

From legal obligation to curricular transversality: the presence of EREs in teacher training guidelines in Brazil (2003–2024)

ARTICLE

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Abstract

Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) is fundamental to overcome inequalities in Brazil. This article analyzes how ERER was incorporated into national guidelines for initial teacher training (2003-2024). This is a qualitative documentary research, analyzing CNE/CP Resolutions 1/2004, 2/2015, 2/2019, and 4/2024, through critical discourse analysis and tabulation of semantic descriptors (race, racism, diversity, ERER, and indigenous). The theoretical framework mobilizes Clóvis Moura and Lélia Gonzalez. Results reveal that educational policies did not advance linearly: there was strong anti-racist centrality in 2004, dilution under the generic notion of diversity in 2015, technicist emptying focused on competences in 2019, and ambiguous resumption via transversality in 2024. We conclude that the distancing from the original affirmative intentionality reflects institutional resistances in Higher Education, highlighting the urgency of emancipatory curricular restructuring in teacher training programs.

Keywords: Teacher Training. Ethnic-Racial Relations. Educational Policies. Curriculum. Racism.

Da obrigatoriedade legal à transversalidade curricular: a presença da EREs nas diretrizes de formação docente no Brasil (2003–2024)

Resumo

A Educação das Relações Étnico-Raciais (ERER) é fundamental para superar desigualdades no Brasil. Este artigo analisa como a ERER foi incorporada nas diretrizes nacionais de formação inicial de professores (2003-2024). Trata-se de pesquisa qualitativa documental, analisando as Resoluções CNE/CP nº 1/2004, nº 2/2015, nº 2/2019 e nº 4/2024, mediante análise crítica do discurso e tabulação de descritores semânticos (raça, racismo, diversidade, ERER e indígena). O referencial teórico mobiliza Clóvis Moura e Lélia Gonzalez. Os resultados revelam que as políticas educacionais não avançaram de forma linear: houve forte centralidade antirracista em 2004, diluição sob a noção genérica de diversidade em 2015, esvaziamento tecnicista focado em competências em 2019 e retomada ambígua via transversalidade em 2024. Conclui-se que o distanciamento da intencionalidade afirmativa original reflete resistências institucionais do Ensino Superior, evidenciando a urgência de reestruturação curricular emancipatória nas licenciaturas.

Palavras-chave: Formação de Professores. Relações Étnico-Raciais. Políticas Educacionais. Currículo. Racismo.

1. Introduction

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The constitution of Brazilian society is historically demarcated by profound power asymmetries, founded on the long duration of the slavery regime and reconfigured during the capitalist modernization of the country. According to the sociological analysis of Clóvis Moura (1988), the transition to free labor did not represent the equitable absorption of the Black population into the new class order, resulting in their structural allocation as a "marginal mass". This material condition of subalternity was, and continues to be, made possible through complex ideological mechanisms and the "concealment of social reality" (MOURA, 1988). Among these mechanisms, the ideology of whitening and the myth of racial democracy stand out. For Lélia Gonzalez (1984), such a narrative operated historically as a "cultural neurosis" that sustained inequalities; by proclaiming a supposed national harmony and the absence of color barriers, the myth acts to invisibilize objective oppressions, blame marginalized populations for their condition and silence the violence stemming from racism.

Corroborating this perspective, Carlos Hasenbalg (1979) already warned in a pioneering way that non-white subordination in Brazil should not be understood solely as a passive and inertial legacy of the colonial past, but rather as a dynamic process of continuous discrimination. Racism, in this sense, operates daily as an active criterion of social selection, division of labor and mobility restriction. At the epicenter of this mechanism of reproduction of inequalities, the formal educational system has played an ambivalent structural role throughout national history.

On the one hand, school institutions functioned as validation apparatuses for strictly Eurocentric knowledge, promoting what Lélia Gonzalez (1982) pointed out as the alienation and distancing of Black and Indigenous identity, a true process of epistemological

exclusion. The school curriculum, far from being a neutral instrument of technical knowledge transmission, constitutes itself as a central territory of disputes where "the nexus between representations and power is realized, is effectuated" (SILVA, 1995a, p. 190). On the other hand, it was exactly by understanding the weight of the curriculum in the formation of the sociopolitical imaginary that the Black social movement elected education as one of its main focuses of action. This historical agency characterizes what Nilma Lino Gomes (2017) conceptualizes as the "educator Black movement", a political and collective subject that, over decades, produced emancipatory knowledge and pressured the Brazilian State for the decolonization of teaching matrices.

