


The “new” high school reform in Goiás: the course of the pathways is the limitation of education

A reforma “novo” Ensino Médio em Goiás: o curso das trilhas é a limitação da formação

La “nueva” reforma de la Escuela Secundaria en Goiás: el curso de los senderos es la limitación de la formación

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Received: October 18, 2024

Accepted: November 03, 2024

Published: May 26, 2025

ABSTRACT

The text analyzes the perspective of high school education from the State Department of Education of Goiás – SEDUC/GO, as expressed in the Curricular Document for Goiás – High School (DCGO-EM). Its main objective is to understand the organization of pedagogical work projected for high schools in Goiás. Between 2019 and 2021, SEDUC/GO developed new guidelines for basic education, with a special focus on restructuring high school, which is now organized in accordance with the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC). This article, based on bibliographical research and Content Analysis of the Curricular Document for Goiás, seeks to present how the counter-reform “New” High School is assimilated and the sense of education projected in the text and context of Goiás. The analytical path of the document under investigation uses categories such as work, work-education, and revolution/restoration as fundamental mediations for dialogue. The research highlights a High School project biased by the interests of large economic-business groups, by the breakdown of the general basic education principle, the privileging of certain curricular components, the restriction of the possibilities of choices and dialogue, and the uncritical affirmation of managerial quality ideology.

Keywords: New High School; BNCC; Curriculum Document for Goiás.

RESUMO

O texto analisa a perspectiva de Ensino Médio da Secretaria de Estado da Educação de Goiás – SEDUC/GO, expressa no *Documento Curricular para Goiás – Ensino Médio* (DCGO-EM). Tem como objetivo principal compreender o sentido de organização de trabalho pedagógico que se projeta para as escolas de Ensino Médio em Goiás. Entre os anos de 2019 e 2021 a SEDUC/GO elabora novas diretrizes da educação básica, com enfoque especial na reestruturação do Ensino Médio, que passa a organizar-se em conformidade com a Base Nacional Comum Curricular (BNCC). Busca-se com esse artigo produzido a partir da pesquisa bibliográfica e da Análise de Conteúdo do *Documento Curricular para Goiás*, apresentar como a contrarreforma “Novo” Ensino Médio é assimilada e qual o sentido de formação que se projeta no texto e no contexto goiano. O percurso analítico do documento objeto da investigação tem as categorias trabalho, trabalho-educação, revolução/restauração como mediações fundamentais da interlocução. A pesquisa evidencia um projeto de Ensino Médio enviesado pelos interesses dos grandes grupos econômicos-empresariais, pela quebra do princípio de formação geral básica, pelo privilégio de componentes curriculares, pela restrição das possibilidades de escolhas e de diálogo, pela afirmação acrítica da ideologia da gestão da qualidade gerencial.

Palavras-chave: Novo Ensino Médio; BNCC; Documento Curricular para Goiás.

RESUMEN

El texto analiza la perspectiva de la Educación Secundaria desde la Secretaría de Educación del Estado de Goiás – SEDUC/GO, expresada en el Documento Curricular de Goiás - Educación Secundaria (DCGO-EM). Su principal objetivo es comprender el significado de la organización del trabajo pedagógico diseñado para las escuelas secundarias de Goiás. Entre los años 2019 y 2021, la SEDUC/GO elabora nuevos lineamientos para la educación básica, con especial enfoque en la reestructuración de la Educación Secundaria, la cual ahora se organiza de acuerdo con la Base Curricular Común Nacional (BNCC). Este artículo, elaborado a partir de una investigación bibliográfica y del Análisis de Contenido del Documento Curricular de Goiás, busca presentar cómo se asimila la “Nueva” contrarreforma de la Educación Secundaria y cuál es el significado de formación que se proyecta en el texto y en el contexto de Goiás. El recorrido analítico del documento investigado tiene las categorías trabajo, trabajo-educación, revolución/restauración como mediaciones fundamentales del diálogo. La investigación destaca un proyecto de Escuela Secundaria sesgado por los intereses de grandes grupos económico-empresariales, por romper el principio de formación general básica, por privilegiar componentes curriculares, por restringir las

posibilidades de elección y de diálogo, por la afirmación acrítica de la ideología gerencial de los directivos.

