


Formative Itineraries in the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum (BNCC): meanings in digital media / *Itinerários formativos na BNCC: sentidos em mídias digitais*


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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to analyze the discourse on Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum (BNCC) for secondary school, in digital text sources, focused on Formative Itineraries. It draws on the assumptions of Michel Pêcheux Discourse Analysis; and applies notions such as discourse, subject position, logically stabilized discourse, and silencing. The corpus consists of six text sources: two fragments of the BNCC about the Itineraries; three excerpts of a news article about the BNCC/Itineraries; and a screenshot of five comments about the news. The results point out that the discourse on the BNCC/Itineraries works with the effects of curriculum flexibility and freedom of choice for students. However, in these sayings, there are also others that are left unsaid. Therefore, meanings such as regional diversities; social inequality; lack of proper governmental policies for education, and precarious working conditions, are silenced, as well as other social circumstances that interfere in the dynamics of the Itineraries and influence the educational process. As the meanings move through the digital media network it is possible to observe that the governmental discourse, in agreement with the pedagogical discourse, tends to impose a subject position in favor of

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the BNCC, with meaning effects that the document orientations can bring solutions to the educational issues in the country; however, as language implies in failure, discursive confrontations, resistance, and contestation are also established in networks; after all, as suggested by Pêcheux (2014c), the meaning can always be other.

KEYWORDS: BNCC; Formative Itineraries; Digital discourse; Effects of meaning.

RESUMO

Este artigo tem por objetivo analisar o discurso inscrito em materialidades digitais sobre a Base Nacional Comum Curricular (BNCC) do Ensino Médio, com foco nos Itinerários Formativos. Ancora-se teoricamente nos pressupostos da Análise de Discurso de filiação pecheuxiana; mobilizamos, dentre outras, as noções de discurso, posição-sujeito, discurso logicamente estabilizado e silenciamento. Ademais, temos as contribuições das áreas de Educação e Ciências Sociais. O corpus é constituído por seis materialidades discursivas: dois fragmentos da BNCC sobre os Itinerários; três recortes de uma notícia sobre a BNCC/Itinerários; e um print com cinco comentários acerca da notícia. Os resultados apontam que o discurso da BNCC/Itinerários funciona com efeitos de flexibilização do currículo e liberdade de escolha dos alunos; porém, nesses ditos funcionam muitos não-ditos e outros sentidos são silenciados, tais como, diversidades regionais; desigualdade social; ausência de políticas governamentais adequadas para a educação; precárias condições de trabalho, além de diversas questões acerca da conjuntura social que interferem na dinâmica dos Itinerários e produzem determinações no processo educacional. Os sentidos se movimentam em/nas rede(s) midiáticas digitais, e nesse funcionamento discursivo, é possível observar que o discurso governamental, em anuência com o discurso pedagógico, busca impor uma posição-sujeito de defesa da BNCC, com efeitos de sentidos de que as orientações do documento trarão soluções aos problemas educacionais do país; entretanto, como a língua se constitui da falha, instauram-se também em/nas redes confrontos discursivos, resistência e contestação; afinal, como afirma Pêcheux (2014c), o sentido sempre pode ser outro.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: BNCC; Itinerários Formativos; Discurso digital; Efeitos de sentidos.

1 Initial remark

The Formative Itineraries, hereinafter (FI), are presented, in the context of the Brazilian National Common Curriculum (BNCC) for secondary school education, as a way to bring flexibility to the curriculum, aiming the needs and choices of students, and respecting regional differences. FI consists of a "set of educational situations and activities that students can choose according to their interest, in order to deepen and expand learning in one or more Areas of Knowledge and/or Technical and Professional Training". (BRASIL, Ministry of Education; Ordinance No. 1432)¹. They are regulated by Ordinance No. 1,432 of December 28, 2018 in accordance with the National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education, published in Resolution MEC/CNE/CEB No. 3 of November 21, 2018, and Law No. 13,415 of February 16, 2017; related to the secondary education reform. However, considering that language is permeated by misunderstanding and opacity, we question the evidence of meanings constructed for FI and relate language materiality to ideology and exteriority, in order to find the silenced and erased meanings. Thus, this study aims to analyze the discourse about the new guidelines for secondary school inscribed in digital media sources,

¹ The entire text has been translated into English, including the quotes.

focusing on the formative itineraries. More specifically, we seek to identify the (inter)discursive effects of the construction of meanings on itineraries and the movement of the subject's positions, analyze the produced effects of the said and the unsaid, as well as the game established between the meaning destabilization within discourse.

We emphasize that digital discourse is conceived not as "a mere form of production of technology, but as a condition of political-ideological production of discourse" (DIAS, 2018, p. 28); consequently, the web is characterized as a discursive space of tensions, clashes and semantic changes, where several discourses and discursive formations circulate and undergo determinations and effects of digital media discourse.