The institutional and macropolitical culmination of this trajectory of struggles occurred at the beginning of this 21st century, with the alteration of the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, LDBEN - Law n. 9.394/1996. The promulgation of Law n. 10.639/2003 and, subsequently, its expansion by Law n. 11.645/2008, made the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture mandatory in all stages of Basic Education (BRASIL, 2003; 2008a). This legal determination surpasses the simple addition of new commemorative dates or isolated programmatic contents; it configures itself as an authentic affirmative educational policy (FIGUEIREDO, 2020), designed to confront the unilateral vision of history, aiming to promote Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) organically in the country's schools.

However, the effectuation of this curricular policy in daily school life encounters a fundamental challenge: the qualification of education professionals. The literature in the field points out, in a unisonous manner, that the transposition of the legal obligation into concrete pedagogical practices depends intrinsically on the instances of initial teacher training (SILVA, 2007). It is in Higher Education, notably in teacher training programs and Pedagogy courses, that future teachers must acquire the theoretical, methodological and attitudinal substance to critically conduct the reeducation of ethnic-racial relations. Despite this legal urgency, research demonstrates that the university environment is characterized by strong structural resistances. Gatti and Barreto (2009) observe that teacher training matrices in Brazil tend to accentuate generic and abstract approaches, demonstrating

immense difficulty in incorporating discussions that destabilize the traditional academic canon.

This scenario of inertia is deepened by the phenomenon of the "academization" of teacher training (FORMOSINHO, 2009), which imposes a formative model guided by the hypertrophy of cognitive rationality and the excessive compartmentalization of knowledge. By distancing the theory from the tensions and subjectivities inherent to the "school floor", the hegemonic training model frequently converts ethnic-racial diversity into a peripheral elective discipline or into a theme addressed in a superficial manner, mitigating the transformative force required by the law.

Several contemporary studies attest to the persistence of this impasse in universities. Azevedo (2023), by mapping the production of theses and dissertations in the database of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), evidenced that, although ERER is a recognizably vital axis, its institutional insertion in teacher training courses still occurs in an unsystematic and, at times, precarious manner. In a convergent manner, analyses of specific institutional cases, such as the one undertaken by Silva and Cruz (2022) in the Pedagogy course of the Federal University of Ceará (UFC), point out that the Pedagogical Course Projects (PPCs) frequently leave severe gaps by not contemplating specific methodologies and centrality for dealing with racism.

It is exactly at this point that the gap in the literature justifying the originality of this research is located. Although there is a fruitful and consolidated academic production focused on the empirical application of Law n. 10.639/2003 in Basic Education schools, as well as evaluations of syllabuses in isolated university courses, there is a scarcity of longitudinal studies focused on the educational macropolitics of teacher training. Few investigations are dedicated to systematically examining how the Brazilian State itself, through the Resolutions and Opinions of the National Education Council (CNE), has modulated, over time, the mandatory guidelines passed on to Higher Education Institutions. Guiding documents are not neutral; they signal the degree of official commitment to the agenda and set the limits of university autonomy.

Faced with this gap and the evident friction between the original anti-racist legislation and the rigidity of the academic training model, the research problem that guides this study is delineated: despite the legal framework inaugurated by Law n. 10.639/2003 and expanded by Law n. 11.645/2008, how has Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) been incorporated, discursively treated and dimensioned in the national guidelines for initial teacher training over the last two decades?

To answer this inquiry, the present article aims to analyze the lexical presence, the discursive form of treatment and the centrality conferred to ERER in the main normative resolutions of the CNE responsible for regulating teacher training programs in Brazil in the period between 2003 and 2024.

2 Methodology

To answer the outlined research problem and grasp the minutiae of the shifts in educational policies aimed at teacher training, the present investigation adopts a qualitative approach, articulated with a descriptive-exploratory survey of a quantitative nature. The choice of the qualitative paradigm is justified by its capacity to deepen the understanding of complex institutional, normative and historical dynamics. As Lüdke and André (1986) prescribe, qualitative research in education allows focusing on the set of intentionalities, conceptions and values that permeate the practices and texts of the educational field, understanding them not as inert data, but as phenomena inserted in a dynamic social context (MINAYO, 2011).

