Abstract
The post-critical theoretical framework understands that representations can be provisional processes, permeated by discursive and contextual constructions. The objective was to analyze the meaning of quality in the contexts of mobilization of the curricular policy present in the National Common Curriculum Base of High School, adopting a bibliographic review, which dialogues with the theoretical framework of Stephen Ball’s policy cycle (1998), in addition to research and publications by Brazilians that dialogue with the production of knowledge Ball and Mainardes (2011), Lopes (2010, 2012 and 2013) and Lopes and Macedo (2011 and 2021), in addition to consultations and analysis of documents such as Law no. 13.415/2017, the National Curricular Common Base and MEC Ordinance No. 331/2018. It is understood that we are not talking about fixed meanings, but about provisional processes of quality meaning. Thus, concomitantly with the process of giving meaning to the quality of the curriculum, the meaning of a democratic society project to be achieved will be constructed. Keywords: High School. Curriculum Policies. Quality Speech.

Políticas de currículo e signifiXação de qualidade: discursos e contextos de mobilização da BNCC

Resumo
O referencial teórico pós-critico compreende que as representações podem ser processos provisórios, permeados por construções discursivas e contextuais. Objetivou-se analisar a signifiXação de qualidade nos contextos de mobilização da política curricular presente na Base Nacional Comum Curricular do Ensino Médio, adotando uma revisão bibliográfica, que dialoga com o referencial teórico do ciclo de política de Stephen Ball (1998), além de pesquisas e publicações de brasileiros que dialogam com a produção do conhecimento Ball e Mainardes (2011), Lopes (2010, 2012 e 2013) e Lopes e Macedo (2011 e 2021), somado ainda às consultas e análise de documentos como a Lei n.º 13.415/2017, a Base
Nacional Comum Curricular e a Portaria MEC n.º 331/2018. Compreende-se que não se está falando sobre significações fixas, mas sobre processos provisórios de significação de qualidade. Assim, concomitantemente ao processo de significar a qualidade do currículo, construir-se-á a significação de um projeto de sociedade democrática a ser alcançado.

**Palavras-chave:** Ensino Médio. Políticas de Currículo. Discurso de Qualidade.

### 1 Introduction

It was in the conjuncture between the 20th and 21st centuries, permeated by the desire for the universalization of Basic Education, that the educational reforms were happening in a more intense way. These reforms, despite having been engineered by the public authorities, were strengthened by the demands and clashes generated by civil society for a universal, free, and public school. (SILVA, 2016).

In a critical and dialectical perspective, we can understand that the reformist movement, which marks the centuries cited, uses as argument the negative indicators of large-scale assessments: System for Evaluation of Basic Education (Saeb); National High School Exam (Enem); International Program for Student Assessment (Pisa). Such results are shared, especially in the media (LIMA; SILVA; SILVA, 2020).

These reforms were announced and justified to the society as measures to overcome the current negative pictures pointed out in the results, which indicate high percentages of school dropout and repetition. These results are accompanied by conclusions about the quality of the education offered. Thus, "the low quality of high school offered in the country" (FERRETTI, 2018, p. 26), supported the suggested High School Reform, specifically with regard to the flexibility of the curriculum of the last stage of Basic Education.

Therefore, it is assumed that the questions systematized here and the choice of the object of study were not random. They are supported by the prominent position that the curriculum policies directed to high school have assumed in the last decade, especially by the enactment of Law No. 13.415/2017, which establishes changes in the curriculum of the last stage of basic education, significant in the structure of the
The proposal presented here analyzed the meaning of quality in the contexts of mobilization of curriculum policy. "Understanding policy as partial signifiXcation in specific historical and cultural formations and perceiving political agents beyond structural determination" (MACEDO, 2016, p. 1). The study was focused on the BNCC and on High School, which, in its historical constitution, has undergone reforms and reformisms regarding its curricular structure, objectives and forms of supply. The current discussions about this stage of education remain around its own identity and purpose, becoming a target and a challenge in the formulation of public policies. High School is going through moments of tension as to its quality. Since the announcement of the reform, resistance movements, researchers and educators have discussed the curricular flexibility suggested by the BNCC, claiming that it contributes to deepening educational inequalities, instead of reducing them.