In this way, the BNCC guidelines are not considered as a mere normative document, but from the perspective of the archive, defined by Pêcheux (2014c, p. 59) as a "field of relevant and available documents on an issue". The reading of the archive, according to the author, takes place in a controversial space of clashes of the ways of reading and permeates the relationship between language – a syntactic system that can be played, and discursivity - inscription of language effects in history. The analyst's role, as Leandro Ferreira (2003) points out, is to understand how a symbolic object produces meanings; and how the linguistic surface is transformed into a discursive object.

Therefore, from a digital archive of texts about the BNCC guidelines, we designed a discursive corpus, consisting of a set of discursive sequences, structured according to the articulation and intersection of discourse with the conditions of production; it is dynamic, and the construction follows the entire investigation procedure (COURTINE, 2009).

In this methodological design, we also apply the notion of discursive cut, defined as "a fragment of a discursive situation; it involves ideology, the work of the discourse analyst moved by the link between language and exteriority. This delimitation privileges this or that element pertinent to meaning" (ORLANDI, 1984, p. 14 and 15). It demands confrontation, intersubjectivity, and dispute. Thus, from the archive of digital texts on BNCC, we selected the discursive cuts and constituted the *corpus* of six discursive sequences (DS), namely: i) two fragments of the BNCC on the Formative Itineraries; ii) three excerpts of news about the BNCC/itineraries; iii) a screenshot containing five comments regarding the news.

Our theoretical basis comprises the premises of discourse analysis of Pecheutian affiliation, according to the following analytical categories: discourse, subject, and meaning, discursive formation, logically stabilized discourse, silencing and digital media discourse.

2 Discourse Analysis: subject, discourse, and meaning effects

The French Discourse Analysis (DA) considers the relationship between language and exteriority in the process of the construction of meaning, starting from the premise that "it is impossible to analyze a discourse as a text, i.e., as a linguistic sequence closed in itself [...] it is necessary to refer to the set of possible discourses from a defined state of production conditions." (PÊCHEUX, 2014b, p. 78). Hence, we seek to understand the effects of meanings, in view of the non-transparency of language, the joint constitution between meaning and subject, in a process affected by historicity.

Language, in this perspective, is not seen as an autonomous system; "syntax is the basis of historical creativity [...] the rules of the language should be seen as intrinsically enabling ideological games and discursive latitudes." (PÊCHEUX; GADET, 2011, p. 102). Orlandi (2015), in this same line of thought, points out that ideology materializes in discourse and it materializes in language, so we can construct possibilities of meanings, considering language in its exteriority and opacity.

Therefore, to Discourse Analysis, the subject is not empirically conceived, it does not constitute itself as the source of the enunciation, it "is thought discursively as a position among others. There is, therefore, no form of subjectivity, but a place that the subject occupies to be subject to what it enunciates." (LEANDRO FERREIRA, 2003, p. 192); thus, the author points out that it is not totally free, nor totally determined by external mechanisms, considering the ideological interference and the variety of positions within a Discursive Formation (DF), defined by Pêcheux (2014a, p. 147), as "what, in a given ideological formation, from a given position, in a given conjuncture, determined by the state of the class struggle, determines what can and should be said."

Ideology, therefore, summons individuals into subjects, according to the identification with the knowledge produced within a given DF. This identification, which results from the subject's relations with the DFs, is not fixed and invariable, but, according to Pêcheux (2014a), can be established from the taking of three positions: identification, counter-identification and disidentification. The first type characterizes the discourse of the "good subject", which does not question the utterance, but identifies itself with the form-subject of the DF. The counter-identification, in turn, consists of the discourse of the 'bad subject', since there is distancing, questioning and contestation in its position toward a given DF. In this case, there may be

identification, but the subject has doubts and concerns, he questions and rejects the evidence of meaning. Finally, in the disidentification, the subject disidentifies himself with the utterances of a given DF, and begins to identify himself with an antagonistic DF; as Indursky (2008) states, the subject does not escape ideological determinations and the effects of the unconscious.

These three forms of position-taking function in relations of tension and movement of meanings, they allow "a certain freedom" of the subjects in the transit of different discursive formations, in view of the constitutive heterogeneity of the DF. Within these formations, as Pêcheux (2015) says, there is the functioning of memory under a dispute of forces that aims to maintain a pre-existing regularization with the already-said and disseminated, as well as a game of deregulation which disturbs that already-said. The meanings, in this perspective, are historically mobilized, reaffirmed and refuted, considering the work with the discursive memory and the interdiscourse. In this regard, Courtine (2009) points out that:

the objects which we call 'utterances', whose formation constitutes the specific knowledge of a DF, exist in the long time of a memory, while the 'formulations' are taken in the short time of a present enunciation. It is then exactly the relationship between interdiscourse and intradiscourse that is represented in this particular discursive effect, on the occasion of which a formulation-origin returns in an update of a 'discursive conjuncture', which we designate memory effects. (COURTINE, 2009, p. 106)

We noticed that the discursive effects are produced from this movement between the resumption of the already-said and the actuality of the formulations; the interdiscourse, therefore, refers to the "preconstructed", 'always-already-there' ideological interpellation that provides it with 'reality' and its 'meaning' in the form of universality ('the world of things') (PECHÉUX, 2014a, p. 151); the meanings are historically produced and taken up in different discursive practices with other formulations, considering subjection and the unconscious.