To operationalize the investigation within the scope of educational macropolitics, documentary research was elected as the central strategy. The adoption of this path moves away from a bibliographic survey; according to the methodological warning of Lima and Mioto (2007, p. 39), working with documentary sources "implies an ordered set of procedures to search for solutions, attentive to the object of study, and which, therefore, cannot be random". It starts from the epistemological premise that the normative

documents of the State, such as government Resolutions and Opinions, are not technical artifacts free from ideology. They reflect power relations, institutional negotiations and intense disputes around the legitimacy of the curriculum. Thus, systematic documentary analysis constitutes the appropriate tool to track the continuities, ruptures and resignifications that Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) has suffered in State officialdom over time.

The primary analytical *corpus* of this research was intentionally constituted, encompassing four fundamental regulatory frameworks issued by the National Education Council (CNE) and ratified by the Ministry of Education (MEC), responsible for guiding the National Curricular Guidelines (DCNs) of teacher training courses (licentiate and Pedagogy programs) in the last two decades. The selected documents were collected from the official portals of the federal government and comprise: Resolution CNE/CP n. 1/2004 - Institutes the National Curricular Guidelines for the Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture (BRASIL, 2004b), as well as its foundational document, Opinion CNE/CP n. 03/2004 (BRASIL, 2004a); Resolution CNE/CP n. 2/2015 - Defines the National Curricular Guidelines for initial higher education training and for continuing education (BRASIL, 2015); Resolution CNE/CP n. 2/2019: Defines the National Curricular Guidelines for the Initial Training of Basic Education Teachers and institutes the Common National Base for the Initial Training of Basic Education Teachers – BNC-Training (BRASIL, 2019); Resolution CNE/CP n. 4/2024: Establishes the new National Curricular Guidelines for the Initial Higher Education Training of Teaching Professionals in Basic School Education (BRASIL, 2024).

In order to confer systematicity to the research and ensure the traceability of the empirical findings, the analysis procedure was structured in three successive stages.

The first stage consisted of the floating and, subsequently, integral reading of the four normative documents. The objective was the appropriation of the production context of each resolution, identifying the textual architecture, the prescriptive tone, the guiding principles and the predominant curricular logics in each period (for example, the emphasis on historical reparations, on plural diversity or on technicism focused on competences).

The second stage assumed a quantitative-descriptive character, aiming to provide material evidence for the interpretation of the guidelines. A semantic mapping was carried out through the search and tabulation of the absolute frequency of five fundamental descriptors (key terms) for the scope of Brazilian ethnic-racial relations within the official PDFs of the resolutions. The tracked descriptors were: a) "race" (and structural derivatives, such as "racial"); b) "racism"; c) "diversity" (or "diversities"); d) "ERER" (or "ethnic-racial"); and e) "indigenous". The literal quantification of these semantic units acted as an objective indicator of the discursive space conferred, or suppressed, to the anti-racist theme in the formative matrices of Higher Education in each period.

The third stage, substantiated in the Critical Documentary Analysis, consisted of crossing the quantitative data with the textual excerpts (qualitative) of the regulations. Surpassing the mere word count, the analytical effort focused on classifying the shifts in educational policy. To systematize this evaluation objectively, a "Comparative Analytical Framework" was structured, which will be presented in the results section. This framework analyzes each Resolution based on three categories created for this study: Mention of ERER (evaluating the empirical presence of the descriptors as high, medium or low); Discursive form of treatment (identifying whether the text treats the issue as a structuring affirmative action policy, as a generic component of diversity or in a transversal way); Official curricular centrality (measuring the weight and hierarchical obligation conferred to the agenda in the guidelines of university syllabuses). It is from this methodological engineering that the tensions underlying the legal texts and the flow of advancement, retraction or maintenance of the education for ethnic-racial relations in teacher training policies will be evidenced and discussed.