Palabras clave: Nueva Escuela Secundaria; BNCC; Documento Curricular de Goiás.

Introduction

Provisional Measure 746/2016, which reforms high school education, should be understood as an announcement of the rupture in the balance of power that has contested the priority in high school reform in Brazil since the 1990s. According to Neves (2005), the political reopening and the national redemocratization process from the late 1980s onwards are characterized by the emergence of an active civil society, that is, through the actions of mass organizations, collective subjects, social groups, and political parties of both the left and right with their own interests, yet seeking active consensus.

The Law of Guidelines and Bases for National Education (*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* - LDB 934/96) is one of the material expressions of this context. It aims to break away from the distortions of the educational project during the Military Dictatorship era through a broad redefinition of the legal frameworks of national education, including legislation that encompasses the education of youth populations. The LDB 9394/1996 mobilizes different political, social, and economic agents who become involved in the national movement to structure an alternative to Secondary Education.

According to Coraggio (1999), in the 1990s, international multilateral organizations proposed the invention of a modern citizenship as a solution to the global economic crisis of the 1970s/1980s, a condition that could only be achieved by deepening democracy, promoting social cohesion, equity, and participation, essential conditions for increasing international competitiveness and access to goods and services, as outlined in numerous reports by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (*Comissão Econômica para a América Latina e Caribe* - CEPAL) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In this circuit of productive restructuring, where hegemony depends on

possible agreements, formal education becomes a central issue and a development axis, according to Coraggio. The high school reform in Brazil, which took place from the late 1990s until 2016, directly engages with this entire context.

The 2016 Coup marked a breakdown in the pursuit of this possible consensus. All reforms negotiated from the 1996 LDB to the National Curricular Guidelines for High School (2011) experienced a disruption immediately after Vice President Michel Temer took office. The effort to construct a legal framework for high school, as expressed in initial documents like the National High School Curricular Parameters (1995/1998) and the National Curricular Guidelines for High School (1998), was supplanted by Provisional Measure 746/2016.

The counter-reform "new" high school began with Provisional Measure 746/2016. By establishing 1,400 hours as the minimum annual workload, but reducing the components of general basic education, determining a National Common Curricular Base, and allowing curricular flexibility through educational pathways, it became clear that the intent of youth schooling should be different, both in form and content.

Law 13,415/2017, which converts Provisional Measure 746/2016 into an actual legal standard and grants the National Common Curricular Base (*Base Nacional Comum Curricular* - BNCC, 2017) the prerogative to "define learning rights and objectives for high school," is a development of the institutional rupture promoted by the 2016 Coup. From its sanction in February 2017 onwards, it became imperative for all states and municipalities to reorganize their education systems.

The State of Goiás began its reform in 2019 and completed the first phase at the end of 2021 with the publication of the Curricular Document for Goiás – High School. This document reflects the effort undertaken by Goiás State Department of Education (*Secretaria de Estado da Educação de Goiás* - SEDUC-GO).

Resulting from almost three years of development, from December 2018 to October 2021, the document comprises approximately 1,397 pages of a detailed redesign of the curricular structure and the perspective of organizing pedagogical work for Basic Education in Goiás.

Analyzing this process at a local level is the purpose of this work. The starting point of the bibliographic and documentary study is the curricular restructuring initiated in the 1990s. From there, a study is developed on the concept of organizing pedagogical work projected in the 2021 counter-reform.

Through the mediation of the theoretical-methodological categories of work, work-education, and revolution-restoration, the issue of implementing the "new" high school in Goiás is discussed.

Using the technique of Content Analysis, a critical inquiry of the Curricular Document for Goiás – High School is developed. The operations of comparison and classification that involve understanding the similarities and differences of an object in the complexity of its historical, economic, and sociocultural development, are the fundamental actions of the methodological approach adopted for the theoretical apprehension of the document, as per Franco (2012).

Thus, more than describing the details, the aim is to identify through the historical-dialectical synthesis the meanings expressed in the lines and between the lines of the Goiás counter-reform.

