

High school: What is at stake in the reform of the Reform?

Ensino médio: O que está em jogo na reforma da Reforma?

Escuela secundaria: ¿Qué está en juego en la reforma Reforma?

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ABSTRACT

The results of a documentary study of the positions of 19 entities are presented to the Executive Summary of the Public Consultation Report and to the draft bill that repeals provisions of Law No. 13,415/2017. Although the Ministry of Education (MEC) has tried to build a consensual proposal, significant divergences remain, ignored by bill (PL) 5,230/2023. We have analyzed the consensuses and dissensuses of the main entities, reformers and defenders for the repeal of the law, and the correlation of the existing forces. We have verified the antagonistic conceptions of high school that are manifested in the polarization of positions in the main aspects of the Reform. Finally, we have made some considerations about the achievements of the Repeal Movement and the challenges for 2024.

Keywords: High School Reform. MEC. Bill – PL 5230/2023. Entities.

RESUMO

São apresentados os resultados de um estudo documental dos posicionamentos de 19 entidades ao Sumário Executivo do Relatório da Consulta Pública e à minuta do projeto de lei (PL) que revoga dispositivos da lei nº 13.415/2017. Embora o Ministério da Educação (MEC) tenha tentado construir uma proposta consensual, permanecem divergências significativas, ignoradas no PL 5.230/2023. Analisam-se os consensos e os dissensos das principais entidades, reformistas e defensores pela revogação da lei, e a correlação de forças existentes. Verificam-se concepções de ensino médio antagônicas que se manifestam na polarização de posições nos principais aspectos da reforma. Por fim, tecem-se algumas considerações sobre as conquistas do Movimento pela Revogação e os desafios para 2024.

Palavras-chave: Reforma do Ensino Médio. MEC. Projeto de Lei 5230/2023. Entidades.

RESUMEN

Son presentados los resultados de un estudio documental de posiciones de 19 entidades al Sumario Ejecutivo del Informe de la Consulta Pública y el Anteproyecto de Ley que deroga disposiciones de la Ley n. 13.415/2017. Aunque el MEC intentó construir una propuesta consensuada, persisten

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importantes divergencias, ignoradas en el PL 5.230/2023. Analizamos los consensos y disidencias de las principales organizaciones reformistas y de las defensoras por la anulación de la Ley, y la correlación de fuerzas existente. Verificamos concepciones antagónicas de la educación secundaria que se manifiestan en la polarización de posiciones en los principales aspectos de la Reforma. Finalmente, hacemos algunas consideraciones sobre los logros del Movimiento de revocación y los desafíos para 2024.

Palabras clave: Reforma de la Enseñanza Secundaria. MEC. Proyecto de Ley 5230/2023. Entidades.

INTRODUCTION

The eve of the end of 2023. Hegemonic groups in the National Congress tried to reproduce the authoritarian act of 2017 and impose a retrograde substitute for the high school reform bill presented by the Lula government. We still have an arduous struggle to modify the so-called “new high school” (NHS).

This story began with strong mobilizations by social movements for the repeal of Law 13,415/2017, approved by the Michel Temer government, which led the Ministry of Education (MEC) to carry out a public consultation to reformulate the law, followed by the publication of the Executive Summary of the Public Consultation Report and a draft law (DL). These documents were analyzed by different entities that took a position in relation to their content, and a DL was sent to Congress in October.

Throughout this process, the consensus and disagreements that permeate the future of high school are clear. Analyzing them is essential to understanding the problems that Brazilian education has faced, is facing and will face in the coming decades.

A STORY OF CONTRADICTIONS

High school (HS) is marked by a history of contradictions between democracy and capitalism that has deepened in the current phase of capital development and the hegemony of the neoliberal societal project.

As in other Latin American countries, in Brazil, since the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (Brasil, 1996), high school has become part of basic education, being granted the status of a right of every citizen. Thus, the Brazilian State assumed responsibility for the enormous social debt of universal, mandatory and free basic education. In the case of HS, a set of national reforms and state policies were initiated to meet not only the demands of different sectors of society but also the “recommendations” of international organizations.

Thus, over the last 30 years, Brazilian HS has been the target of multiple curriculum, organization and national and state management reforms, an expression of open or hidden conflicts involving society as a whole.

The changes that have been experienced in the dynamics of public policy production in Brazil over the last few decades, as in many other countries, have produced a process of reconfiguration of the public space in which corporations and their foundations have become privileged actors in the field of educational policy.

The 1990s were marked by an important reform of the Brazilian State, which altered the distribution of responsibilities and attributions of the executive branch, the market and society, introducing a new logic of governance in the scope of public education (Peroni, Oliveira and

Fernandes, 2009). The corporate sector was encouraged by the national executive and international organizations to be more involved in the responsibilities for the well-being of the population (Oliveira and Haddad, 2001; Krawczyk, 2014).

At the beginning of the 20th century, high school became a relevant issue in educational policy in the country, with strong interest and involvement from the business sector.

A new scenario was created with a progressive and constant presence of business movements, in different instances of political-educational decision making, which, collectively and/or individually, intertwine with political frameworks, in the national, state and municipal executives, as well as in the legislative, establishing explicit and implicit forms of co-management.

Public education is a significant market segment and is constantly stimulated by the private sector, as different studies have shown (Quadros and Krawczyk, 2021; Adrião *et al.*, 2022), but it is also a privileged space for inculcating business ideology in education (Freitas, 2012; Martins, 2016).

The alarmist discourse, led by the business sector, about the situation of HS in Brazil, with wide media exposure, justified the publication of Provisional Measure (PM) 746/2016 by then president Michel Temer, after the unsupported *impeachment* of Dilma Rousseff, just days after he took office.

The PM aimed to boost the approval of the reform in Congress, with no room for a democratic debate (Motta and Frigotto, 2017).

The pillars of the HS reform were developed over several decades and resulted from actions and projects that had long sought to transform this stage of education. Business reformers were paving the way for the government apparatus — executive and legislative — federal and state — and schools, through experimental projects, while waiting for the right conditions to implement the reform in the country, under the guidance and support of the World Bank (WB), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and some business foundations such as the Fundação Lemann, Todos pela Educação, Instituto Itaú and Instituto Ayrton Sena, and for the educational agenda for HS to be reformulated (Gonçalves *et al.*, 2022).