3 Legal framework of ERER, the curriculum and coloniality in teacher training

The introduction of the ethnic-racial theme into Brazilian educational legislation represented a historical inflection point that challenged the assimilationist paradigm hitherto prevailing in the country's public policies. To understand the magnitude of this legal

intervention in the field of curriculum, it is imperative to analyze the sociogenesis of Brazilian inequalities. The sociologist Carlos Hasenbalg (1979), in his pioneering work on racial discrimination and inequalities in Brazil, warns that the subordination of Black and Indigenous populations in class society should not be interpreted as a mere inertial residue of the slavery past. On the contrary, it is a continuous and dynamic construction, in which racism actively operates as a criterion for social selection, division of labor and mobility restriction.

This material marginalization, which allocated the non-white population to the condition of a "marginal mass" within dependent capitalism (MOURA, 1988), was historically sustained by refined ideological apparatuses. The effectiveness of the Brazilian domination system rested on the construction of the myth of racial democracy and on the ideology of whitening. According to Lélia Gonzalez (1984), this narrative officialized a "cultural neurosis" that, by exalting a supposed national harmony, acted in a perverse way to mask real oppressions, invisibilize institutional violence and blame racialized subjects for their own exclusion. The myth of racial democracy functioned, therefore, as a "dam mechanism" (MOURA, 1988) that exempted the State from formulating reparatory public policies throughout the 20th century.

At the epicenter of this privilege-maintaining gear, the formal educational system did not operate in a neutral manner. Historically, Brazilian schools and universities consolidated themselves as primary agencies for the reproduction of these stigmas. By adopting exclusively Eurocentric epistemological frameworks, academic curricula promoted what Gonzalez and Hasenbalg (1982) identify as the alienation of Black identity, operating a true epistemicide. By folklorizing or invisibilizing the intellectual, historical and scientific protagonism of African and original populations, the school institution validated a "triple lie" (anchored in racism, sexism and elitism), forging a social imaginary that naturalizes whiteness as the universal subject of knowledge (GONZALEZ, 2020).

However, the understanding that the school acts as a reproductive apparatus of inequalities does not exclude the fact that it is, dialectically, a space of material

contradictions and disputes. Starting from the premise formulated by Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (1995a, p. 190) that "[...] it is in the curriculum that the nexus between representations and power is realized, is effectuated", the Brazilian Black social movement elected education as an unavoidable pillar of its demands. The historical agency of this collective political subject, conceptualized by Nilma Lino Gomes (2017) as the "educator Black movement", has acted incisively since the early decades of the 20th century (with the Brazilian Black Front and, later, the Experimental Black Theater), to reeducate civil society and force the State to decolonize the teaching matrices.

The macropolitical and institutional culmination of this extensive trajectory of pressures materialized with the sanction of Law n. 10.639/2003, which altered the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDBEN – Law n. 9.394/1996) to make the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture mandatory. Subsequently, this milestone was expanded by Law n. 11.645/2008, which included the mandatory nature of the Indigenous theme (BRASIL, 2003; 2008a). More than the simple addition of new commemorative dates or the insertion of topical contents in Basic Education, this legislation configures itself as an authentic affirmative educational policy (FIGUEIREDO, 2020). It requires a paradigmatic change: the overcoming of the coloniality of knowledge through the recognition of "Amefricanity", a political-cultural category proposed by Gonzalez (1988) to visibilize the centrality of African and Indigenous matrices in the structuring of Latin American societies (NERI; SILVA, 2024).

It happens that the implementation of a curricular policy of such magnitude imposes an insurmountable structural challenge without the participation of Higher Education. The legislation fell legally upon Elementary and High School, but, as Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva (2007) warns, the transposition of an education for ethnic-racial relations to daily school life depends organically on the professional and human qualification of the educator. It is impossible to alter the practice of schools without first restructuring the instances of initial teacher training (Pedagogy courses and other teacher

training programs), responsible for forging the knowledge, attitudes and values of future teachers.

At this point, the main bottleneck of Brazilian educational policy is outlined. The specialized literature evidences that Higher Education institutions are characterized by highly rigid departmental and curricular structures. The extensive research coordinated by Gatti and Barreto (2009, p. 252) on the profile of teacher training programs in Brazil demonstrated that teacher training matrices tend to resist knowledge that breaks with the academic tradition, systematically opting for syllabuses that "accentuate more generic approaches to educational issues".