In this discursive process, silence is also constitutive since it is conceived as what "crosses words, what exists among them, or what indicates that meaning can always be different, or even that what is most important is never said, all these ways of existing of meaning and silence lead us to put that silence is 'founding'". (ORLANDI, 2015, p. 14). Analyzing a discourse, in this perspective, demands the interpretation of the effects of what is not said from what is posed, having as a principle that every word silences others and, consequently, meanings that cannot or should not be constructed, within a DF, under specific conditions of production.

Thus, we highlight that the gestures of interpretation performed by the discourse analyst constitute the beat of the description and interpretation. According to Pêcheux (2015, p. 54), they are not characterized as two successive phases, but rather as an alternation, a continuous beat in the tension between description and interpretation, constantly crossed by theory. Considering the theoretical assumptions presented in this section, let us move on to a brief reflection on BNCC, aiming at understanding the effects of meanings produced in/on the discourse materialized in the document in digital media.

3 Analytical movements

3.1 Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum - BNCC

Given its normative and imposing character, BNCC has fostered debates related to the standardization of education, homogenization of students, and interferences of neoliberalism in the elaboration of the curriculum and in the organization of the school system. This document, whose final version was published in 2018, established the month of December 2019 as a legal deadline for implementation in schools.²

Also in the legal scope, according to the website of the Ministry of Education (MEC), this document was already provided for in previous legislation and is based on the following legal frameworks: The Federal Constitution of 1988; the Law of Guidelines and Bases for Education (LDB) of 1996; National Curriculum Guidelines of the National Council of Education (CNE) in the 1990s and revised in the 2000s; Law No. 13,005/20147 that promulgated the National Education Plan (PNE) and Law No. 13,415/2017. (BRAZIL, 2018).

The BNCC, therefore, undergoes strong determinations from the legal discourse, as shown on its legal sources; this discourse goes through and affects the discursive construction of the document, with effects of the erasure of the meanings of imposition and prescription in the BNCC. The memory of other documents and laws in force also works in this process, prior to the BNCC's approval, which already materialized meanings of the existence of a gap in the guidelines for secondary education. Therefore, the document undergoes historical determinations, according to

² This deadline is presented in the BNCC document; however, according to Law 13.415 -17, the changes should be effective within five years after the approval of the Secondary School Reform, that is, by the year 2022. However, with the difficulties of implementation, as well as, considering the context of a pandemic initiated in 2020, the MEC has established a new calendar, with progressive dates, which starts in 2021 and extends until 2024.

which it is imperative to create a common national curriculum; however, this evidence of meanings about the pressing need suffers ideological effects of the logically stabilized discourse, constitutive of the legal and pedagogical DFs, which in this discursive plot produce the imaginary unity of meanings. According to Pêcheux (2015), in these stabilized spaces,

it is assumed that every speaking subject knows what is speaking about because every utterance produced in these spaces reflects structural properties independent of its enunciation: these properties are transparently inscribed in an adequate description of the universe (such as this universe is taken discursively in these spaces). And what apparently unifies these discursive spaces is a series of logical-practical evidence, of very general level. (PÊCHEUX, 2015, p. 31)³

In this context, the legal and the pedagogical discursive formations operate to impose a stable, logical and stabilized meaning. In these DFs, the discourse is authoritarian (ORLANDI, 2016); working the meaning that the subjects are considered specialists, holders of knowledge and technically responsible for compliance with laws and norms; thus, "rely in their inner discursive workings, on a prohibition of interpretation, implying the regulated use of logical propositions (True or False) with disjunctive questions ("the state of things" is A or not-A)." (PÊCHEUX, 2015, p. 31).

This discursive functioning is based on the ideology of the competent discourse, it suffers historical determinations, is crossed by hierarchy and social relations of power since, as Chauí (2006) points out:

it determines in advance who has the right to speak and who should listen, as well as predetermines the places and circumstances in which it is allowed to speak or listen, and finally defines in advance the form and content of what must be said and what needs to be heard. These differences are based on the main distinction, which socially divides the holders of (scientific, technical, religious, artistic political) knowledge who can speak and have the right to order and command, and those devoid of knowledge, who must listen and obey. Briefly, the ideology of competence establishes the social division between the competent, who knows, and the incompetent, who obeys. (CHAUÍ, 2006, p. 76-77).

As described above, the competence discourse establishes social divisions between the "knowledge holders" – the specialists – and the incompetent - whose role is to obey. In the BNCC's discourse there are effects that this document was prepared by experts, who know and determine how the development of Basic Education should be and what students' expectations are. According

³ Our Translation.

to the BNCC's presentation, it is "prepared by experts from all areas of the document, the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum is a complete and contemporary document that meets the demands of the student of this time, preparing him for the future." (BRAZIL, 2018, p. 5). Teachers⁴, in turn, have the role of implementing the established assumptions; thereby, we defend the premise that the discourse inscribed in the BNCC functions as a mechanism of maintenance of the social order characterized by inequality, and, consequently, of control and power; since the competence discourse "as established knowledge, has the role of concealing under the scientific cover the real existence of domination" (CHAUÍ, 2011, p. 23).