Four years before the PM, a Special Committee in the Chamber of Deputies had drawn up a reform project for the HS, with deputy Reginaldo Lopes (PT-MG) as rapporteur, resulting in DL No. 6840-A/2013 (Brasil, 2013), which ended up not being voted on in plenary due to strong resistance from social movements.

Bill 6840-A/2013 presented a series of proposals that substantially altered the structure, organization and content of the HS (Silva and Krawczyk, 2016). Thus, the National Movement in Defense of the HS emerged, representing almost all professional education entities, and engaged in a strong struggle during the few public hearings that took place, with the majority presence from the business sector, managing to get the bill apparently shelved for years. Meanwhile, the National Council of Secretaries of Education (Consed), dissatisfied with what had happened, organized a working group (WG) to improve Bill 6840-A/2013 and, with minor changes, the proposals were approved in the 2016 Provisional Measure.

The Consed WG was coordinated by Rossieli Soares da Silva, then State Secretary of Education of Amazonas and, later, minister of education in the Temer government. The WG included representatives from the State Departments of Education and technical consultancy and financial support from Itaú BBA, Instituto Itaú and Instituto Natura (Lemos Bueno, 2023). The path to approval of the “almost” new DL was guaranteed.

Law No. 13,415/2017, which gave rise to the ongoing HS reform and which received the name of NHS, has as its watchword flexibility, which deregulates the structure and organization of this stage of education: school time, organization and curricular content, the teaching profession and the responsibility of the Union and the States, among others (Krawczyk and Ferretti, 2017).

The reform of HS took place together with the approval of the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC) (Brasil, 2018a), with the promise of supporting its implementation (Freitas *et al.*, 2022).

In addition to the in-depth training itineraries (TI), the law provides for the professional technical training itinerary (PTTI), which brings entrepreneurship, employability and the development of skills that enable young people to meet future professional demands, interrupting the implementation of the integrated professional training policy.

The BNCC document, using the same arguments as the National Curricular Parameters during the 1990s of the 20th century, justifies the centrality of the notion of competence in the teaching and learning process due to the need to adapt schools to changes in the world of work, this time emphatically including the notion of socio-emotional competences, encouraged mainly by the OECD, highlighting the instrumental nature of training for the labor market (OCDE, 2014). As stated in the BNCC Implementation Guide, “[...] for teachers to be able to develop in students the competences defined in the BNCC, especially the ten general competences, it is essential that they have the opportunity to experience training that supports their development in these aspects” (Brasil, 2018b, p. 39).

The law also promotes the expansion of school time through the Policy to Promote the Implementation of Full-Time High Schools. In 2019, the MEC instituted the Program to Promote Full-Time High Schools (FTHS), whose objective is to reduce dropout and repetition rates by transferring resources to the education departments to adapt schools to full-time education. Such transfers are linked to the achievement of results (Brasil, 2019).

The implementation of the NHS, approved by Law No. 13,415/2017, included an external financing policy and defined a set of changes regarding the provision of this stage of basic education for school systems. It resulted in the loan agreement between the MEC and the Inter-American Regional Development Bank (IBRD), in the amount of 250 million dollars, whose resources should be allocated to the “Project to Support the Implementation of the New High School”. The loan agreement was processed in the Federal Senate through Message No. 19, of 2018.¹

The “loan agreement” finances part of the high school reform and is divided into two components to address “four fronts: (i) curriculum review; (ii) curricular flexibility in schools; (iii) planning and logistical operations to offer this flexibility; and (iv) extending the time for full-time schools” (CGU, 2019, p. 6, *apud* Fornari, 2020, p. 90).

Therefore, the induction process carried out by multilateral organizations in the Reform is evident, with guidance, financing and social, ideological and functional control of the hegemonic interests of capital.

Over the last two years, a set of actions by state public authorities and school institutions have been implemented to adapt their systems to the new guidelines. Although there are trends that may be demarcating local specificities, in general the actions are based on an economic rationale that makes explicit the direct and undisguised appropriation of public schools by private interests (Silva and Scheibe, 2017; Quadros and Krawczyk, 2021; REPU, 2022).

Researchers from different Brazilian states who analyze the implementation of the HS Reform observe the lightening of students’ general education, the reduction in the workload of mandatory subjects and a set of available FIs, according to the possibilities of the states and/or schools, thus producing a very unequal offer for students.

At the same time, the increasing use of digital platforms is producing precarious teaching work and significant pedagogical standardization, guided by private institutions and foundations,

1 Available at: <https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/132915>. Access on: December 22, 2023.

aggressively contributing to the weakening of the school public space (Silva and Scheibe, 2017; Hernandes, 2019; Cássio and Goulart, 2022).

When Lula took office as president in January 2023, given the evidence of the Reform's failure, expectations were created in the educational community that it could be revoked and that a process of democratic construction of critical and civic education could begin as part of the national reconstruction project. In addition to countless public demonstrations, this expectation was expressed in street actions organized by the student movement and teaching entities.

But it soon became clear that the minister of education, Camilo Santana, aligned with the principles of the Reform, intended to move forward. However, the climate of democratization made it possible for teachers and students to organize collectively and express their discontent and concern, which consolidated the social movement in favor of repeal and forced the MEC to accept the need to "reform the Reform" to correct the implementation problems.

This process, permeated by a strong dispute between the business sector and defenders of public schools, evidenced in several demonstrations, forced the minister of education to carry out a public consultation, the results of which were released together with a draft law that repeals provisions of Law No. 13,415/2017.

In addition to this introduction, the article is composed of three more sections: one aimed at presenting the methodological procedures of the research, one to analyze the positions of the various entities in relation to the MEC executive summary and the draft law and, finally, a summary of the main points of the debate and their expression in Bill 5230/2023 (Brasil, 2023).

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This article was produced based on documentary research carried out for a presentation at the special session "High School under reform and the right to education at risk" at the 21st National ANPED Meeting in 2023. It aimed to bring the current debate around the HS reform, comparatively analyzing the manifestations, through opinions, technical notes or official letters, of the national social and business movements in the face of the proposals that the MEC published in the Executive Summary of the Public Consultation Report and the draft law that repeals provisions of Law 13,415/2017, later substantiated in Bill 5230/2023.