This distancing between the urgency of social demands (such as the overcoming of racism) and the curricular grids of Higher Education is aggravated by the phenomenon that João Formosinho (2009) defines as the "academization" of teacher training. According to the author, the university formative model has hypertrophied the purely cognitive, rationalist and theoretical dimension of the profession, in absolute detriment to the relational, attitudinal, affective and deontological dimensions – which are exactly the central requirements to mediate ethnic-racial conflicts and promote education for diversity. Corroborating this perspective, Kishimoto (2005) points out that the disciplinary fragmentation of teacher training courses distances academic theory from the cultural and subjective realities that future teachers will encounter on the "school floor".

The consequence of this academic inertia is the superficial treatment of Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) in higher education courses. When the university matrix does not guarantee the centrality of the racial agenda through nuclear disciplines with strong pedagogical intentionality, the fight against epistemic violence is left at the mercy of the individual voluntarism of engaged professors, configuring an abstention of institutional responsibility (SILVA; CRUZ, 2022). Racism, as a structuring and institutionalized element in the dynamics of dependent capitalism (MOURA, 2014), cannot be dismantled solely with elective theoretical knowledge; it requires a systematic political qualification.

It is precisely in this context of tension – between the affirmative command of the legislation for Basic Education and the conservative and "academizing" resistance of Higher Education, that the National Curricular Guidelines (DCNs) issued by the National Education Council (CNE) emerge. As normative state apparatuses, the CNE resolutions are the legal instruments that guide and condition the operation, evaluation and authorization of teacher training courses in the country. Therefore, understanding the way the State has modulated, demanded or emptied the presence of ERER in these Guidelines over the last two decades becomes fundamental to evaluate the real conditions of advancement of anti-racist education in Brazil.

4. Analysis of Results and Data Tabulation

The sociological premise that the curriculum acts as an instrument for legitimizing worldviews unequivocally materializes in the alterations of the State's regulatory frameworks. Normative documents, such as the National Curricular Guidelines (DCNs), operate the selection of which knowledge is considered valid and which social problems deserve the institutional attention of universities (SILVA, 1995a). The documentary analysis of the resolutions issued by the National Education Council (CNE) between 2004 and 2024 empirically demonstrates that the Ministry of Education (MEC) operated significant shifts in the way of naming, categorizing and demanding the fight against racism in initial teacher training.

To confer materiality and methodological traceability to this finding, Table 1 presents the absolute frequency of the semantic descriptors mapped within the scope of the legal texts that compose the *corpus* of this research. The quantification of these lexical units acts as a primary indicator of the discursive space conferred to the Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) in each political conjuncture.

Table 1: Absolute frequency of semantic descriptors in the CNE/CP Resolutions (2004–2024)

Normative document	“Race” / “Racial” (and derivatives)	“Racism”	“Diversity” / “Plurality”	“Ethnic-racial” / “ERER”	“Indigenous” / “Quilombola”
Resolution CNE/CP 1/2004	n. 7	1	2	6	2
Resolution CNE/CP 2/2015	n. 5	0	6	5	8
Resolution CNE/CP 2/2019	n. 0	0	2	0	2
Resolution CNE/CP 4/2024	n. 5	1	7	5	8

Source: Own elaboration (2025).

The tabulated data corroborate the thesis that the Brazilian educational macropolitics does not advance in a rectilinear and cumulative manner. A flow of strong initial assertion (2004) is observed, followed by a semantic dilution (2015), a technicist emptying (2019) and a recent conceptual resumption (2024). These discursive shifts and their implications for the curricula of teacher training programs are critically analyzed in the following subsections, supported by direct (literal) citations from the legal provisions.