The article is the result of scientific research initiated in 2021 with the institutional support of the Provost Office for Research of the State University of Goiás (*Universidade Estadual de Goiás – UEG*) and funding from the Goiás State Research Support Foundation (*Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Goiás – FAPEG*).

Over two years, the national movement for the implementation of the "New High School" reform was monitored, with a special focus on the changes projected for the Full-Time Education Centers of SEDUC-GO.

In this specific study, the object of analysis is Volume IV of the document approved by the State Education Council as the new state curricular base for high school in Goiás. It is a document that should be understood as the extract through which the State Department of Education presents the epistemological bases of its conception of school, education, curriculum, youth, and comprehensive education, renewing its strategy of linking high school to the ideology of skills and competencies and tying the education of youth to the rationality of flexible production.

The regime of flexible accumulation “is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, highly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation”¹ (Harvey, 1993, p. 140). The uneven and combined movement of capitalist productive restructuring meant that after the 2016 Coup, conservative political forces found in Brazil the ideal objective conditions for a radical alignment between high school education and the context described by David Harvey. This is one of the main arguments developed throughout the text.

The work is organized as follows: an initial discussion highlights the cause/effect links between the power project established after the Impeachment and the breaking of the equilibrium in the correlation of forces that, since the 1990s, had been seeking to transform secondary education into a high school experience. Then, it analyzes how the national movement for the “new” high school reform, established by Law 13,415/2017 and the BNCC, is interpreted by the State of Goiás.

In this second section, the Curricular Document for Goiás is presented as the material synthesis that expresses the rupture/continuity with the 2011/2019 Reference Curriculum reform, through which the Full-Time Study Centers (*Centros de Estudo em Período Integral* - CEPs) were created in the State.

The final part of the argument demonstrates that the authoritarian interruption of the pro-redemocratization pact breaks the possible consensus, characteristic of capitalist hegemony in Brazil between the 1990s and 2016, and creates the necessary conditions for the radical integration of high school into the flexible accumulation regime.

¹ Original: “(...) caracteriza-se pelo surgimento de setores de produção inteiramente novos, novas maneiras de fornecimentos de serviços financeiros, novos mercados e sobretudo taxas altamente intensificadas de inovação comercial, tecnológica e organizacional” (Harvey, 1993, p. 140).

The counter-reform of the *Curricular Document for Goiás*: the “new” High School in Full-Time Education Centers

The high school reform in Goiás began in the late 1990s. Amidst advances, setbacks, continuities, and disruptions, it developed until 2019. The *Curricular Reorientation: Curriculum in Debate* booklets and the *Reference Curriculum*, produced between 2004 and 2019, are two main milestones in this transformation circuit. In this search for the state's adaptation to the new legal order established by the 1996 LDB, the implementation of Full-Time Education Centers (*Centros de Ensino em Período Integral* - CEPis) in 2013 is highlighted.

Through a partnership between the State Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (SEDUCE/GO)¹ and the Social Organization Institute of Co-responsibility for Education (ICE), Goiás launched its first full-time high school experience.

More precisely, SEDUCE replicated in certain high schools selected in Goiânia, an integral high school experience created in Pernambuco in 2002. This initiative aimed to "develop innovations in content, method, and management to tackle high school challenges (...)" (ICE, 2022, n/p). Goiás contracted with ICE the so-called Socio-educational Business Technology (TESE), outlined in the *School of Choice* guide, a model of extended daily hours (full-time) and a diversified nucleus of curricular components centered on the ideology of Life Projects and Youth Protagonism, organized according to the management tools of the flexible productive processes and systems, the so-called Planning, Execution, Monitoring, and Adjustments (PDCA) cycles of the Toyotist matrix.

Starting in 2018, with the rise of authoritarian forces following the 2016 Coup, the Goiás reform took on a new meaning, becoming a counter-reform. The management of the implementation of the “new” high school, projected by Law 13,415/2017, was entrusted by the elections to Governor Ronaldo Caiado, then an ally of elected President Jair Bolsonaro and a national figure of *União Brasil*, a party formed by the merger of DEM and PSL.

