionalized education.

In this way, the EJA 2021 Guidelines state that the term refers to training for the labor market, from the perspective of qualifying cheap labor to be used in times of crisis in a capitalist society, in a utilitarian bias of attention to human capital that proposes perspectives of accumulative training throughout life. This aspect is in line with the BNCC and confirmed by Malanchen and Santos (2020, p. 9, translated by us) when they state that it is a matter of "[...] developing skills and competences that consolidate the pedagogical principles of maintaining the capitalist mode of production, using public

² EJA Forums in Brazil are networks of collective movements that bring together institutions and individuals committed to defending the dignity and human right to education of young workers, adults and the elderly. They act by proposing YAE policies and practices in a horizontal, autonomous and non-partisan way, with the aim of safeguarding and developing popular and continuing education throughout life, with the goal of a just, democratic and pluralistic society.

schools as a means of disseminating these ideals [...]", reducing the educational process to the fragmentation of the comprehensive training of students by focusing on the idea of a market society. In this way, international organizations have distorted the meaning of the expression and adapted it to economic rationality, that is, "[...] the concept was born in the context of the welfare state and ended up being reconceptualized by the neoliberal state" (Gadotti, 2016, p. 57, translated by us). This conception of education points in the opposite direction to an integrated formation of the human being in a dignified and sustainable world, as it aims to homogenize the working class without respecting differences, with an emphasis on individualism and competitiveness. For all these reasons, this vision of education "[...] cannot be considered a principle of the education of the future, but a principle of the education of the past" (Gadotti, 2016, p. 67, translated by us). In this way, Ventura (2013) agrees with the authors on lifelong learning, adding that its political-ideological concept "[...] is neither neutral nor without intentions. On the contrary, it is a fundamental contribution to the weaving and maintenance of hegemony" (Ventura, 2013, p. 41, translated by us).

Each historical, political, social, and economic context defines a society, and this relationship is reflected in the school environment under an ideology that is imperceptible to the questions of many citizens. We are currently living in times when the ruling class produces "[...] discourses, their justifications and their terms to express power and its determinations. Not without contradictions, but under the innovative spirit of capitalism, new socialities are generated, adapted to the interests of the groups in power" (Ciavatta; Ramos, 2012, p. 13, translated by us).

Concerning Special Education, Ferreira, Moreira, and Volsi (2020) point out that in the first and second drafts, there was a topic entitled "Special Education from an Inclusive Perspective and the National Common Core Curriculum"; and in the second draft there was a paragraph with a summary of special education in the topic "The BNCC and Basic Education Modalities". The authors note that these two topics have been removed and are no longer included in the third preliminary version. The BNCC does not adequately discriminate against the target population of special education but limits it to people with disabilities, ignoring "[...] students with global developmental disorders and high abilities/superdotação". Despite its commitment to students with disabilities, the BNCC does not address the different forms of disabilities and the educational responses they require" (Ferreira; Moreira; Volsi, 2020, p. 2, translated by us). Based on the authors' reflections, the process of silencing special education in the BNCC is a step backward in terms of inclusive education policies in the country, as there is a "[...] pseudo-discourse of respect for diversity and inclusion as an ideological tool to achieve consensus on the need for the BNCC, whose implementation will favor the dominant groups linked to the market" (Ferreira; Moreira; Volsi, 2020, p. 4, translated by us).

Likewise, Indigenous Schooling, based on a political act in the DCN, is not reflected with the same intensity in the BNCC. Thus, the moment that the construction of curricula is left to the Education Secretariats, the commitment and responsibility of the State in the process of valuing and maintaining the identity and development of these peoples is misrepresented. Although the BNCC recognizes the importance of Indigenous Education and considers the guidelines as a normative framework for the development of curricula, it can be seen that it does not give the same attention and importance to the rights of Indigenous peoples, especially since it leaves the development of curricula to the states and education departments. It can be seen that a discussion as complex as this one, which requires spaces for debate and the construction of a critical position, has simply been reduced to footnotes.

As far as rural education is concerned, it is possible to observe a "retreat" in policy since the BNCC emphasizes an individual and homogeneous subject, contrary to the principles and ideals of rural education, based on collectivity.

To sum up the discussion so far, we can say that all the educational modalities and contemporary thematic axes have been compromised with the approval of the BNCC. This controversy between the normative documents is explicit in the discussion of this theme in the Guidelines, which includes a large space for reflection, while in the BNCC text, it is only superficially dealt with on pages 16 and 17 in the introductory section. In this sense, it is a step backward in terms of guaranteeing the rights of these people. It is necessary to reflect on the urgencies present in designing curricula and, above

all, to outline possible ways of resistance and struggle that can minimize the impact that the BNCC has on the education of historically neglected groups.

Another important point to reflect on is that the BNCC alone will not change the inequalities in basic education in Brazil. It is understood that it is essential to start the process of changing educational policies; however, it is important to remember that the discussions and reflections that follow these setbacks represent a "contested territory" in the field of curriculum (Arroyo, 2013).