2 Methodology

The work is based on a qualitative perception that aims to articulate the analysis of social relationships in specific contexts (MARCONI; LAKATOS, 2007).

The development of this work resulted from a literature review and consultations with documents that deal with the theme discussed. A literature review was developed, which dialogues with the theoretical framework of the policy cycle of Stephen Ball (1998), in addition to research and publications of Brazilian researchers who dialogue with the production of knowledge Ball and Mainardes (2011), Lopes (2010, 2012, 2013) and Lopes and Macedo (2011 e 2021).
Concurrently with the literature review, consultations were conducted and study of documents that guide the implementation of the BNCC, understanding that these legal discourses should be understood as results of multiple social contexts that act on the policy and as attempts to represent the policies (BALL, 2011). Such perspective is supported by the understanding that "the fact that we select for research documents produced within the Ministry of Education does not mean that we consider such texts as an exclusive production of this instance or that only mobilize meanings associated with governmental instances" (LOPES, 2010, p. 32).

The process of building the policy considers the dynamics of all contexts: influence, practice and text production, mobilization, presentation of the proposal to the school community, adherence process and continuing education offered. Such categories allow one to analyze the interrelation between the speeches in the definition of the policy in the contextual dimensions that influenced the process of signification, and should be considered: "situated contexts, professional cultures, material contexts and external contexts" (BALL; MAGUIRE; BRAUN, 2016, p. 38).

3 Results and Discussion

Curriculum Conceptions and Policies

Before reaffirming the position in relation to the conception of curriculum and curriculum policies, it is necessary to review, briefly, the different conceptions and characteristics that have developed in the formation of the field of curriculum study. The course of the last 50 years points to theoretical formations that complement, diverge and deny the bases already formulated. The "[...] curriculum is the link between culture and society outside the school and education; between inherited knowledge and culture and student learning; between theory (ideas, assumptions and aspirations) and possible practice, given certain conditions" (SACRISTÁN, 1999, p.61). The aforementioned conception brings us to a binarism that second-guesses the school and the student the
another that receives a consolidated product, putting them in a condition of passivity before an already determined reality.

Another curricular perspective stood out between the 1970s and 1990s, with approaches that advocate the formation of different levels of curriculum. With this,

Until the 1960s, theories that emphasized the prescriptive character of the curriculum were preeminent in Brazil. In order to (a) prescribe and intervene; (b) select and order the content in each of the school and academic subjects; (c) adapt it to the different levels of schooling; and (d) indicate the methods considered more favorable to the transmission of the selected knowledge [...] (OLIVEIRA, 2017, p.98).

The predominant curriculum approaches, in the context mentioned above, encourage a concept of banking education and curriculum, which assume a set of knowledge already established historically, with emphasis on academic knowledge to the detriment of the specificities of the knowledge that are part of local contexts. In the 1970s, the correspondence or reproduction theories (BOURDIEU; PASSERON, 1982) emerged, which began to question the social role of the school institution, consequently, the representation of the curriculum as a field that produces relations of control and reproduction of social and educational inequalities.

The movement triggered by critical theories of curriculum "[...] put on the agenda other possibilities of meaning knowledge, and this, until hegemonic in its academic perspective, began to be understood in a direct association with the political and economic power" (OLIVEIRA, 2017, p. 99). The critical theories of curriculum begin to formulate criticism to the technicist conception of organization of school knowledge.