In a context of social isolation due to the COVID-19 pandemic and limited input from school communities due to the dynamics adopted for structuring the “new” high school in Goiás, the *Curricular Document for Goiás – High School* was developed.

In 2019, SEDUC/GO created a working group tasked with drafting a sort of political-pedagogical project for the “new” high school and opening channels of dialogue with education professionals, parents, and students interested in contributing suggestions, criticisms, and evaluations of all that was being proposed. According to Alves and Oliveira (2022), it was a façade of a participative reform because external contributions, occurring during the gradual reopening of educational units, were limited to consultations via electronic questionnaires and, at most, occasional in-person interventions during the so-called “D-Day” of the National Common Curricular Base, proposed by the Ministry of Education as a strategy to engage school communities across the country.

Apart from these sporadic participation opportunities, all document writing and dissemination actions took place through live streams. Even the public hearing approving the final text by the State Education Council, held in 2021, was conducted virtually.

The entire *Curricular Document – High School Phase* (DCGO/EM), the synthesis of the “new” high school counter-reform for Goiás, not only reflects these silences and gaps but also corresponds to a selective dialogue with the gradually negotiated reform until then.

Conceptually managed by Reúna Institute, a consortium comprising the Lemann Foundation, the investment multinational Imaginable Futures, Iungo Institute, the Maria Cecília Vidigal Foundation, and the Itaú Social and Roberto Marinho Foundations, the *Curricular Document for Goiás – High School* can be seen as a project that radicalizes the core bourgeois elements already present in the previous two reforms. It turns the Socio-educational Business Technology (TESE) into state policy. The educational quality control technologies are highlighted with the 2021 counter-reform.

The Common Core, which up to Law 13,415/2017 and the BNCC ensured the general basic education of high school, is now organized into 2,160 hours, 240 hours less than the previous 2,400 from the Guidelines of 1998 and 2012². Apart from this reduction, there is a hierarchy of basic curricular components, dominated by the Portuguese Language and Mathematics binary. The document increases the hours for both, keeping them, along with English as a foreign language, as the only mandatory subjects for all three high school years.

The general education core hours are divided according to SEDUC/GO's value scale: Portuguese Language and Mathematics, with 440 hours each. Physics, Chemistry, Geography, Biology, and History, 200 hours each. Modern Foreign Language English, 120 hours. Art, Physical Education, Philosophy, and Sociology, 40 hours each. Modern Foreign Language Spanish is simply excluded from the curricular matrix.

The new matrix projects a perspective of essential curricular components (Portuguese Language and Mathematics) and accessory curricular components (Physical Education, Arts, Sociology, Philosophy). For the second group, the proposed hours in the document are limited to the minimum possible, 40 hours distributed exclusively in the first year.