It is worth noting that the development of a country's educational process is proportionally reflected in the conception of the future of people's lives. In this sense, Lima (2021) mentions that the BNCC has a direct impact on the formation of generations and the future project for society. In this logic, it can be seen that the right of access to the scientific, philosophical, and artistic knowledge produced by humanity (Saviani, 2003) is being denied, since there is a reduction in the content of the area of science in secondary education, with a reduction in the workload of curricular components and the integration of subjects by area. In addition, teachers are being disqualified and de-professionalized to work in areas of knowledge, since their initial training does not prepare them for this new curriculum reform.

Therefore, one of the main objectives is to resist the emptying of school content proposed in the BNCC and the New High School. This is confirmed by Malanchen and Santos (2020), who state that:

We note that the first major challenge to be overcome with the BNCC and Law 13.415/2017 is the emptying of school content, which is accompanied by an emphasis on discrediting the importance of theory for the education of individuals, with competencies as the epistemological parameter of the innovative and transformative discourse of school education. [...] Rethinking the social function of the school, based on an understanding of school content as a priority in the formation of individuals, requires broader confrontations in the field of the concept of education that we defend. What kind of public school do we want and are we capable of realizing? This challenge involves a collective struggle for proposals from society, systematized in a National Education Plan, which enforces a policy of access to systematized knowledge for children, adolescents, and adults (Malanchen; Santos, 2020, p. 12, translated by us).

In this way, it is possible to implicitly observe that the BNCC imposes concepts imbued with curricular competencies in the development of school curricula instead of debating issues related to learning rights and objectives, as determined by the National Education Plan (2014-2024) (PNE). And this explains the finished proposal of curriculum by age/grade in the text of the BNCC and the preponderance of standardized national tests that have been established as the guiding principle of the school curriculum. This proposal dialogues with the labor reform and the outsourcing law, proposing minimum contents that can be easily translated into primers to be followed by teachers or "instructors" (Malanchen; Santos, 2020). Furthermore, the privatization of education is embedded in the concept of these reforms, which reduce the curriculum of public schools, invest in the deprofessionalization of educators, and stimulate the market of books, handouts, and pedagogical and school management methods linked to concepts of business quality.

In this context, there will be individuals who can adapt to and tolerate the demands of a neoliberal society to survive. Education serves to reproduce the dominant ideology, but it is the only place where the children of the working class have the opportunity to acquire knowledge to overcome certain challenges by understanding the political, historical, and social context of scientific knowledge (Saviani, 2003).

Finally, the educational policies that began in the 1990s were intensified with the approval of the BNCC, increasingly distancing the idea of "[...] a solid education in disciplinary school content" (Malanchen; Santos, 2020, p. 11). According to the authors, the "bold and unseemly" implementation of the New High School consolidates an exclusionary educational project - a concept of education and training linked to the skills model, the articulation of this pedagogy with the neoliberal ideology that aims to satisfy the interests and logics of overcoming the cyclical crises of capital, that is, the pedagogy of skills as the epistemological parameter of the BNCC.

For these reasons, we can see that the BNCC represents a step backward in state public policies, the struggles of social movements, and inclusive education researchers in Brazil. The document

confuses a national base with a minimum curriculum, even proposing content by age/grade. This authoritarian criterion extrapolates the legal limits of the LDB/1996 for the construction of the curriculum in light of the political-pedagogical project of the schools. It is clear that the BNCC, in the face of a list of political-ideological and epistemological provisions, seeks to submit the historically excluded population to the neoliberal project, denying them the right to appropriate the scientific, philosophical, and artistic knowledge produced by humanity.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The discussions developed so far allow us to reflect on and understand the differences between these documents, which guide the curricula of all schools in the country. This analysis aims to broaden and encourage debate on the interests and commitments implicit in the training of subjects through the curriculum. Thus, the silencing of the modalities highlights the regression of public policies in favor of historically excluded groups, such as quilombolas, Indigenous peoples, rural dwellers, people deprived of their liberty, and people with special educational needs, since the specificities of the subjects that make up these groups have not been taken into account in this document, despite the pseudo-discourse of respect for diversity and inclusion highlighted by the term "equity". Nevertheless, the BNCC limits the educational process to the development of competencies and skills that cover the minimum content, placing greater emphasis on the curricular components of Portuguese language and mathematics, denying access to other knowledge. The contents of the areas of natural sciences and humanities, which have been omitted from the BNCC, contribute to a broad education aimed at the integral development of subjects, contrary to the logic of the neoliberal system of minimum education, which is oriented towards the interests of the labor market and does not take into account the right and emancipatory development of students.

Among the aspects highlighted above, it is considered that of all the educational modalities and contemporary thematic axes, Special Education and youth and adult education are the most invisible in the BNCC since there is a repercussion due to the approval of a decree and a resolution that represent a loss of rights gained through discussions and debates of more than a decade in the CNE.

Furthermore, it is important to consider that even with the return of SECADI, which deals with issues of inclusion and diversity, the changes needed for an education that guarantees the rights of the silenced groups will require constant work, with the articulation and mobilization of the different social segments in the movement for an education aimed at the omni-lateral formation of subjects.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing once again that the curriculum field is a territory of contention since the central and fundamental question that underlies any curriculum proposal is: what kind of person do we want to educate, and for what kind of society?

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Author 1 – Coordination of the project, active participation in data analysis and writing the text.

Author 2 – Data collection, data analysis and writing the text.

Author 3 – Data collection, data analysis and writing the text.

Author 4 – Organization, data analysis and revision of the text.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST DECLARATION

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest with this article.