The published documents of 17 entities were analyzed, as presented below (Annex 1):

- Associação Brasileira de Ensino de Ciências Sociais (ABECS);
- Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação (ANPED);
- Campanha Nacional Pelo Direito à Educação;
- Centro de Estudos Educação e Sociedade (Cedes);
- Conselho Nacional de Educação (CNE);
- Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação (CNTE);
- Confederação Nacional dos Estabelecimentos de Ensino (CONFENDEN);
- Conselho Nacional de Secretários de Educação (CONSED);
- EMPesquisa – Rede Nacional de Ensino Médio Em Pesquisa;
- Fórum Nacional e Educação (FNE);
- Fórum Nacional dos Conselhos Estaduais e Distrital de Educação (FONCEDE);
- Movimento Pela Base (MPB);
- Federação de Sindicatos de Professores e Professoras de Instituições Federais de Ensino Superior e de Ensino Básico Técnico e Tecnológico (PROIFES);
- Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial (SENAC);
- Serviço Social da Indústria Pelo Futuro do Trabalho (SESI);

- Sindicato Nacional dos (As) Servidores (As) Federais da Educação Básica, Profissional e Tecnologia (SINASEFE);
- Todos Pela Educação (TPE).

After an initial reading and identification of the questions and proposals of each of the entities and the MEC, we developed ten descriptive categories, organized in the following tables, which allowed us to organize the content of each of the documents and compare them, thus being able to understand the consensuses and disagreements between the MEC, the entities in favor of repeal and the reformers. At the same time, we also identified the consensus and dissent among the entities for repeal and among the reformers.

The main categories identified for analysis were: HS design ; regulation/governance; curriculum proposal: workload; HS architecture; financing; expansion of school time; distance education; teacher training/work; National High School Exam (ENEM).

Later, we organized the position of the various sectors involved for each category into tables, using the Executive Summary and the draft law from the Executive as reference. We chose to keep the nomenclatures as they appear in the documents.

The questions and proposals for each category were analyzed, comparing the positions of the different entities.

To conclude, we identified the points of the reform where there was the greatest conflict between the entities in favor of repeal and the reformers and we analyzed Bill 5230/2023, sent to Congress on October 30, 2023 by the Ministry of Education (MEC). This allowed us to better understand not only the disagreements and consensuses, but mainly the power relations and negotiations implicit in the drafting of the bill and the future disputes in the debate and in the final version of the future law.

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE MOVEMENT FOR REVOCATION IN THE DEBATE ON THE NEW HIGH SCHOOL

New positions were released based on the public consultation conducted by the MEC in the first half of 2023 and the publication of the Executive Summary of the Public Consultation Report and the draft bill that repeals provisions of Law No. 13,415/2017.

Analyzing these positions can contribute to a better understanding of the forces at play and the construction of a hegemony around a proposal led by the federal government, which partially pleases the disputed fields.

The educational concepts in the fields in dispute pose a first problem in search of conciliation. If, for the movement for repeal, high school is part of basic education and should guarantee scientific, cultural and humanistic education in a comprehensive manner, offering young people teachings that contemplate the different aspects of their lives, sociability and the exercise of citizenship, the world of work and the continuation of studies at higher and technical professional levels; for the representatives of business organizations, high school should be diversified and flexible to direct young people to the precarious and constantly changing job market (Braga, 2012; Standing, 2013; Antunes, 2018), to the detriment of the comprehensive education that basic education aims to ensure for the younger generations, according to LDB/96.

The government's draft bill combines these two concepts, proposing a dual meaning for high school: that of completion and entry into the labour market and that of preparation for continuing studies at university level.

The manifestations summarized in Table 1 suggest that amalgamating them into a consensual proposal may distort both conceptions and produce a "disaggregated, non-unitary" reform proposal, incapable of training young people for any of the propositions.

Table 1 – Conceptions of high schools.

Positions/Manifestations	High School Concept
MEC proposal after public consultation	<p>It is assumed that the principles of the Law are not in question: there is criticism of the curricular organization with a multiplicity of disciplines and “rigidity” in its structure.</p> <p>The central proposals revolve around curricular flexibility and the offering of full-time courses (seven hours a day).</p>
Entities for revocation/defense of public schools	<p>Quality preparatory (propaedeutic) education, allowing students to make their own choices for the future, choosing whether or not to continue their studies (Abecs).</p> <p>Final stage of basic education, with the purpose of guaranteeing a comprehensive scientific, cultural and humanistic education to all Brazilian youth (EMPesquisa/Cedes/Anped).</p> <p>Valorization of high school integrated with professional education (EMPesquisa/Cedes/Anped/CNTE/Sinasefe).</p> <p>Critique of the pedagogy of competences, anchored in a pragmatic and technocratic vision of training and teaching activity and the instrumental conception of knowledge (Proifes).</p> <p>An educational policy without explicit values, principles and with generic objectives reinforces the discredit of scientific knowledge (Cedes).</p>
Reformers/business entities	<p>Preservation of the foundations and principles of the NHS: flexibility is a key point of the reform, allowing students to choose (TPE, Consed/CNE/Focede, MPB).</p> <p>Priority: promoting student retention in school (Consensus).</p> <p>Expanding professional and technological education and its access as a learning path to guarantee young Brazilians a broader horizon of career choices and the possibility of more qualified insertion in the labour market, along with their preparation for the exercise of citizenship (Senai/Senac).</p>
Government draft law	<p>Stage of basic education that aims at general scientific and humanistic training and technical-professional training with differentiated paths. It gives a double meaning to high school: continuity and completion.</p>

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

Table 2 presents the statements regarding the regulation and governance of high school. Although both positions consider that the MEC should be the regulatory body for high school, this is expressed in different ways and on different aspects.

For the entities in favor of repeal, the MEC is responsible for changing essential aspects of Law No. 13,415/2017, giving another meaning and organization to secondary education or perhaps even repealing the Law. In this sense, it is up to it to define and coordinate the national policy for secondary education with policies for permanence and complements to the Full-Time Program, financing, regulation of the private sector’s performance, references for the FIs, repeal of the BNCC and BNC-Training, establishment of a policy that guarantees a broad evaluation of secondary education and proposals to improve the quality of provision.

Table 2 – Regulation/Governance.