In the mid-1980s, the movement that strengthens the search for a curriculum based on recontextualization is constituted, with emphasis on the respective aspects:

(a) the practice in schools as private, evidencing a school culture; (b) the concept of the reflective teacher, defending the redefinition of the formal curriculum by the teacher; (c) the life stories of teachers [...] (d) research in/on/with everyday life, which advocates knowledge networks. Criticism of his idea of universalism becomes central. [...] this criticism opened spaces for the conception of curriculum as a locus of meaning production. (OLIVEIRA, 2017, p. 99).
With this, we realize that we have a process that, according to Lopes (2013, p. 09), is characterized "as if the curriculum had evolved from traditional theories to critical theories of modern and structuralist focus to then move to post-critical theories". Also according to the above-mentioned author, in the process of consolidation, provisional, of the curriculum field, the philosophical foundations that problematize the founding principles of the critical approach are demarcated as post-critical theories. In Brazil, the researches linked to the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), through the Research Group Currículo: sujeitos, conhecimentos e cultura, focused on curriculum thinking, "integrates critical and post-structural studies, with emphasis on discursive approaches" (LOPES, 2010, p. 35).

Among the mentioned conceptions of curriculum, it is necessary to delimit to understand the elaboration of meanings in relation to BNCC. With this, we define the post-critical perspective of curriculum to support the current analysis. Therefore, represent the curriculum as a space of struggle and creation and re-signification of meanings, i.e., a space of disputes in search of consolidating and legitimizing representations (LOPES; MACEDO, 2011). Given this conception of curriculum understood and accepted, the BNCC can be considered beyond the basis for developing school curricula, as presented, but consider it curriculum.

Thus, we seek, briefly, to present the theoretical contributions that underpin the construction of this object of study, being evidenced throughout the text some focuses that seem central to the debate.

To systematize the writing of this text, we start from a perspective that assumes the curriculum as the result of a process that goes beyond a fixed product. Thus, it is a social construction that is the result of a process of social mobilization that seeks to legitimize certain historically produced knowledge, having along the process, systematization of hegemonic cultures. That is, an approach that understands its contextualization as a signifier inserted in a discursive approach (LOPES, 2012).

Thus, we start from the assumption that curriculum policies face recontextualizations during the aforementioned contexts. According to Lopes (2010), the
Curricular recontextualization occurs through the texts and discourses when they assume a hybrid character, while they are displaced from the initial issues and relations and inserted in new issues and relations, therefore, producing new senses and meanings for the established clippings. By analyzing how these curricular policies have been structured over the past decades, it is observed that the results of school curricula:

These are territories of political disputes where the education to be offered and/or built for children, youth, and adults of a given society is at stake. The disputes have not always been fair and legitimate and can produce humanly devastating curricular processes that, instead of promoting the overcoming of inequalities and respect for diversity, prevent school subjects from emancipating themselves, keeping them away from their rights, such as the right to have in school life an experience of dignity building. (PONCE, 2018, p. 786).

The 1990's marked not only the intensification of post-critical conceptions of curriculum, but also represented a milestone in the expansion of national curriculum proposals such as the National Curriculum Parameters (BRAZIL, 1997) and the National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education (BRAZIL, 1998).

National Curricular Parameters (PCNs) and the National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education. "In this dynamic, different policies are thought seeking to overcome the deficits pointed out in these results, especially policies aimed at restructuring school curricula" (LIMA; SILVA; SILVA, 2020, p. 455).

As a way to understand the processes of circulation and appropriation of the discourses that accompany curriculum policies, we recall the actions of disclosure of the National Curricular Parameters for Secondary Education, verifying a wide circulation of its principles. Such circulation does not necessarily result in direct and in-depth readings of the text or through consistent debates in schools, but, certainly, of the different reinterpretations made in formations and curriculum proposals and textbooks (ABREU; LOPES, 2006). Based on this discursive mobilization, we seek to discuss the meanings of quality that were part of the mobilization process for the formulation of the BNCC for high school.
Quality meaning in the BNCC of high school

Assumed our theoretical positions in relation to the conception of curriculum and curriculum policies, we begin in this topic a discussion that aims to highlight the discursive representations (LOPES, 2010; LOPES; MACEDO; 2010) that circumscribe the formulation of the BNCC in relation to the search for the meaning of quality of Brazilian basic education.