From the above discussions, we reaffirm that the meanings are not evident, they are ideologically produced within the relation with exteriority; the language is constitutively flawed and equivocal, allowing the questioning of the evidence of meanings. According to Pêcheux (2015), there will always be room for interpretations, discontinuities, connections, and other meanings. Following these considerations on the normative character of the BNCC, we analyze the discourse on the Formative Itineraries.

3.2 Formative Itineraries in the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum

The FI proposal, regulated by Ordinance No. 1,432/2018, provides that each student chooses, from the 1st year of high school, his/her area of education, among five options: Languages and their technologies; Nature Sciences and its technologies; Humanities and Social Sciences; Mathematics and its technologies; Technical and Professional Training. These itineraries must be organized from four structuring axes: Creative Processes, Scientific Research, Mediation, and Sociocultural Intervention and Entrepreneurship. From this selection, the curriculum will be divided into Common Core for all students (1,800 hours of basic general training), and the FI, which aims at deepening in specific subjects, according to the chosen area (minimum total of 1,200 credit hours). According to the BNCC, " the common core curriculum and the pedagogical proposals must

⁴ In the document there is information that it was built collectively, taking into account experts, besides consultations and debates with teachers and the population in general throughout Brazil; however, this is an effect of meaning produced in the transparency of language, since several issues are related to this public participation, such as how were these debates held? Have the contributions been incorporated into the document? Have they heard people all over Brazil, considering its heterogeneity (the socially excluded, parents, teachers, students, and others involved in Education)? If the BNCC was built from collaborative participation, we ask, for example, why is the educational process treated homogeneously? The BNCC is therefore part of the universe of the logically stabilized, which works with univocal formulations and produces effects of a seemingly stable logic (PÊCHEUX, 2015).

guarantee the essential learnings defined in the BNCC" (BRASIL, 2018, p. 476); the itineraries, in turn, consist of options for deepening, aiming at training for the labor market. We present the discursive sequence 1:

DS1: Formulation of the BNCC on the Common Core and Itineraries

Na direção de substituir o modelo único de currículo do Ensino Médio por um modelo diversificado e flexível, a Lei nº 13.415/2017⁵⁴ alterou a LDB, estabelecendo que

O currículo do ensino médio será composto pela **Base Nacional Comum Curricular e por itinerários formativos**, que deverão ser organizados por meio da oferta de diferentes arranjos curriculares, conforme a relevância para o contexto local e a possibilidade dos sistemas de ensino, a saber:

- I - línguas e suas tecnologias;
- II - matemática e suas tecnologias;
- III - ciências da natureza e suas tecnologias;
- IV - ciências humanas e sociais aplicadas;
- V - formação técnica e profissional (LDB, Art. 36; ênfases adicionadas).

Intending to replace the single model of high school curriculum with a diversified and flexible model, law n. 13415/2017 amended the LBD establishing that secondary school curriculum will consist of the LDB and Training Itineraries that should be organized by offering different curricular arrangements according to the relevance to the local context and the possibility of teaching systems, namely:

- I. Languages and their technologies
 - II. Mathematics and its technologies
 - III. Natural Sciences and their technologies.
 - IV. Human Sciences and Social Applied Sciences.
 - V. Technical and professional training (LBD, Article 36, emphasis added)
- Source: (BRAZIL, 2018, p. 468)

In DS1, the discourse inscribed in the document works with the effects that from the BNCC there is flexibility and diversity through the proposal of the Formative Itineraries; this diversity should be based on the specificities of each local context, as well as on the possibilities of school facilities. According to this discourse, the document promises to consider the different realities of the educational institutions; however, some meanings are erased, such as the difficulties related to the structure of schools, lack of funds, lack of teachers with proper training in certain areas, besides the social inequalities that plague the country. Thus, Formative Itineraries can further expand social inequalities and cause damage to the teaching/learning process. Still concerning to discursivization on the FI in the BNCC document, let us consider the DS2:

DS2: BNCC Formulation on Training Itineraries

Essa nova estrutura do Ensino Médio, além de ratificar a organização por áreas do conhecimento - sem desconsiderar, mas também sem fazer referência direta a todos os componentes que compunham o currículo dessa etapa -, prevê a oferta de variados itinerários formativos⁵⁵, seja para o aprofundamento acadêmico em uma ou mais áreas do conhecimento, seja para a formação técnica e profissional. Essa estrutura adota a **flexibilidade** como princípio de **organização curricular**, o que permite a construção de currículos e propostas pedagógicas que atendam mais adequadamente às especificidades locais e à multiplicidade de interesses dos estudantes, estimulando o exercício do **protagonismo juvenil** e fortalecendo o desenvolvimento de seus projetos de vida.