Positions/Manifestations	Regulation/Governance
MEC proposal after public consultation	<p>The national references for EM must be defined by an infra-legal instrument by the MEC, with the participation of Consed.</p> <p>The MEC will organize strategies, together with the education systems and civil society, to restore the learning of students affected by the pandemic and the problems of implementing NHS.</p>
Entities for revocation/ defense of public schools	<p>MEC: strategic place in the definition of national policy for secondary education, without disregarding dialogue and participation (EMPesquisa/FNE); definition of permanence and interministerial policies (Consensus); complementary policies to the Full-Time Program: curricular issues and perennial financing (CNTE); regulation of the private sector’s role in the provision and influence of educational policies, in accordance with the Abidjan Principles (Campaign); development of public, open and flexible digital platforms for distance learning in specific situations, which value the role of the teacher (FNE); definition of national references for training itineraries to reverse fragmentation and lack of precision (CNTE); resumption of the National Education Plan and institutionalization of the National Education System with integration of secondary education with other stages of education (CNTE, Cedes, FNE); prohibition of public funding for the private sector through partnerships in the provision of technical and professional training (Proifes/ EMPesquisa/CNTE); prohibition of funding for enrollments in the S System (CNTE).</p> <p>Broad debate for review/revocation of BNCC and BNC-Training (CNTE/ EMPesquisa/Sinasefe).</p> <p>Participatory policy for assessing the quality of education offered, which highlights problems and helps with improvements (Abecs/EMPesquisa).</p>
Reformers/business entities	<p>MEC: support for training teachers and managers on “how to do” interdisciplinarity (Good practices) (MPB); definition of guidelines and provision of technical and financial support to networks to implement the BNCC for computing, with digital education, together with the networks (MPB); guidance on the construction of training itineraries with national infra-legal references built with Consed (guidance on reducing the number of FI’s). To give quality to flexibility (MPB); establish a “Common Base of Itineraries” in conjunction with Consed, defining knowledge and skills for each area (TPE); coordinate the implementation process in collaboration with the federative entities (Confenem).</p> <p>That the steps to be adopted be defined with the education systems, based on evidence, and with a transition schedule and clear guidelines (MPB).</p> <p>Build together with the State Departments of Education a new national policy for secondary education (TPE).</p>
Government draft law	<p>The National Education Council will be responsible for reviewing and updating the National Curricular Guidelines for Secondary Education based on the provisions established in this Law, including guidelines for the transition of the curricular offering currently in place in the education systems.</p> <p>The MEC, in collaboration with state education systems, will define national parameters for curricular organization and continuous review of paths for in-depth and integrated studies.</p>

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

In contrast, for the reformers, the MEC must act to ensure adequate conditions for the implementation of the main points of the reform, supporting the implementation of the BNCC, establishing a common basis for the FIs and the construction, together with Consed, of a new national policy for HS.

One aspect that deserves to be highlighted in this theme is the CNTE's proposal for the MEC to define national references for the FIs, denoting an agreement with this form of curricular organization of secondary education or a disbelief that this central point of the reform can be reversed in the dispute in the National Congress.

It is also worth highlighting the striking difference in the criteria for assessing the quality of education. For the business sector, it is the so-called good practices, as per the guidance of international organizations (Santos, 2023) that should guide policies, while for public school advocates quality is multifactorial and should be socially referenced.

Regarding the draft, there is a question about the meaning of the review of the National Curriculum Guidelines (DCN) for HS: is it a perspective of repealing the BNCC for this stage of education and a return to the guidelines?

With growing economic power and an agenda to transform Brazilian public education, the Lemann Foundation created the Movement for the Base to promote the need to develop a National Common Curricular Base, a public policy initiative, according to it "evidence-based", which could have a national and far-reaching impact (Tarlau and Moeller, 2020).

The government indicates in the draft that it does not intend to resume a curriculum for HS composed of a common part and a diversified one to be defined locally, as provided for in the 1996 draft of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (LDB), maintaining the idea of itineraries with another name, which is clear in the proposed workload: of the 3,000 hours, 600 will be allocated to paths of in-depth and integrated studies.

The workload is the aspect of Law No. 13,415/2017 that reformers have to give up the most in the ongoing clash. After the consultation and the draft of the government's bill, important organizations of the reformist bloc "incorporated" the idea of 2,400 hours for the Basic General Training (FGB), although there is no consensus among them.

However, the government signaled to the reformers by establishing 2,100 hours of FGB for the provision of technical courses, with certification provided for in the National Catalog of Technical Courses (Table 3).

The composition of the workload according to the draft law makes it possible to offer secondary level technical courses, with certification in accordance with the National Catalog of Technical Courses. Thus, the MEC indicates the possibility of an ITF that is not limited to the sum of short courses.

We call the propositions about the curricular matrix the "architecture" of NHS, as can be seen in Table 4. The MEC proposes that the curricular components of the BNCC be resumed and that the number of itineraries, called "paths for in-depth and integrated studies", be reduced from five to three, with each school offering at least two of them.

An important aspect of the MEC proposal is that the curricular components of the courses should articulate research, social intervention, work as an educational principle, different areas of knowledge and technical and professional training. In a hybrid discourse, it seeks to resume concepts of comprehensive education, maintaining the TPT at the secondary level in regular schools.

Supporters of the repeal of the NHS agree with the resumption of curricular components linked to areas of knowledge, but disagree with maintaining the PTTI. They also advocate that the curricular matrix should be composed of a common part and a diversified part.

Table 3 – Curricular proposal/workload.

Positions/Manifestations	Curricular proposal/workload
MEC proposal after public consultation	Recompose the workload of Basic General Training (FGB) to 2,400 hours, with the possibility of an exception in the offer of technical courses (800 and 1,000 hours), setting, in this case, a minimum of 2,200 hours for FGB.
Entities for revocation / defense of public schools	2,400 hours for the FGB for the entire HS, including technical and professional training (Consensus). Concern about the dissociation of Technical and Professional Training (TPT) with the FGB (Consensus).
Reformers/business entities	2,040 hours maximum — respecting the autonomy of the states to define the offer and organization and TPT of 800, 1,000 and/or 1,200 hours (Consed/CNE/Fonecede/Cofenem). 2,100 hours so as not to compromise the TPT. (FGB + life project: 2,100 hours + TPT: 900 hours) (Sesi). 2,200 hours of FGB for all students, along with detailed guidelines that 1,200 hours technical courses could have 20% of the workload offered through distance education (Senac). 2,200 hours of FGB at least, regardless of the training path (TPE). Returning to 2,400 hours for FGB violates the principle of flexibility and allows the return to content (Confenem). The workload proposed by the MEC for night classes is unfeasible (Confenem). Positive to the extension of the workload for FGB from 2,400 hours (MPB).
Government draft law	1,000 hours per year distributed over 200 days, with the prospect of increasing to 1,400 hours. At least 2,400 hours must be allocated to the FGB. Exceptionally, for part-time secondary education, with the offer of technical courses, with certification provided for in the National Catalog of Technical Courses, a minimum total workload of 2,100 hours will be admitted for FGB. For technical courses lasting 1,200 hours, the daily workday should preferably be extended. As of 2026, the offer of technical courses with 1200 hours should only be made with the extension of the school day.