4.1. 2004: Guidelines: direct confrontation and high structuring centrality

The publication of Resolution CNE/CP n. 1/2004 represented the point of greatest discursive and political contendency of the Brazilian State regarding the theme. As demonstrated in Table 1, the inaugural normative text did not use euphemisms to treat social violence, directly evoking the terms "racism" and "ethnic-racial". By analyzing the literal text of the law, the prescription of a structuring and affirmative educational policy is verified. Article 2 of the Resolution unequivocally defines the responsibility of the institutions:

§ 1 The Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations aims at the dissemination and production of knowledge, as well as of attitudes, postures and values that educate citizens regarding ethnic-racial plurality, making them capable of interacting and of negotiating common objectives that guarantee, to all, respect for legal rights and identity valorization (BRASIL, 2004b, p. 1). The materiality of the normative force of 2004 is evidenced by the adoption of a posture of direct confrontation against discriminatory practices in the educational environment. Article 6, sole paragraph, advances beyond the strictly pedagogical dimension and inserts the weight of constitutional sanction within the curriculum:

Sole Paragraph: Cases characterizing racism will be treated as imprescriptible and non-bailable crimes, as provided in Art. 5, XLII of the 1988 Federal Constitution (BRASIL, 2004b, p. 2). This guideline forced the HEIs to abandon the historical posture of "scientific neutrality" (MOURA, 1988) towards the Black issue. By positioning racism as a crime and the reeducation of ethnic-racial relations as a mandatory axis for teacher training, the 2004 milestone reached a high centrality in the curriculum. The aim, at that moment, was to break with the "whitening ideology" and with the epistemic subalternization denounced by Lélia Gonzalez and Carlos Hasenbalg (1982), attributing to the university curriculum the primary function of intervening in historical inequalities.

4.2. 2015 Guidelines: the shift towards the notion of "diversity"

The approval of the new DCNs for initial higher education training, substantiated in Resolution CNE/CP n. 2/2015, operated a subtle, yet profound, discursive shift. As the data in Table 1 point out, the term "racism" disappears entirely from the legal document, while the descriptor "diversity" ascends significantly (11 occurrences). The literal analysis of the text reveals that the specificity of the fight against structural racism was allocated in a diluted manner under the broad umbrella of pluralities, as noted in the required profile of the graduate (Art. 8):

VII - identify sociocultural and educational issues and problems [...] in order to contribute to overcoming social, ethnic-racial, economic, cultural, religious, political, gender, sexual and other exclusions; VIII - demonstrate awareness of diversity, respecting differences of environmental-ecological, ethnic-racial, gender, generational bands, social classes, religions, special needs, sexual choices natures, among others (BRASIL, 2015, p. 5). Although the legal support for the theme remains guaranteed in the 2015 text, the institutional option to subsume ERER in extensive generalist lists reflects the tendency criticized by Gatti and Barreto (2009, p. 252) of formative matrices "accentuating more generic approaches to educational issues". Under the analytical lens of Lélia Gonzalez (1984), diluting the colonial wound of racism into a mere appeasing discourse of tolerance to "diversity" acts as a manifestation of the Brazilian cultural neurosis, which avoids directly confronting the core of the racial conflict. For this reason, the centrality of ERER in the 2015 DCNs is classified as medium, since the agenda lost its *status* of structuring exclusivity verified in 2004, starting to compete for workload with multiple other transversal demands.

4.3. 2019 Guidelines: emptying and the triumph of technicism The promulgation of Resolution CNE/CP n. 2/2019, the BNC-Training, marked the most acute normative setback in the ERER macropolitics in Higher Education. Under the market-oriented

justification of pragmatically aligning the training of pre-service teachers to the Common National Curricular Base (BNCC), the CNE replaced sociopolitical reflection with a strictly instrumental rationality, backed by prescriptive "competences and skills". As a methodological reflection in the tabulation, the systematic disappearance of central analytical categories (race, racism, ethnic-racial relations) from the nuclear and mandatory structure of competences required of the teacher is noted. This document materialized the apex of the bureaucratic and technicist "academization" denounced by Formosinho (2009) and Kishimoto (2005). By hypertrophying the procedural dimension of teaching and neglecting the sociocultural complexity of the country, the 2019 Resolution downgraded the centrality of anti-racist education to a low (marginal) level. The erasure of the agenda in the legal text acts as a primary institutional obstacle, allowing Higher Education Institutions to justify the suppression of disciplines focused on Afro-Brazilian History and Culture under the claim of pragmatic adequacy to the State's new competence matrices.