This new structure for secondary education, besides ratifying the organization by areas of knowledge - without disregarding, but also without making direct reference to all the components that made up the curriculum of this stage - provides for the offer of varied formative itineraries, either for the academic deepening of one or more areas of knowledge or for professional technical training. This structure adopts flexibility as a principle of curricular organization, which allows the construction of curriculum and pedagogical proposals that more adequately meet local specificities and the multiplicity of students' interests, stimulating the exercise of youth leadership and strengthening the development of their life projects.

Source: (BRAZIL, 2018, p. 468)

DS2 mentions that itineraries are organized by areas of knowledge for academic deepening, as well as for technical and professional training. We observe that itineraries are centralized in a technicist approach to education, which leads us to the understanding that the discourse inscribed in the BNCC suffers determinations of neoliberal ideology, which, according to Guilbert (2020), can be also understood as an economic discourse, considering that they

have in common the promotion of an entrepreneurial and purely economic vision of life and all human activities. *This discourse calls, in fact, to make productive, in the economic sense, what cannot be: school and university, hospital and justice.* Their key words are "economic effectiveness", "financial profitability", "payback". (GUILBERT, 2020, p. 22, italic ours).

The BNCC discourse, therefore, establishes a paraphrastic relationship with the already-said in neoliberal discourse; there is concern in the document with a technicist education, i.e., in training the student in the professional perspective. According to Orlandi (2015, p. 34), the paraphrase represents "the return to the same place of enunciation. Different formulations are

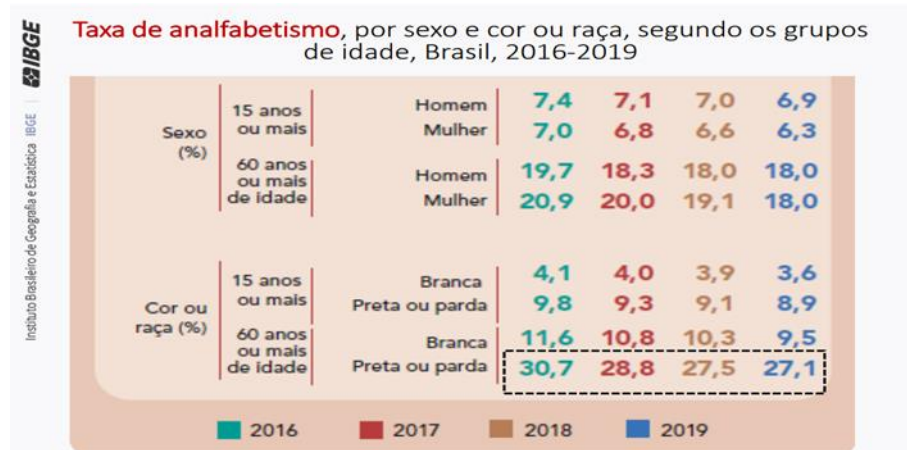
produced of the same settled utterances [...] it is on the side of stabilization"; therefore, there is a power play functioning in the BNCC with effects of meanings determined by neoliberal ideology, as well as an effect of memory of the very pedagogical discourse on technicist education and a resumption of the discursivization on the technical curriculum of the former secondary education⁵. In this way,

educational reforms are closely linked to the mechanisms of legitimization of contemporary production processes and market interests, so that the reform of education seeks, first, the supply of labor, economic and technological development, modernization, and the interests of capital. *Thus, reforms do not have as their primary function the resolution of issues in the educational field and social issues, being more linked to economic crises and the productive sector, often prioritizing the obtaining of a flexible professional over the social education of the citizen.* (WHITE et al, 2018, p. 13, italic ours)

Hence, we can say that the discursive functioning of providing curriculum flexibility, meeting local specificities, and addressing students' interests, present in SD2, silences other meanings such as social inequalities, regional differences, and struggle with bad structure and low budget; as well as the obstacles, confronted by many disadvantaged students, in choosing, in fact, the profession they aspire to. The numbers presented in figure 1, obtained by the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), disclose relevant data about the inequalities mentioned above, as well as allow us to inquire about the meaning effect of equality of rights and conditions, produced by the BNCC.

⁵ Secondary School in Brazil, historically, has a link with the labor market. In 1971, for example, Law No. 5,692/71 "defined that all secondary education, now called "Ensino Médio", should lead the student to the completion of a technical professional qualification or, at least, technical assistant (partial qualification)". This law was reformulated by law no. 7,044/82, removing the obligation of professional qualification in secondary education. The Law of Guidelines and Bases for Education (LDB) addresses this perspective in its chapter III, "Professional and Technological Education". In 2012 the current National Curriculum Guidelines for Technical Professional Education for Secondary School were defined by CNE/CEB Resolution No. 6/2012 based on CNE/CEB Opinion No. 11/2012. And finally, in 2017, Law No. 13,415/2007 "introduced changes to the LDB (Law No. 9394/1996), including the formative itinerary 'Technical and Professional Training' in Secondary Schools". Source: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/publicacoes-para-professores/30000-uncategorised/68731-historico-da-educacao-profissional-e-tecnologica-no-brasil>