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

At this point, the reformers maintain their position of not including all the curricular components prior to the reform, arguing that this would remove the interdisciplinary perspective that the reform would have provided. They defend the autonomy of the states to define the FI based on general guidelines from the MEC, in addition to considering that the offer of two preparatory itineraries means hindering the diversification of training.

The interdisciplinary training for the reformers suggests training in socio-emotional skills, prioritized in the BNCC, to the detriment of science teaching. This position is articulated with the

Table 4 – New high school “architecture”.

Positions/Manifestations	NHS “Architecture”
MEC proposal after public consultation	<p>Define the curricular components, whose knowledge needs to be included in the offering of the areas of knowledge. It is suggested that Spanish (alternatively), art, physical education, literature, history, sociology, philosophy, geography, chemistry, physics, biology and digital education should be included in the composition of the FGB.</p> <p>Reduce the number of training itineraries, which will now be called “pathways for in-depth and integrated studies”, from five to three, as follows: language, mathematics and natural sciences. Language, mathematics and human and social sciences. Technical and professional training.</p>
Entities for revocation/ defense of public schools	<p>Review of the BNCC: imposing, standardizing nature and fragmenting teaching (Consensus).</p> <p>Error in the concept of interdisciplinarity: denial of disciplines/base of scientific and cultural knowledge of the teacher (EMPesquisa/Cedes).</p> <p>Preserve the organization of the curriculum by areas of knowledge, ensuring the mandatory nature of the curriculum components (Consensus).</p> <p>End of the technical-professional training itinerary for high school and strengthening of professional education integrated with high school (federal network and state schools) (CNTE/EMPesquisa/Sinasefe/Cedes).</p> <p>Specific guidelines for rural, <i>quilombola</i> and indigenous youth, promoting equity and the inclusion of their knowledge and practices (EMPesquisa).</p> <p>Prohibition of short-term courses/professional qualification from making up the full workload (EMPesquisa).</p> <p>End of training itineraries and inclusion of a diversified part with reference to the curricular components of each stage (Sinasefe/EMPesquisa/CNTE).</p>
Reformers/business entities	<p>Concern about bringing forward the review of the BNCC, which is already being implemented with mandatory components (TPE/MPB).</p> <p>Reject the inclusion of 12 mandatory curricular components in the FGB. Promotes a return to a discipline model, which distances itself from interdisciplinary training (TPE/MPB).</p> <p>Maintain the freedom of states to define FI, but with clearer guidelines and orientations than those of today (TPE/Consed/CNE/Focede).</p> <p>Restricting the paths into two preparatory itineraries lacks evidence/potential to cause a shortage of teachers where there is a low supply (Consed/CNE/Focede).</p>

Continue...

Table 4 – Continuation.

Positions/Manifestations	NHS “Architecture”
Government draft law	<p>The FGB must include the following curricular components: I - Portuguese language and its literatures; II - foreign languages, with mandatory English and Spanish; III - art, in its multiple languages and expressions; IV - physical education; V - mathematics; VI - history, geography, sociology and philosophy; and VII - physics, chemistry and biology.</p> <p>The deepening paths must contemplate the following areas of knowledge: I - languages, mathematics and natural sciences; II - languages, mathematics and human and social sciences; III - languages, human and social sciences and natural sciences. Each school must offer at least two of them.</p> <p>The pedagogical proposals of these components must consider: research, social intervention, work as an educational principle and the articulation of different knowledge related to the areas of knowledge and professional technical training.</p> <p>The deepening paths may be articulated with technical courses with certification provided for in the National Catalog of Technical Courses.</p> <p>In exceptional circumstances, the following may be recognized for fulfilling curricular requirements: learning, skills and abilities developed in extracurricular activities (internship, paid or supervised volunteer work, professional qualification courses, participation in university extension projects, scientific initiation (SI), student council management activities, research projects, intervention and/or social and cultural mobilization).</p>

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

NHS: new high school.

premises of learning to learn, learning to know, learning to do, learning to live and learning to be as presented by the UNESCO International Commission on Education as structural axes of contemporary education (Delors, 1996; Laval, 2004; Zan, 2005) and strongly disseminated by the Brazilian business community to legitimize the reform in question.

One issue in the draft that invites debate is the proposal to recognize extracurricular activities as part of the workload. Could this formulation lead to professional qualification courses, held outside the school context, being considered as part of the 3 thousand hours of secondary education? Would this lead to the provision of the activities listed by private institutions or institutions in partnership with the government? It seems that this proposal aims to meet the clearly market-oriented interests of business entities.

The positions presented in Table 4 reinforce the analysis of the MEC’s attempt to meet the demands of the two fields in dispute. It signals the recomposition of the pre-reform curricular components, but maintains the technical and professional training itinerary widely defended by the reformers and opens space for the business sector to act in activities that could be part of the high school workload.

On the subject of financing, two distinct ways of understanding the implementation of the reform are explicit. If, for the entities in favor of repeal, the increase in resources is essential to the realization of secondary education with socially referenced quality; for the reformers, the existing resources are sufficient, as is usually the case in the discourse of these sectors. It is about making better use of what we have (Table 5).

Table 5 – Financing.