ISSN: 1984-6444 | <http://dx.doi.org/10.5902/1984644489413>

Figure 1

MATRIZ CURRICULAR SEDUC-GO - ENSINO MÉDIO DIURNO 30 HORAS

	ÁREAS DO CONHECIMENTO	COMPONENTES CURRICULARES	1ª série 2020		2ª série 2021		3ª série 2022		CH TOTAL
			CHS	CHA	CHS	CHA	CHS	CHA	
FORMAÇÃO GERAL BÁSICA BNCC	I- LINGUAGENS E SUAS TECNOLOGIAS	Língua Portuguesa	4	160	3	120	4	160	440
		Arte	1	40	-	-	-	-	40
		Educação Física	1	40	-	-	-	-	40
		Língua Estrangeira Moderna - Inglês	1	40	1	40	1	40	120
	II- CIÊNCIAS DA NATUREZA E SUAS TECNOLOGIAS	Física	2	80	1	40	2	80	200
		Química	2	80	1	40	2	80	200
		Biologia	2	80	2	80	1	40	200
	III- MATEMÁTICA E SUAS TECNOLOGIAS	Matemática	4	160	3	120	4	160	440
	IV- CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS E SOCIAIS APLICADAS	História	2	80	2	80	1	40	200
		Geografia	2	80	2	80	1	40	200
		Filosofia	1	40	-	-	-	-	40
		Sociologia	1	40	-	-	-	-	40
	SUBTOTAL		23	920	15	600	16	640	2.160
ITINERÁRIOS FORMATIVOS FLEXIBILIZAÇÃO CURRICULAR	1 – ELETIVAS NÚCLEO DIRIGIDO O/A estudante escolhe uma entre as duas eletivas ofertadas em cada bloco.	Tópicos de Língua Portuguesa	1	40	1	40	1	40	120
		Produção de Texto							
		Tópicos de Matemática	1	40	1	40	1	40	120
		Geometria							
		Tópicos de Educação Física	1	40	-	-	-	-	40
		Desporto Educacional e Motricidade							
		Tópicos de Língua Inglesa	1	40	-	-	-	-	40
		Tópicos de Espanhol							
	2 - PROJETO DE VIDA	Projeto de Vida	1	40	1	40	1	40	120
	3 – ELETIVAS NÚCLEO LIVRE As unidades escolares propõem a partir do interesse dos/as estudantes e realidade local.	1ª série propor no mínimo 3 opções	Opção A		1	40	-	-	40
			Opção B		1	40	-	-	40
			Opção C		1	40	-	-	40
		2ª série propor no mínimo 2 opções	Opção A		-	-	1	40	40
			Opção B		-	-	1	40	40
		3ª série propor no mínimo 2 opções	Opção A		-	-	-	1	40
			Opção B		-	-	-	1	40
	4 - TRILHAS DE APROFUNDAMENTO (Itinerários Formativos)	Itinerário Integrado de:	-	-	11	440	10	400	840
		Itinerário Integrado de:	-	-					
		Itinerário de Linguagens	-	-					
		Itinerário de Matemática	-	-					
		Itinerário de Ciências da Natureza	-	-					
		Itinerário de Ciências Humanas e Sociais Aplicadas	-	-					
	SUBTOTAL		07	280	15	600	14	560	1440
	TOTAL GERAL		30	1.200	30	1.200	30	1.200	3.600

1393

Source: (GOIÁS, 2021, p. 1393)

In this sense, it can be observed that, paradoxically, there is not even an effort to overcome the logic of disciplinary serialization and content-focused teaching, which forms the backbone of a high school system that the document itself criticizes in its introductory pages but faithfully reproduces in its conception of curricular organization and the rationale of pedagogical work organization projected from it.

High school in Goiás, despite being offered in full-time schools, retains the logic of classes distributed at fixed times, framing knowledge into content prescribed by SEDUC through a bimonthly schedule to be taught in rigid 50-minute sessions (class time), assessed by internal evaluations (weekly multiple-choice tests by areas of knowledge) and standardized external exams.

The perspective of a centralized and prescriptive curricular matrix prevails. The DCGO-EM prescribes almost all teaching activities in its nearly 1,400 pages, as evidenced by its numerous action descriptors.

Figure 2

ENSINO MÉDIO Língua Portuguesa, Arte, Educação Física, Línguas Espanhola e Inglesa
COMPETÊNCIA ESPECÍFICA 1 Compreender o funcionamento das diferentes linguagens e práticas culturais (artísticas, corporais e verbais) e mobilizar esses conhecimentos na recepção e produção de discursos, nos diferentes campos de atuação social e nas diversas mídias, para ampliar as formas de participação social, o entendimento e as possibilidades de explicação e interpretação crítica da realidade e para continuar aprendendo.

Source: DC-GOEM (GOIÁS, 2021, p. 193)