Fig. 1: Illiteracy rate in Brazil, by gender, color or race from 2016 to 2019, according to age groups – PNAD⁶



Source: https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/media/com_mediaibge/arquivos/89ec0c1b18b88b2e1b5ad7123becb548.pdf

According to the graph above, the illiteracy rate shows significant differences between white and black people in all years investigated (2016 to 2019); with the highest rates in this second group. In the age group of 15 years old or more, for example, the illiteracy rate, in 2016, was 4.1% for self-declared white people and 9.8%, for black and multiracial people. In the age group of 60 years old or more, the rates were 11.6% for white people and 30.7% for black and multiracial people; that is, the illiteracy rate among black or multiracial people was more than double, in both age groups. That disparity was maintained in subsequent years, as in 2019, presenting almost the tripled amount of illiteracy rate for self-declared black people.

Also in the educational scope, the research conducted by PNAD 2019 shows a discrepancy in the statistical data regarding the number of people aged 14 to 29 who do not attend school, 27.3% were self-declared white and 71.7% black from a total of 10.1 million people. The main cause for school evasion, according to the research, is the need to work for their own and/or family support.

Data on the labor market regarding regional inequalities are also significant. The underutilization of labor supply in the first quarter of 2020 - which involves, among other things, unemployment, and time-related underemployment - the Northeast region has the highest rates in

⁶ National Survey by Household Sample

all categories of underutilization compared to other states, for example, an unemployment rate of 36.5% in this region and 27% in the North, while in South Brazil the percentage is 14.6%. The news on the FI also denotes the effects of transparency produced by the BNCC, as DS3:

DS3: News about the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum and Formative Itineraries

The image is a screenshot of a news article from the G1 portal. At the top, there is a red navigation bar with 'MENU', 'G1', 'EDUCAÇÃO', and 'BUSCAR'. The main headline is 'Base Curricular do ensino médio pode ampliar desigualdades entre estados, dizem especialistas'. Below the headline, it says 'Última versão da base foi entregue ao Conselho Nacional da Educação nesta terça; documento ainda será debatido em audiências públicas.' The author is 'Por Vanessa Fajardo e Ana Carolina Moreno, G1' and the date is '09/04/2018 13h25 - Atualizado há 2 anos'. There are social media icons for Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, LinkedIn, and Email. Below the text is a video player showing two students looking at a book. Underneath the video, there is a small text block: 'Especialistas ouvidos pelo G1 afirmam que a Base Nacional Comum Curricular (BNCC) para o ensino médio elaborada pelo governo federal pode ampliar a desigualdade nos estados. Para o Ministério da Educação (MEC), a proposta aumenta a possibilidade de escolhas dos alunos e dá um padrão nacional aos currículos.' To the right of this text is a small advertisement for 'FARM' showing two dresses with prices: 'R\$ 258,30' and 'R\$ 230,30'.

Source: <https://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/base-curricular-do-ensino-medio-pode-ampliar-desigualdades-entre-estados-dizem-especialistas.ghtml>

The discursive materiality in DS3 consists of the headline of a news release published by the G1 portal on April 9, 2018, the month in which the MEC delivered the latest version of the BNCC to the National Council of Education (CNE) for evaluation, discussion in public hearings and subsequent approval.

The initial text, just below the image of students - "Experts heard by G1 affirm that the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum (BNCC) for secondary education prepared by the federal government can increase inequality in the states. For the Ministry of Education (MEC), the proposal enlarges the possibility of students' choices and gives a national standard to the curriculum." – operates a discursive clash between the subject position assumed by the specialists and the subject position occupied by the MEC, since, the discourse materialized by the experts operates meanings that the FI of BNCC can widen inequality between states instead of supporting equal rights and learning. The MEC, on the other hand, approaches the FI with the meaning that they will expand the students' professional choice possibilities, by means of the national standardization of curriculum.

Considering the statistical data presented above, which reveal discrepancies in the social, economic, and educational situation between white and black people and in the regions of Brazil, we believe that the proposal of the Formative Itineraries, that attributes to the learning institutes – disregarding all difficulties and diversities – the task of organizing and offering the areas of knowledge, can maximize the inequalities that exist in the country. In this same direction, Lopes (2019) makes some criticisms of the conception of FI, such as (i) contradiction between supposed curricular flexibility and delimitation of fixed competencies; (ii) ambivalence between governmental questioning about fragmentation of school disciplines and new curricular organization by areas of knowledge; (iii) vague guidelines for the formulation of teaching proposals from the itineraries and, finally, (iv) technical education with interests aimed at private institutions and directed to the labor market. On the effect of meaning of school flexibility through FI, the author states that

the proposal for curricular integration presented by the BNCC of high school does not enable the curricular flexibility to which it alludes; on the contrary, it tends to be restrictive of possibilities of curricular integration by trying to control the life project of young students through goals set a priori. Therefore, the proposal to break disciplinarity may remain unattainable, especially if actions are not developed in states and municipalities to expand dialogue with disciplinary communities, in view of working conditions and teacher identifications in schools. (LOPES, 2019, p. 63)

DS4: news about the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum and Formative Itineraries (Specialist 1)

Cesar Callegari, conselheiro do CNE

"Com a entrega da BNCC do ensino médio o MEC confirma sua visão reducionista dos direitos de aprendizagem dos jovens brasileiros. Escolas farão o possível, nem sempre o necessário. Tendem a realizar o que couber em apenas 1800 horas."