For this, we resume the legal foundations that support the formulation of the base document, such as the Federal Constitution (CF) of 1988, in its article no. 206, establishes principles such as "guarantee of quality standard" (BRASIL, 1988, p. 114), guiding the organization and supply of Brazilian education. Article 211, in turn, reinforces the rights to quality education by establishing "The minimum standard of quality referred to in § 1 of this article will consider the appropriate conditions of supply and will have as reference the Cost Pupil Quality (CAQ), agreed in collaboration [..]" (BRASIL, 1988, p. 115). The Federal Constitution represented, historically, a breakthrough in the recognition of subjective educational rights.

The propositions assumed in the Constitution were the basis for the formulation of the Law of Directives and Bases for National Education (LDBEN), in 1996, which reaffirms, in articles, paragraphs, and clauses, the quality of Brazilian education. In the text, among the foundations of quality, it refers to "[..] minimum standards of teaching quality, defined as the minimum variety and quantity, per student, of indispensable inputs for the development of the teaching-learning process" (BRASIL, 1996, p.02). In addition, the Law emphasizes:

[…] statistical surveys, studies and research aimed primarily at improving the quality and expansion of education.

[…] the supplementary and redistributive action of the Union and the States will be exercised in such a way as to progressively correct disparities in access and ensure a minimum standard of educational quality. (BRASIL, 1996, p. 28-29).
Another legal foundation of the BNCC is based on the propositions of the National Education Plan (PNE), which is valid from 2014 to 2024, establishing goals and strategies, emphasizing the sense of quality:

To promote the quality of basic education in all stages and modalities, with improvement in *school flow* and learning in order to achieve the following *national averages*: Triple the enrollment of high school technical professional education, ensuring the quality of supply and at least 50% (fifty percent) of the total number of students enrolled *expansion in the public segment* (BRASIL, 2014, p.21, emphasis added).

In general, we can observe that the first national norms (CF/1988 and LDBEN/1996) announce educational quality in general, announcing it as a right to be guaranteed. The PNE (2014-2024), as a plan, aims at the materialization of quality through goals and strategies for a limited period. By analyzing the propositions cited in the State policies, one can identify a perspective of quality that reduces it to factors such as school flow, national averages, and enrollment expansion. A reductionism of the concept of quality associated with the transmission of historically produced academic knowledge.

Besides the goals and strategies that seek to expand the conditions of quality, Law No. 13.005/2014 reiterates the need for "pedagogical guidelines for basic education and the common national basis of the curricula, with rights and objectives for learning and development of students for each year of primary and secondary education, respecting regional, state and local diversities" (BRASIL, 2014, p. 4). Thus, a discourse is intensified that fixes the sense of quality to a restricted conception of curriculum that resumes part of the theories that preceded the post-critical approaches.

It is recognized that the movement, which begins with the FC (1988), LDB (1996) and PNE (2014), results from a reformist movement outlined internationally, being placed that

The educational reforms designed from this movement were based on some central elements, among which the following stand out: intense decentralization processes; the creation of national systems of performance evaluation and teacher appreciation; curricular reforms; new forms of management of the educational systems (CABRAL, RODRIGUES, 2007, p.15).
With this, the State, as the social body that represents historically acquired social rights, assumes the responsibility to ensure and maintain the subjective right to ensure access to and permanence in public, free, lay and quality education, a banner of struggle defended by social movements, unions and civil society (ADRIÃO; PERONI, 2009).

These changes do not occur only in the field of education, since they are observed in social policies in general and result from the strategies adopted by hegemonic sectors as a response to the crisis of capitalism. In an attempt to better understand this movement, this text aims to reflect on the relations between the public power and the private sector in the management and supply of basic education (ADRIÃO; PERONI, 2009, p.107).