Positions/Manifestations	Financing
MEC proposal after public consultation	Not applicable.
Entities for revocation/defense of public schools	<p>Increase public resources for public education and implement criteria that ensure the quality of the conditions offered the Student Quality Cost (CAQ) (Campanha/Cedes/EMPesquisa/FNE/CNTE).</p> <p>Funding guidelines (social income) for policies to keep young people in school (CNTE).</p> <p>Increase investment in technical and professional education at the secondary level (full-time and concurrent) (FNE).</p> <p>The expansion of school time needs to be accompanied by investment (EMPesquisa).</p>
Reformers/business entities	Not applicable.
Government draft law	<p>Allocation of resources for the Policy to Promote the Implementation of Full-Time High Schools.</p> <p>It does not refer to new resources to implement the HS proposal contained in the draft law.</p>

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

For reformers, the problems surrounding HS can be solved with curricular and management policies, but, as reality overrides discourses, especially those lacking a scientific basis and common sense, the implementation of NHS demonstrated that schools do not have adequate infrastructure, qualified teaching materials and teachers with the necessary training to carry out the proposed reform of business entities, forcing them to retreat in the face of the chaos that an inadequate proposal, even for their interests, combined with the absence of essential objective conditions caused.

It is noteworthy in this debate that the MEC has only expressed its support for allocating resources to the Policy to Promote the Implementation of Full-Time High Schools, without referring to the necessary resources that the HS proposal contained in the draft demands for all schools.

The expansion of school time appears in the demonstrations as something that deserves attention. While the government signals the expansion of the Full-Time School Program, mainly for professional training, in the form of technical courses, although it emphasizes compliance with equity criteria, the entities in favor of repealing it suggest caution. This is because the expansion of school time is not the solution to all problems, especially in the face of a reality in which a significant portion of HS students need to work for pay or contribute to household chores, limiting the time available for studies.

In the reformers' statements, there is ambiguity in praising full-time education and defending that the maximum number of enrollments in the technical-professional training itinerary in part-time shifts be guaranteed, contrasting with the MEC's position of extending school time for professional training (Table 6).

In addition to the resources required to extend school hours, recent studies have indicated that other aspects need to be considered so that such a policy does not favor school exclusion and differentiation (Giroto and Cássio, 2018; Quirino *et al.*, 2018).

Table 6 – Expansion of school time.

Positions/Manifestations	Expansion of school time
MEC proposal after public consultation	For 1,200-hour technical courses, the MEC will prioritize, in collaboration with the states, extending the hours through the Full-Time School Program, established by Law No. 14,460, of July 31.
Entities for revocation/ defense of public schools	It is necessary to be careful with the expansion of school time; it is not the solution to all problems. Concern for working students (Consensus). It needs to be accompanied by the diversification of the offer (EMPEquisa).
Reformers/ business entities	They praise full-time education, but are against it. It is necessary to guarantee a “high enrollment rate” in the technical-professional training itinerary in a single school shift (Sesi/Senac). It will produce exclusion, due to the demographic increase and volume of resources needed. Students need to reconcile education and work and would be prevented from carrying out technical-professional training in some areas that require 2,200 hours (Nursing technician, etc.) (Senac). Prioritize the expansion of the Individualized Educational Plan (PEI) (TPE).
Government draft law	Education systems should prioritize full-time secondary education in accordance with the PNE, and this must prioritize a curricular organization that allows for articulation with the offer of professional training, in the form of technical courses. The expansion of enrollments in full-time secondary education must observe equity criteria.

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

Distance education (EaD) is a relevant issue in the reform and reinforces the divergences between the two fields. For those who defend public schools, basic education, including high school and the professional technical training articulated with it, should take place in person. Among the reformers, there is a certain consensus that FGB should be in person, but they defend EaD for technical and professional training, for night classes and for itineraries. Consed’s defense of 20% of the workload in EaD stands out, including for FGB, as indicated in Table 7.

The expression “barring for the exceptions provided for in the regulation” for distance learning for the FGB in the draft is quite worrying, because a subsequent regulation will depend on numerous variables and the correlation of forces. Not prohibiting the use of distance learning in HS for both the FGB and the educational paths, including professional technical training, is leaving room for regulations favorable to the positions of reformers and those interested in the presence of distance learning in this stage of basic education.

Regarding the issue of recognized knowledge, another sensitive point of the reform, the MEC’s statements are ambiguous. While proposing the repeal of paragraph 11, art. 36 of Law 13,415/2017, it announces the need for the MEC to prepare, together with the education systems, a guiding document for the recognition of notorious knowledge, a position similar to that presented by the reformists.

In turn, the organizations in favor of repeal propose everything from the elimination of notorious knowledge for teaching in HS to the repeal of the BNC-Training and the CNTE’s proposal to

Table 7 – Distance Education (EaD).

Positions/Manifestations	Distance Education (EaD)
MEC proposal after public consultation	Prohibition of the use of distance education in basic general education and authorization of the use of up to 20% in the offer for technical professional education, without adversely affecting the exceptional provisions for specific situations.
Entities for revocation/defense of public schools	100% in-person teaching and against the use of distance learning in technical and professional training (Consensus).
Reformers/business entities	<p>The restriction on distance learning at FGB was agreed upon. Distance learning activities need to be defined more clearly, including for night classes (TPE).</p> <p>They agree with the veto on distance learning at FGB and supports 20% of distance learning for technical and professional training (Confenem).</p> <p>1,200-hour technical courses — supports 20% of the workload offered through distance learning to preserve this possibility in the same shift (Senac).</p> <p>Consider changes that serve the night school public, in a way that is articulated with professional education — adoption of methodologies that expand opportunities for their qualified training (Senac).</p> <p>Preserve the possibility of 20% of the workload in distance learning both at FGB and in the training itineraries (CNE/Consed/Fonced).</p>
Government draft law	<p>The FGB offer must be face to face “except for the exceptions provided for in regulations”.</p> <p>It does not refer to the use of distance learning in technical courses and paths.</p>

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

require pedagogical complementation for professionals with notorious knowledge and not include them in the career of education professionals, as shown in Table 8.

The last topic analyzed, the National High School Exam (Enem), is consensual between two competing camps and the government: to keep the exam limited to FGB subjects in 2024.

CONSIDERATIONS ON BILL 5230/2023 TO CONCLUDE AN INCONCLUSIVE DEBATE

When we analyzed the documents and organized the presentation of this work for the special session “High School under reform and the right to education at risk” at the 41st National Meeting of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Education, DL 5230/2023 had not yet been forwarded to the National Congress, a fact that occurred on the eve of the special session, limiting the debate on it.