4.4. 2024 Guidelines: transversality and ambiguous return The recent revocation of the BNC-Training (2019) and the homologation of the new Resolution CNE/CP n. 4/2024 demonstrate an institutional attempt to correct the route. The tabulation points to the return of the term "racism" and the explicit reincorporation of "Indigenous School Education" and "Quilombola" (Art. 2). The normative regulation once again situates the reduction of inequalities as a principle of training, according to Article 5: VIII - equity in access to and permanence of pre-service teachers in initial training programs and courses for teaching professionals, contributing to the reduction of social, regional, ethnic-racial, gender inequalities and those of any other nature (BRASIL, 2024, p. 4).

In an even more incisive manner, Article 13, § 3, item V, resumes the direct responsibility of teacher training programs regarding the fight against discrimination, demanding the capacity to: deconstruct and combat all expressions of racism, with the due valorization of Brazilian cultural and ethnic-racial diversity (BRASIL, 2024, p. 8). Despite the clear semantic advance in relation to the erasure that occurred in 2019, the structural analysis of the curricular matrix proposed by the 2024 Resolution reveals a fundamental

bet on transversality, diluting the workload in "integrating projects" and "extension" activities. Specialized literature warns that when EREER is not institutionalized through mandatory curricular components and nuclear disciplines, transversality runs the severe risk of converting into invisibility, depending on the individual initiative of activist professors (SILVA; CRUZ, 2022). Due to this dependence on voluntary engagement for the execution of the law, the current curricular centrality of the agenda is classified as ambiguous.

4.5. Synthesis of the Normative Trajectory

For the purposes of qualitative systematization of the evidence extracted from the documentary analysis, Chart 1 was elaborated, crossing the chronology of policies with the conceptual categories of discursive treatment and curricular impact in the formative field.

Chart 1: EREER in the National Guidelines for Teacher Training (2004-2024)

Normative Document	Mention of EREER	Discursive Form of Treatment	Official Curricular Centrality
Resolution 1/2004	High	Affirmative and structuring educational policy, in the legal and pedagogical confrontation with a focus on racism.	High
Resolution 2/2015	Medium	Theme subsumed and diluted within the generalist scope of plurality and tolerance to diversity.	Medium
Resolution 2/2019	Low	Sociopolitical emptying justified by the adoption of technicist rationality focused on market competences.	Low

Resolution 4/2024 Medium Discursive resumption via transversality, integrating projects, extension and Human Ambiguous Rights.

Source: *Own elaboration (2025)*

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The configuration specified in Chart 1 evidences that the trajectory of ERER in Brazilian higher education courses is in constant dispute for institutional legitimation. The unfoldings of this legal inconstancy and its practical impacts for the consolidation of an inclusive and diverse university will constitute the core of the theoretical discussion below.

5. Discussion The documentary evidence systematized in the previous section objectively demonstrates that the educational policies formulated by the Brazilian State for teacher training do not progress according to an evolutionary and linear logic towards racial equity. On the contrary, the National Curricular Guidelines (DCNs) configure themselves as arenas of intense epistemological and ideological dispute. By tensioning the empirical findings extracted from the normatives from 2004 to 2024 with the theoretical framework of the social sciences and education, three neuralgic axes of discussion emerge.

The first axis concerns the systemic tension between the original legal imperative (Laws n. 10.639/03 and 11.645/08) and the institutional conservative resistance in Higher Education. The alteration of the LDB determined the mandatory teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture in Basic Education. As Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva (2007) warns, the success of this policy requires the reeducation of ethnic-racial relations, which is only possible through profoundly qualified teachers to do so. However, Gomes and Jesus (2013), when investigating the implementation of this law, verified that, even on the school floor, the sustainability of pedagogical practices encounters the lack of knowledge and lack of training of teachers, who frequently manifest resistance by seeing the theme as an "imposition".

This resistance reverberates, from top to bottom, in university structures. Azevedo *et al.* (2023) underline that the university possesses its own mechanisms that hinder the

organic absorption of ERER in its nuclear curricula. By interpreting the progressive suppression of imposing guidelines, leaving the direct combat against racism (2004) to the emptying focused on operational competences (2019), it is perceived that the National Education Council itself yielded to the pressures of a mercantile rationality. From the sociological perspective of Clóvis Moura (1988), Brazilian society maintains "dam mechanisms" operating silently to preserve hierarchies. The emptying of the DCNs acts, in this sense, as a subtle mechanism of institutional and epistemic damming, limiting the massive contact of future teachers with the Black and Indigenous intellectual heritage.