"Quais os conteúdos de química, física, história, geografia, filosofia, educação física, arte, Sociologia, ficarão de fora por não serem mais obrigatórios? Quantos professores ficarão sem aula? Ao não dizer nada sobre os itinerários, isso ficará ao Deus dará."

"Ao CNE incumbe agora reparar esses defeitos ouvindo a sociedade, inclusive os estudantes."

Source: <https://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/base-curricular-do-ensino-medio-pode-ampliar-desigualdades-entre-estados-dizem-especialistas.ghtml>

The DS4, in particular, the discursive cut "With the delivery of the BNCC for secondary education, the MEC confirms its reductionist vision of the learning rights of young Brazilians. Schools will do what is possible, not always what is necessary. They tend to accomplish what fits in only 1800 [credit hours]." It establishes a subject position of contesting some aspects related to the implementation of itineraries by the states, it operates meanings effects that the BNCC discourse presents a simplified view of learning rights. From SD4, we can affirm that the meaning of reductionism refers, among other factors, to the initial idea in the elaboration of the BNCC of the delimitation of no obligation of some disciplines such as History, Geography, Philosophy, and Sociology for certain areas; as well as the technician effect of meaning that, as we have pointed out, crosses the document. Later, after the public consultations, analysis of the CNE, and criticisms made by society and teachers of these respective disciplines, they remained mandatory, in the final version of the Common Core Curriculum, but had their workload reduced. This reductionism is also criticized by Teixeira et al. (2017) stating that

while the integrated high school model developed by the Federal Institutes is one concerned and organized in harmony with local productive arrangements and committed to emancipatory pedagogical principles, the model of the new high school slices the education into formative itineraries, partial certifications. Furthermore, it values teachers without training and highlights the concern with immediate demands of the market and not with the effective link between human and citizen formation (TEIXEIRA et al, 2017, p. 65)

The authors establish a relationship between the secondary education model of the Federal Institutes and the model proposed by the BNCC; they point out that while in the first case, there are recommendations supported by emancipatory pedagogical principles, in the second, there is fragmentation and a market concern, provoked, among other aspects, by the configuration and proposal of the FI. In the discourse inscribed in the speech above the CNE Councilor (SD4), therefore, there is a subject position of contesting the document due to the lack of guidelines on IF, according to the cut "What contents of chemistry, physics, history, geography, philosophy, physical education, art, sociology, will be left out because they are no longer mandatory? How many teachers will be without classes? by not saying anything about the itineraries, this will be left to God."⁷ referring to what contents will be contemplated; how many teachers, from the no longer compulsory areas, will be left with problems related to the workload; factors that may imply teachers

⁷ Cesar Callegari, member of National Council of Education.

working in related areas, but not specific to their area of training; as well as limiting vacancies in the areas for student⁸ choice. Thus, the discursive subject, although enunciates from the pedagogical DF, produces counter-identification effects, because it questions the meanings of the BNCC and assumes a subject position of confrontation. Thus, thanks to the heterogeneity of the DFs, whose borders are porous, the subject can move in the DF itself, and even produce gestures of disidentification and rupture, as highlighted in Dursky (2008).

The questions raised in SD4 have been discussed in society and have already generated difficulties in some educational units in the country. According to Leão (2021, p. 2), the reduction in the workload of some disciplines results in the need "to double the number of students to be attended by each teacher, even doubling the number of schools, because it is impossible for the teacher to work at a single school"; it also states that it is impossible to perform efficient work in these circumstances since these conditions are inhumane.

Thus, a survey conducted by the Collective of Humanities of the State of Paraná, composed of teachers and students of Arts, Philosophy, and Sociology of the State School Network, points out that "the doubled load of teachers will represent about 1,200 students per week, at least 3,400 activities to prepare, with the correction of 30 weekly class records in four or five different schools in distant municipalities." The new curricular organization, since the establishment of FI, has generated several problems at schools such as overwork, schedule issues, and, consequently, distress for teachers; and difficulties for students regarding supply, choice, and availability of subjects. The DS5 also operates with discursive effects of the lack of guidelines and possible consequences on the school organization.

⁸ Subsequently, on April 5, 2019, Ordinance No. 1,432 of December 28, 2018 was published in the Official Gazette of the Union, establishing the references for the preparation of formative itineraries, however, many of these aspects were not contemplated in this document and the questions remain unanswered, they are silenced.