We have now chosen to analyze how the aspects highlighted above, which stress the points of conflict identified during the analysis of the documents of the social and business movements, were postponed or ignored in DL 5230/2023. Along with the DL, the MEC released another document, in PowerPoint format, called Restructuring of the National High School Policy, indicating a set of problems that were identified and the agreed solutions.

We understand that the MEC consolidated, in the Bill sent to Congress, its purpose of reaching a consensus based on the positions previously analyzed. With it, a new “act” begins in this long and

Table 8 – Teaching training/work.

Positions/Manifestations	Teacher training/work
MEC proposal after public consultation	Elaborate, together with the education systems, a guiding document for the recognition of notorious knowledge for work in secondary education, with emphasis on technical and professional training.
Entities for revocation/ defense of public schools	Eliminate the requirement of “notorious knowledge” to work as HS teachers (Campaign/EMPesquisa). Requirement of pedagogical complementation for professionals with “notorious knowledge” and impediment to accessing careers as education professionals (CNTE). Repeal of BNCC-Training. Recover the solid vision on initial and continuing education (Sinasefe/CNTE/Campaign/EMPesquisa/Cedes).
Reformers/business entities	Prepare a guiding document for the recognition of renowned knowledge with an emphasis on TPT (as it is in the MEC document). Important to recognize renowned knowledge for the expansion of TPT (TPE).
Government draft law	Revokes § 11 of art. 36, which deals with notorious knowledge.

Source: elaborated by the authors (2023).

disputed reform of the (HS). The MEC tried to satisfy “Greeks and Trojans”, leaving out the discussion on the principles of the reform.

The defense of the repeal is based on questioning the explicit and implicit conception of Law 13,415/2017, both of general education and professional training, and of the BNCC.

The reformers and the MEC reaffirm their position of defending the pillars of the Law and disregard the possibility of revising the BNCC. Congressman Mendonça Filho (União — Pernambuco), chosen as rapporteur of the DL in the Chamber of Deputies, said, in a conversation with Minister Camilo Santana, that “*we can improve Temer’s legacy with new ideas*”.² For her part, Priscila Cruz (TPE) states in her column published in the Globo newspaper that “...the DL correctly presents the pillars of the original reform..., but proposes a series of modifications”.³

The Bill maintains the curricular organization in two parts, reaffirming the purpose of flexibility and diversification. In an attempt to respond to the experiences reported in different states and to the criticisms received regarding the type of itineraries offered, the government seeks a certain rationality in the offerings among the states and proposes to reducing the number of itineraries to four — three with an integration of the BNCC areas and one with professional technical training. Schools must offer at least two of them.

In addition to reducing the number of paths, the document attached to the Bill contemplates the construction of national parameters that define the curricular components that will be prioritized in each one of them.

As we have seen, this proposal is a solution agreed upon between the MEC and the reformers, since, according to the movements for repeal, the same characteristics of the BNCC would be recreated in the diversified part at FGB, standardizing and disregarding the diversity of the Brazilian territory, inhibiting the construction of a school pedagogical project, which would be possible if there were no training paths and much less with common parameters.

2 Available at: <https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/coluna-do-estadao/novo-ensino-medio-podemos-aprimorar-legado-de-temer-com-novas-ideias-diz-relato>. Access on: November 25, 2023.

3 Cruz and Nogueira Filho (2023).

The MEC proposes to ease the dispute over EaD, prohibiting its use in the FGB and developing specific regulations for remote teaching and hybrid education for deepening paths.

The new professional hiring profile authorized by Law 13,415, entitled “notable knowledge”, now presents a unique situation. The Bill omits this issue, which seems to indicate difficulty in reaching a consensus. However, the document accompanying the Bill provides for its regulation for exceptional performance in the exercise of basic education teaching, which differentiates these professionals from those who make up the definition of education professionals in the LDB, repealing part of what is contained in Law 13,415 and in some way recognizing the CNTE’s proposal.

In principle, the main advance of the Bill is to reinstate the minimum of 2,400 hours of FGB. This responds to one of the main demands of the protest movements that took to the streets in 2022/23 and to the criticism from teachers and researchers. However, professional training continues to be compromised, since in the case of a technical course that has at least 800 hours and is offered in part-time high school, it is possible to allocate only 2,100 to FGB.

Even if the possibility of granting intermediate qualification certificates for work is removed from the Law, there will be few options for professional qualification for part-time schools. What remains, in fact, is the possibility for students to build their professional qualification curriculum with a sum of short-term courses (initial and continuing training [FIC]). These are courses that do not guarantee professional qualification and, in addition to making professional training even more precarious, are an open the door for the proliferation of courses without any type of control by the private sector to establish partnerships with the government — another point of the DL, defended by the reformers, which directly attacks the quality of professional training and reduces the possibility of professional qualification for working students.

The explicit intention of promoting the expansion of full-time enrollment, as in the Law, was removed from the Bill; however, there is a clear incentive to full-time enrollment associated with technical-professional training, as a condition for offering the professional qualification certificate, as provided for in the National Catalog of Technical Courses or in a normative act issued by the minister of education.

In view of the complaints from the movements for repeal that this policy has led to an increase in the transfer of working students to night school, in the Bill the MEC states that the expansion of full-time technical-professional training should seek educational equity, address inequalities in supply, ensuring the inclusion of students in conditions of social vulnerability and the black population in all educational stages and modalities. However, it does not specify how this should be done.

The relationship between education and work was and continues to be the “Achilles heel” of Brazilian secondary education and is closely linked to what is expected of secondary education and the training of our working youth and, mainly, to take into account, already evidenced in different studies, the motivations of young people regarding school and work. It is one of the most controversial topics in the history of education in the country, crossed by disputes and contradictions (Ramos, 2023).

The debate surrounding the FGB’s workload has reached the point of resembling the final minutes of a street fair (when prices rise or fall according to supply and demand), whether to increase or decrease the number of hours, hiding the dispute surrounding the conception of secondary education, and without discussing the format of the curriculum and pedagogical proposal in any of the modalities.

Evidently, the obstacle is not only the workload reserved for each part of the curriculum, a debate that corroborates its fragmented nature, but, and mainly, the importance of a scientific and humanistic education that builds a critical understanding of the reality in young people. In the case of technical training, the correlation of forces present in the approval of the DL and the interests

of the Social Service of Commerce (SESC) and National Industrial Training Service (SENAI) is clear. The complexity of the world of work requires, as research in the area has shown, the integration of science and technology for a true understanding of work processes.