Figure 3

ENSINO MÉDIO - Educação Física				
COMPETÊNCIA ESPECÍFICA 5 Compreender os processos de produção e negociação de sentidos nas práticas corporais, reconhecendo-as e vivenciando-as como formas de expressão de valores e identidades, em uma perspectiva democrática e de respeito à diversidade.				
HABILIDADES DA BNCC	OBJETIVOS DE APRENDIZAGEM-GO	CAMPOS DE ATUAÇÃO	PRÁTICAS DE LINGUAGEM	OBJETOS DE CONHECIMENTO
(EM13LGG501) Selecionar e utilizar movimentos corporais de forma consciente e intencional para interagir socialmente em práticas corporais, de modo a estabelecer relações construtivas, empáticas, éticas e de respeito às diferenças.	(GO-EMLGG501A) Identificar os princípios técnicos e táticos dos esportes de marca, de campo, de arremesso e taco, sintetizando essas semelhanças em uma nova prática, aplicando em diferentes contextos de modo a estabelecer relações construtivas, empáticas, éticas e de respeito às diferenças, além de apreciar a prática como entretenimento.	Campo de atuação na vida pública	Esporte	Fundamentos de Técnica. Fundamentos de Tática. Práticas esportivas dos povos indígenas.

Source: DC-GOEM (GOIÁS, 2021, p. 282)

Knowledge is literally framed. Curricular Units are organized bimonthly and proposed according to the ideology of competencies and skills. Learning objectives, fields of action, practices and knowledge objects, methodological and evaluative possibilities are meticulously controlled by the Document. There is clear codification of knowledge, as exemplified by the notation GO-EMLGG402A, one of the many identifiers for what must be done throughout the academic year.

In this sense, it can be said that the *Curricular Document for Goiás* establishes a new Common Core in practice. Instead of the general knowledge of each Curricular Component organized by areas in an interdisciplinary manner without any hierarchical discrimination, the document proposes a disciplinary matrix structured for and by interested knowledge, skewed by the ideology of skills and competencies and economic-managerial entrepreneurship.

The curricular flexibility, Youth Protagonism, and Life Project, the ideological tripod from the ICE's *School of Choice* manuals guiding the reform of Full-Time Education Centers in Goiás (CEPIs), remain the central core of the 2019 counter-reform. What is new is the reduction of hours for basic general education curricular components, overshadowed by the overvaluation of the Diversified Core, which

becomes the time/space for forming subjectivities fascinated by the idea of entrepreneurship and useful knowledge, which Gramsci (2000) would define as economically interested knowledge.

The *Curricular Document for Goiás* retains the four blocks of formative pathways from the Full-Time Education Center (CEPI) reform, distributed into Directed Core Electives (320 hours), Free Core Electives (160 hours), Life Project and Youth Protagonism (120 hours each). The innovation is the Deepening Pathways, with a time allocation of 840 hours, which can even be used for technical-professional training depending on students' choices.

For the Directed Core Electives, the principle of content hierarchy, competition among curricular components, and increased teaching workload also prevail. Despite a time allocation of 320 hours, many curricular components' content is simply not covered in the curricular structure. This is because schools must propose eight thematic topics at the beginning of the semester (two in Portuguese Language, two in Mathematics, one in Physical Education, one in Arts, one in English, and one in Spanish). Students are required to choose one Portuguese Language topic, one Mathematics topic, and only two more from the remaining six, which means there is a significant possibility that some curricular components could be excluded, even from the directed electives. Thus, besides preparing electives that may never be taught, teachers face a deliberate competition for teaching hours and job security in the school.

Another concerning element is that subjects like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, History, Sociology, and Philosophy are not included in the menu of options. Despite the term Directed Core Electives suggesting the presence of knowledge from all areas among the possible choices, the content of Natural Sciences and Applied Human and Social Sciences simply does not appear.

The Electives of the Diversified Core are based on the idea of education for activism. According to the *Curricular Document*, regarding these electives, "(...) a final product and/or culminant moment is recommended to encourage effective youth participation and the appreciation of their talents (...)" (DCGO-EM, 2021, p. 505).

Regardless of direct linkage to curricular components or interaction with any areas of knowledge, schools propose thematic blocks of 40 hours each for students to select and attend annually.

Besides representing the freedom for schools to apply practical knowledge, immediate actions, and pedagogical work subjected to the rationale of utility and the promotion of producing more value, they pose a risk of subordinating part of the teaching activity to particular interests, moral values, and class considerations of various kinds.

Since the validation criterion for the themes is the same as for the Directed Core Electives, being chosen by students, the Diversified Core Electives also risk creating additional work for teachers who might plan an elective that may or may not be selected. This could lead to insufficient hours to meet the minimum mandatory workload if the planned elective has no enrollees.