The second analytical axis evidences the institutional use of the "whitening ideology" disguised in official nomenclatures and euphemisms. By lowering the legal and affirmative tone of Opinion 03/2004, which named and typified racism, to allocate the theme under the unspecific umbrella of "diversity" (in the 2015 Resolution), the State allowed the academy to soften the urgency of historical reparation. This discursive phenomenon reflects the thesis of Lélia Gonzalez (1984) and Carlos Hasenbalg (1979) that Brazilian racism possesses the refinement of operating through cynicism and denial. Diluting the centrality of the racial conflict in the generic scope of cultural plurality does not destabilize the Eurocentric matrix of teacher training programs; it only couples the "other" to the margins of hegemonic knowledge (NERI; SILVA, 2024), treating the contributions of Amefrican peoples as mere folkloric traits.

Finally, the documentary data corroborate the severe criticisms of the current technician and fragmented "academization" of teacher training (FORMOSINHO, 2009). The 2019 guideline, which instituted the BNC-Training, and even the attempts at transversality proposed in the new 2024 framework, evidence the prioritization of standardized pragmatic and cognitive competences to the detriment of the educator's integral ethical-political training. As Silva and Cruz (2022) observe, when analyzing the training matrix in Pedagogy, the excessive theoretical rationality and the lack of disciplines with specific methodological intentionality for ERER distance the pre-service teacher from the complexity of the school space. To train professionals skilled at identifying and deconstructing everyday racism,

instrumental skills are insufficient; a curricular architecture is required that faces racism as what it really is: the structural pillar of Brazilian inequalities.

6. Final considerations

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The present study was dedicated to investigating how Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) has been incorporated, guided and dimensioned in the macropolitics that regulate initial teacher training in Brazil in the interstice between 2003 and 2024. The documentary analysis and the quantification of the normative descriptors revealed that the transposition of anti-racist legislation (Law n. 10.639/03 and Law n. 11.645/08) to Higher Education represents a discontinuous process, permeated by significant advances, dilutions and retractions.

Based on the empirical evidence organized throughout the research, three central findings are sustained. First, the regulatory framework instituted by the CNE in 2004 emerged with unique centrality, acting undoubtedly as an affirmative action educational policy that confronted racism legally and pedagogically. Second, the course of the following decades promoted a clear movement of discursive weakening: the 2015 guidelines subsumed the racial agenda within the generalist concept of "diversities", while the 2019 normative regulation operated the suppression of the theme by aligning teacher training programs to a purely technicist project of "competences". Third, the recent 2024 National Curricular Guidelines signal an attempt to mitigate the previous erasure, however, they are mostly supported by the notion of transversality, whose effectiveness, in the face of the rigid departmental structures of universities, remains ambiguous and dependent on the voluntary engagement of the teaching staff.

Out of academic rigor, the structural limitations of the present research are recognized. By concentrating methodologically on the scrutiny of educational macropolitics (substantiated in the texts of the Resolutions and Opinions of the National Education Council), the study does not reach the capillarity of institutional micropolitics. The mere text

of the law or the guideline does not fully reflect the tactics of resistance, the evasions, the subversions or the "lived curriculum" that occurs in the daily life of Higher Education classrooms.

In light of this limitation and considering the recent approval of the new normative framework, an agenda for future research is proposed. The elaboration of large-scale empirical and qualitative studies that analyze the Pedagogical Course Projects (PPCs) of teacher training programs in the various Brazilian regions is recommended, comparing how the transversal orientation of Resolution CNE/CP n. 4/2024 will be materialized in effective curricula. In the same way, ethnographic investigations in Pedagogy courses may elucidate how trainers and students are negotiating the presence of Amerindian and Indigenous epistemologies in their daily practices.

It is concluded that advancing in overcoming historical Brazilian inequalities demands that State policies abandon fluid or omissive normative postures. The construction of a plural, republican school free of racism presupposes formative instances that act in an intentional and non-negotiable manner. Beyond rhetoric of respect for diversity, the decolonization of the Brazilian teacher training curriculum requires the repositioning of Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations to its proper level: that of a structuring, mandatory and essential core for the exercise of teaching.

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