The change in perception resulted in the consolidation of evaluation systems of educational policies, based on the justification of the need for social control of the results obtained (FARIA, 2005). Currently, national (SAEB) and international (PISA) evaluations have sought to assess by comparing the performance achieved by national systems, and use the results obtained to formulate public policy in education. Besides the arguments already mentioned, the State is going through a process of resizing its functions, seeking mechanisms of control in relation to educational institutions.

[...]the introduction of the market in the educational field came to advocate competition, freedom of choice, and decentralization to allow, in theory, the so-called transparency of management, efficiency, and quality of educational institutions, in a supposedly neutral way, generating the depoliticization of the discussion of the complex issues of education. It is verified that “political ideology is replaced by a politics of rationality”. (CABRAL; RODRIGUES, 2007, p. 40, emphasis added).

In this sense, the policy of management by results results in the adherence and implementation of several programs, projects, and policies that have as their main purpose the quality of the education offered. This analysis corroborates Dourado and Bueno (2001), when they highlight the actions and reflexes of managerial management in education in the 1990s, “a managerial jargon of efficiency, effectiveness, and total quality, enables the emergence of modalities of privatization of the public: public
schools paid, autonomous, contracted, service providers and partners” (DOURADO; BUENO, 2001, p.55). Regarding High School, it is identified that,

In this sense, our object of study emerges from the sociopolitical movement that is configured in the weaving of the following initiatives: a) Proposal for Constitutional Amendment No. 95/2016; b) Provisional Measure No. 746/2016; c) Law No. 13. 415/2017; and d) Common National Curricular Base - High School Stage, considering the context of educational inequalities that characterizes Brazilian education (LIMA; SILVA; SILVA, 2021, p. 454).

We will take the processing and approval of the BNCC as an example of discursive construction. For the approval of the BNCC, there was initially a public consultation process of the first version of the text. After numerous criticisms regarding the initial text, in May 2016, the second version of the BNCC was released. According to the Ministry of Education, the debates were centered in institutional spaces such as seminars and meetings, as well as by the, held by the state education secretariats in all units of the Federation, under the coordination of the National Council of Education Secretaries (Consed) and the National Union of Municipal Education Officers (Undime).

Given the mobilizations, articulations and battles involved, the BNCC, approved on December 15, 2017, by the National Council of Education (CNE) (BRASIL, 2019), is legally characterized as a “[...] normative document that defines the organic and progressive set of essential learning that all students should develop throughout the stages and modalities of Basic Education (BRASIL, 2019, p. 7).

In this sense, the policies, which point curriculum changes, are planned, formulated and implemented based on the association of discourses that relate curriculum reforms to the quality of education. In this sense, Lopes (2012) states that it is necessary to rethink how the official texts, which circulate with the conjunctions of curriculum policies, are reinterpreted and, thus, how curriculum policies are produced in different spaces. In short, it would be the search for understanding what are the meanings and senses produced in the (re)readings of the conceptions, practices, values, clashes, disputes and intentions of these texts. Thus, according to the literature that guides this study, it is about understanding that the search for hegemonizing positions that we call politics could be described as the attempt to transform the meanings
contingent and partial in universal signification (LOPES, 2012). Thus, we agree with the idea that:

The assertion of a lack of quality in basic education in the country and the consequent socio-educational crisis related to this lack of quality have been ensuring the articulation of multiple demands that are supposed to be impossible to meet due to the crisis. At the same time that such articulation - and the groups produced by it - only exist because of the crisis itself (LOPES; MACEDO, 2021, p. 2).

The arguments that integrate the interpretation of curriculum policies point, in different feelings, to the intrinsic relationship between quality and curriculum. In this search, the quality is characterized as a political claim for the definition of fixed identities in this struggle, considering that the political struggle allows to elaborate processes of identification of subjects with certain projects of quality, starting from the assumption that there are established projects that dispute the hegemony of senses and meanings (BALL, 2011).