Lima (2019, p. 140) analyzes the different positions in dispute regarding the objective of professional education:

[...] the stated or implicit objectives allow us to glimpse which pole — hegemonic or counter-hegemonic — the proposal is affiliated with, as they express the interconnections with the processes of capital accumulation. [...] While the hegemonic pole privileges demands as one-dimensional, the counter-hegemonic pole opposes a totalizing view of development, with emphasis on the social dimension and the integral formation of the subject.

The repeal and/or revision of the BNCC is, without a doubt, one of the key points of conflict between the reformers, the MEC, and the entities for the repeal of the reform. There is no reference to this topic in the DL or in the document/letter that accompanies it. That is, the BNCC and its link with the training paths and the technical course are maintained, but the mandatory resumption of the curricular components, including the Spanish language, can be considered an advance.

However, it is not stated that these new components must be included in the three-year curriculum, as with mathematics, Portuguese, and English. Thus, the hierarchy between the disciplines is maintained. In this way, a gap is opened so that the 2,400 hours of the FGB can include other components such as entrepreneurship, life project, technology, etc., which are not provided for in the Law that is under review, but rather in the curricular matrices of the states.

At the same time that there is a progress in the valorization of knowledge with the reinclusion of different disciplines, the possibility of recognizing school learning to complement the workload with different types of activities is opened, in a contradictory way, from scientific initiation activities or student unions to work (paid or unpaid), a situation analyzed previously.

The contradictions and/or lack of precision in the Law are not few. Expressions such as “preferably” and/or “exceptionally” are frequently used — a narrative that warns of the points that will be disputed in Congress.

PRESSURE FROM THE STREETS

Returning to the events mentioned at the beginning of this article, in 2023 we can say that the Repeal Movement had two victories or at least two half-victories. The first was the Bill, sent to Congress by the Lula government, introducing changes to the so-called NHS. This was possible due to participation in the public consultation and mobilizations, in which student and teaching entities managed to oppose the powerful business *lobby*.

However, in the Federal Chamber, deputy José Mendonça Filho was appointed rapporteur for the project, having coordinated the *pro-impeachment* Committee of President Dilma Rousseff and, as Minister of Education in the Temer government, led the HS reform until it became Law. In 2023, as rapporteur, he presented a substitute for the Lula government’s project and articulated the urgent processing of the matter so that it would go directly to the plenary of the Chamber without the need for public hearings.

The amendment takes up the main proposals of the business community, analyzed in this text, such as: the reduction to 2,100 hours of the FGB for the entire HS, the expansion of the possibilities of using EaD and the removal of mandatory Spanish teaching. Undoubtedly, approving it at the last minute of 2023 would mean ignoring the results of the public consultation, the MEC’s own DL and nullifying any type of debate, resistance and mobilization.

Then came a second victory. This time, it was not just the work of the organizations, but also the presence in Brasília of delegations of students from several states and professors from several universities. Pressure from the streets managed to prevent the hasty approval of the retrograde amendment. Discussions in the Federal Congress were scheduled to resume in March, after the Congress recess and the National Education Conference (Conae).

So we come to January 2024, when this article was completed.

If the amendment proposed by Mendonça Filho and those he represents — the business community — is approved, the lesson will be clear and will have been taught. And this is that without an unwavering effort and unity from all scientific institutions, social and cultural movements, unions linked to education and all those who defend the working class, left-wing parties and the mobilization of organizations representing young people in public schools, the mercantile forces will advance and annihilate public education. If this happens, the future will be even more challenging, since, without an education that allows us to understand the conditions of oppression, the oppressors will be able to act in a much clearer and deeper way. (Frigotto and Oliveira, 2023, n.p.)

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Annex 1 - Analyzed documents.

ABECS: Nota técnica sobre a proposta do MEC para o Ensino Médio. Rio de Janeiro, 18/8/2023.

ANPED: Ensino médio: o que as pesquisas têm a dizer? Subsídios para a Consulta Pública. Relatório final. Rio de Janeiro, junho 2023.

CAMPANHA NACIONAL PELO DIREITO À EDUCAÇÃO: Nota Técnica sobre os Resultados da Consulta Pública sobre o Novo Ensino Médio. Brasil, 21/08/2023.

CEDES: Nota política sobre os resultados preliminares da consulta realizada pelo MEC a respeito do chamado Novo Ensino Médio. 09/08/2023

CONSED: Posicionamento conjunto do CONSED, CNE e FONCEDE sobre a proposta do MEC em relação aos resultados da consulta pública estabelecida pela portaria n. 399/2023. Brasília 21/08/2023.

CNTE: Resultado da consulta pública do ministério da educação sobre a reforma do ensino médio. Brasília, agosto 2023

CONFENEN: Nota oficial da CONFENEN sobre o “Sumário da Consulta Pública sobre O Novo Ensino Médio”. Brasília, 18/08/2023.

EMPesquisa: Nota Técnica dirigida a Ministério da Educação relativa aos resultados da consulta pública sobre o Novo Ensino Médio. 21/08/2023.

FNE: Parecer sobre a Proposta MEC para o Ensino Médio. 17/03/2023.

MEC: Sumário Executivo do relatório da Consulta Pública do Ensino Médio. Brasília, 7 de agosto, 2023.

MEC: Minuta do Projeto de Lei que revoga dispositivos da Lei n. 13.415/2017. Brasília, 22/09/2023.

MPB: Contribuições do Movimento pela Base às propostas do MEC para o aprimoramento da Política Nacional de Ensino Médio. S/d.

PROIFES: Posicionamento do Proifes-Federação sobre os resultados preliminares da consulta realizada pelo MEC relativos ao Novo Ensino Médio. Brasília, 11/08/2023.

SESI: Contribuições para o Novo Ensino Médio a partir das propostas do Ministério da Educação.

SENAC: Parecer Técnico sobre a Proposta do Ministério da Educação para a Política Nacional de Ensino Médio.

SINASAFE: Ofício No 130/2023/DN/SINASEFE, dirigido ao Ministro Camilo Santana. Assunto: Considerações sobre Sumário Executivo da Portaria no 399, de 08 de março de 2023. Brasília, 18/08/2023.

TPE: Contribuições para o Novo Ensino Médio a partir das propostas do Ministério da Educação. Agosto, 2023.