The Project of Life/Youth Protagonism pair from the Full-Time Education Center reform also remains. However, it has been redefined as a central element of the entire curriculum. In the *Curricular Document*, these become components with the status of basic general education. They are mandated across all three years of study in all curricular matrices (Integral, Regular, and Technical-Professional).

The expansion was made possible by reducing the hours of the curricular components Physical Education, Arts, Sociology, and Philosophy, which are now offered mandatorily only in the First Year with a reduced load of 40 hours, one-third of the time allocated to the Life Project, for example.

Defining a Life Project, even at 13/14 years old, and aspiring daily to be a protagonist becomes, between the lines of the document, merely a matter of making objective and precise choices, standing out individually, and taking responsibility for everything, including potential failures. "Protagonism is understood here as the quality of standing out in any event, [a condition] for young people to respond to their choices and assume responsibility for their actions" (DC-GOEM, 2021, p. 66 and 67).

In this process, high school is expected to "prepare young people to act more actively in the issues surrounding them, in their professional choices, in managing their emotions, dreams, and desires" (DC-GOEM, 2021, p. 517).

The idea of individual responsibility, the need for forming sufficiently strong subjectivities to withstand the transformations of the labor world, and the education of senses and feelings to adapt to the various facets of productive restructuring are uncritically identified by the *Curricular Document* as issues directly impacting the condition of being young and that must be addressed through adaptation and resilience. The *Curricular Document for Goiás* (2021, p. 64) naturalizes the structural crisis that has unfolded since the last two decades of the 20th century, interpreting it merely as "unequivocal changes the world is undergoing," and places the responsibility for supposed immediate success or failure on high school students. In this sense, the early adoption of a life project based on protagonistic attitudes is the solution proposed by SEDUC/GO.

The main break of the *Curricular Document* from the reform that created the Full-Time Education Centers in Goiás is the inclusion of Deepening Pathways among the elements of the Flexibility Core. The 840 hours dedicated exclusively to immersion in a theme of the students' choice allow SEDUC/GO to include technical-professional training in the formative pathways. Thus, in addition to a general curricular matrix, three specific matrices were created for the Integrated Technical courses in Chemistry, Informatics, and Administration.

On one hand, this offers a solution to the obligation of providing professionalization as an option; on the other, it attempts to address the main point of tension in the discussions on high school reform in Brazil since the 1990s. Historically, defining the role of technical education has always been the most heated point in discussions across all ideological spectrums.

Although the *Curricular Document for Goiás* anchors itself in the changes in the labor world to justify the need for a flexible curriculum, SEDUC limits the choices to three options. Considering that the matrices of the three courses structure components from both the Common Core and the Free Core around specific professional themes,

about 40% of the total high school workload in Goiás for those opting for professional pathways will be dedicated to instrumental technical training. This is at least a contradiction with the dynamics of a market that emphasizes the need for non-specialization due to the rapid transformation of the labor world and the skyrocketing rate of obsolescence in all professions.

In this restructuring, paradoxically, the discourse of plurality is denied by the document itself. The *Curricular Document for Goiás* reform hinders cultural diversity. Beyond limiting the right to choose due to the economic constraints of schools and/or the ideological bias of the political groups managing the state, the perspective of diversity is restricted by the impoverishment of the Common Core and the instrumental bias of the Diversified Core, which, in addition to promoting the activism of practical knowledge, includes the Professional Technical Training pathways with a specific, separate course, thus subverting the school through early specialization.

Final considerations

The juridical-media coup that removed President Dilma helps understand how the authoritarian response to weak reformism, as André Singer (2018) describes the governance pact of President Lula's first two terms, is crucial in disrupting the balance of forces in the national debate on integrating high school into the national basic education system.

The High School Law (13.415/2017) and the new perspective of the Common Curricular Base, two material syntheses of the rupture caused by the Impeachment, created conditions for the immediate and uncritical alignment of youth education with the capitalist productive restructuring that began in the 1980s and was unevenly and heavily negotiated in Brazil from the late 1990s to 2016.