Understanding the processes of mobilization and political negotiations in the search for the meaning of quality, in progress, in the preparation of the Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC), means recognizing that there is in progress a set of "educational and curricular policies in Brazil that have been legitimized from the production of an idea of crisis of education. This idea of crisis acts as a constitutive exterior of the discourse - at the same time a hegemony and a practice - of intervention" (LOPES; MACEDO, 2021, p. 2).

Given what the official discourse presents about the purpose of the base, the impacts, as a public policy, that it represents in terms of reform and dispute in society, we assume that, in this process of implementation, disputes occur at various times for the filling of the meanings of quality education, the floating meanings with which conceptions of a quality education was filled. In this way, quality is understood as a process of provisional condensation that hegemonized some of these meanings to the detriment of others.

According to Lopes (2012), one should understand that the quality of education from the primes of the curriculum, considering, then, the category quality as projections to
it is not possible to standardize a single alternative, since there are multiple contexts that produce meanings for this quality. Thus, concomitantly to the process of meaning the quality of the curriculum, the meaning of a democratic society project is built.

However, we should understand that we are not talking about fixed meanings, but provisional processes of signification. Thus, we believe that there are, in the dynamics of the production of curriculum policies, processes that could be described as a signification, for which it is necessary to exclude a set of other possibilities of meanings inscribed in the very practice of assigning meanings (MACEDO, 2016).

Finally, we understand that the BNCC, anchored in the discourse of increasing the quality of education, triggers bases for the formation of national and local curricula, with the assumption of universalization of learning through hegemonic knowledge as guidance. Thus, we close the discussions with the “challenge we face is to think about public policies on curriculum, understanding curriculum as a significant practice, as a space-time of production of meaning” (LOPES; MACEDO, 2021, p. 5).

4 Final considerations

The dialogues that permeate the formulation and implementation of the BNCC have gained support in the debate about educational policies, focusing on curriculum policies, with the reform of high school as the core of the discussions, which has been subjected to significant curricular changes. Thus, the questions of this work focused on analyzing the meaning of quality in the contexts of mobilization of the curriculum policy present in the BNCC of High School, recalling legal milestones that address the issue of quality of Brazilian education. For this, we presented the conceptions and policies of curriculum, which face recontextualizations. we resumed the legal foundations that support the formulation of the base document, for knowledge of the meanings and discursive mobilizations that are articulated in order to create meanings of quality based on hegemonic representations and, finally, the arguments that integrate the interpretation
of the BNCC of curriculum policies point, in different feelings, to the intrinsic relationship between quality and curriculum.

We know that it is not possible to exhaust the debate on these issues with this article, however, the text emphasized that discussing the meaning of quality in the BNCC for high school goes beyond studying one more reform, it is to provoke questions about the comprehensive training of millions of young people, the discourse that defines the suggested directions for high school, reflect on the main intentions of these projects, taking into account the context of implementation. Such propositions were focused on curriculum policy, specifically the BNCC, because it is characterized as an instrument of power, surrounded by struggles, interests and projects for education.

Given the readings and considering the justification for the reform of secondary education, which materializes the need to meet the demands of modernization of the globalized world, it is noted that the argument of increasing the quality of education suggested curriculum reforms, opening the door to national curriculum policies. It can be considered that the discussion and drafting process of the BNCC was justified by the results of external evaluations that indicate, mainly, the issues of failure rates and enrollment. Thus, the discourse of formulating a common base as an alternative to overcome the deficits in education minimizes the other factors (working conditions, contextual curricula, initial and continuing teacher training, valuing education professionals, democratization of the school, among others) that are relevant to a public education. Therefore, the discursive formations in favor of the BNCC seek to signify a concept of decontextualized and content-based curriculum.

References


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