The *Curricular Document for Goiás*, Goiás's adherence to the new national high school policy, reflects the update of a process organized with little dialogue and implemented swiftly and vertically from SEDUC to school level. The proposal of a

curricular document 'for' rather than 'from' emphasizes communication centered on transmission rather than dialogue.

Due to this limitation, the BNCC version for Goiás reproduces the original matrix's contradictions in both form and content. A primary contradiction is the reduction of hours in the Common Core, directly reducing the focus on the areas that structured the general basic education axis.

Curricular components projecting comprehensive education, beyond instrumental knowledge, have been reduced to the bare minimum. This represents a setback against the achievements of social movements that successfully included high school in the national basic education guidelines. The BNCC's foundational principle is of a different order.

The focus on education for work (early and precarious specialization), a persistent issue in youth education debates since the old Secondary Education, reappears in the "new" high school in Goiás. Instead of a unified school ensuring education beyond instrumental knowledge, projecting a foundational mediation in the ontogenesis of work, it promises a school of potential: the promise of choice, a career that ensures employment, a comprehensive education, a life project dependent solely on individual efforts to self-organize as an enterprise.

It is evident that one cannot criticize an educational perspective guided by the idea of becoming. However, it is curious, and one must argue against a high school reform proposal centered on assumptions contradicted by immediate evidence.

The perspective of comprehensive high school in the *Curricular Document for Goiás* expands schooling times and spaces, following the logic of curricular standardization; the depletion of the Common Core; the hierarchy of knowledge areas; the transformation of student movement culture into education for entrepreneurial subjectivities and individual life projects; and the conversion of a unified school into one of active experimentation, early differentiation, and interested knowledge.

The idea of the right to choose is not realized in the *Curricular Document for Goiás*. A single curricular matrix cannot possibly meet the desires, needs, and limitations of all youth, especially when choices are constrained by structural,

ideological, and economic barriers, limiting options to those predetermined by higher bureaucratic levels, both in schools and the State Department of Education.

How, for example, can one speak of the right to choose and creating a curriculum preparing youth for a constantly changing labor world but offer, without justification, only three professions: technician in administration, chemistry, and informatics? How can one speak of comprehensive education while reducing the Common Core by nearly 150 hours? How can one stress education through work while minimizing curricular components essential for a well-rounded education to just 40 hours in the first high school year?

Even if the ideal model for a future world were the *homo empreendis*, the belief in Goiás would be far from realization. As basic management guides indicate, one cannot form a self-reliant individual capable of making decisions, choosing, and organizing as a successful individual enterprise without a solid foundational education.

A person is realized and projects as a being of transcendence through full immersion in aesthetic, sensory, philosophical, sociological experiences, and diverse forms of language produced by humanity's primary power, the work.

Only a unified high school capable of ensuring access to the entirety of humanity's cultural legacy can project, instead of the entrepreneurial personality, the collective subject. As Gramsci (2000) conceives, a political being who, even if unable to propose the right solution, is at least capable of judging among the politically possible solutions that preserve fundamental humanistic values, "intellectual self-discipline and moral autonomy."

To truly be comprehensive, high school must project a new social agent capable of making genuinely important choices, which cannot be prepared for without the help of a school structured as a cultural organization, rich in experiences and competent in fostering the intellectual self-discipline and moral autonomy of youth, a school far from what is announced in the "new" high school for Goiás.

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Notes

¹ During his last term with the Government of the State of Goiás from 2015 to 2018, Governor Marconi Perillo implemented an administrative reform that merged the Departments of Sports and Culture into the structure of the Department of Education, creating SEDUCE, the Department of State for Education, Culture, and Sports. It was only in 2019, with the inauguration of Governor Ronaldo Caiado, that these departments were separated.

² Between the late 1990s and 2012, a long process of high school reform began in Brazil, focusing on redesigning the organization of pedagogical work. One of the innovations of these legal frameworks was the proposal of a Common Core of knowledge organized into areas of knowledge (Languages, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and Human Sciences) to replace the old structure of content in isolated curricular components.