DS5 - News excerpt about the Brazilian National Common Core Curriculum and Training Itineraries (Specialist 2)

"O documento apresentado contempla alguns dos debates sobre o Ensino Médio que vêm sendo feitos por especialistas há alguns anos, como a possibilidade de inovação e flexibilização da organização curricular do Ensino Médio, possibilitando opções de escolha aos estudantes e uma organização mais interdisciplinar, por áreas de conhecimento. Contudo, sua realização está limitada às condições limitantes encontradas hoje nas redes de ensino e na estrutura de formação de professores, que hoje, no Brasil, é feita por disciplina. Sabemos, por exemplo, que existem regiões com dificuldades em ter professores de determinadas disciplinas. Nesse contexto, os itinerários serão determinados pelo interesse dos alunos ou pela disponibilidade dos professores e das escolas?"

Source: <https://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/base-curricular-do-ensino-medio-pode-ampliar-desigualdades-entre-estados-dizem-especialistas.ghtml>⁹

In the discursive cut of the news presented in DS5, there is a resumption of discursive memory about innovation in secondary education, starting with the possibility of curricular flexibility and organization by areas of knowledge; however, in the discursive cut of DS5 - "its realization is limited to the restricted conditions found today in the educational networks and in the teacher training structure, which today, in Brazil, is done by subjects. We know, for example, that there are regions struggling to have teachers from certain disciplines." – it operates the meaning effect that this organization may not succeed, taking into account limiting aspects such as possible lack of teachers in specific areas depending on the region of the country.

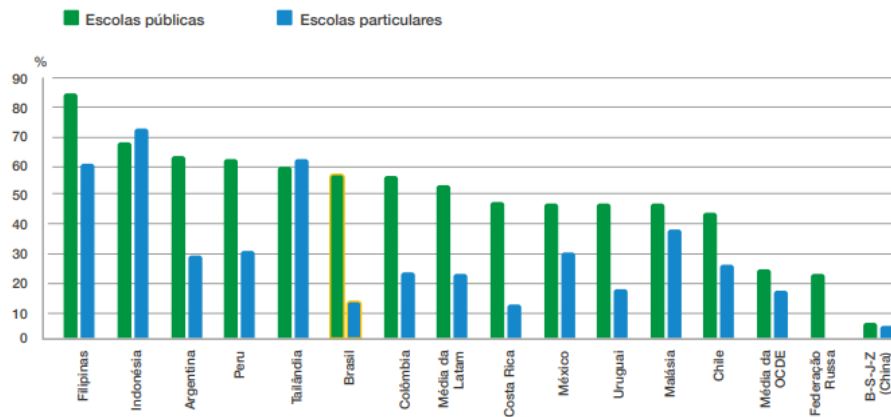
The BNCC, on the other hand, silences this issue. It does not take into account aspects of the social and educational reality and social inequalities of the country. It does not present effective proposals to solve these problems. Therefore, we rely on the premises of Orlandi (2007, p. 102) by stating that "in given conditions, we speak to not say (or to not allow to be said) things that can cause significant ruptures in the relations of meanings. The words are loaded with silence (s)."

⁹ "The document presented includes some of the debates on secondary education that have been carried out by specialists for some years, such as the possibility of innovation and flexibility in the curricular organization of secondary education allowing students to choose options and a more interdisciplinary organization, by areas of knowledge. However, its realization is limited to the bounding conditions found today in teaching networks and in the structure of teacher training, which today, in Brazil, is done by subjects. We know, for example, that there are regions with difficulties in having teachers of certain subjects. In this context, will the itineraries be determined by the interest of the students or by the availability of teachers and schools?" Monica Gardelli Franco, superintendent of the Center for Studies and Research in Education, Culture and Community Action (Cenpec).

Although the DS5 operates meanings of acceptance to the document: "it contemplates some of the debates about secondary education" [...], it also produces meanings of denunciation of the silenced meanings in the discourse of the BNCC related to FI; thus, here we have a subject position of counter-identification to the discourse; since the enunciator subject challenges the Common Core Curriculum discourse, through the questioning, for example, whether the itineraries will be determined, in fact, by the interests of the students or by the availability of teachers and specific conditions of the schools. It establishes a subject position of criticism to the Common Core Curriculum, whose discourse produces an effect that the students are the focus of interests, but does not present viable conditions to meet their interests. The Itineraries, in its turn, do not consider social inequalities nor the discrepancy between the regions of the country regarding teachers' education and the sufficient number of teachers per area.

This question is relevant considering that, according to SD1, in the discursive cut of the BNCC about the FI, it is stated that the offer of the areas of knowledge and educational arrangements will be carried out according to the interests of the students, but also from the possibilities of the education systems. In addition to the structural differences between the public schools in the different states of the country, if we compare them with the private school network, it is possible to raise the following questions: which network will be able to offer all or a larger number of areas of knowledge? Which students can really decide and follow in the area of knowledge they wish? To illustrate it, let us consider the statistical data in figure 2 referring to educational assessments, International Student Assessment Program (PISA), and Basic Education Development Index (IDEB), in public and private instances.

Fig. 2: Percentage of 15-year-olds with level 2 reading scores, in public and private schools - PISA 2018

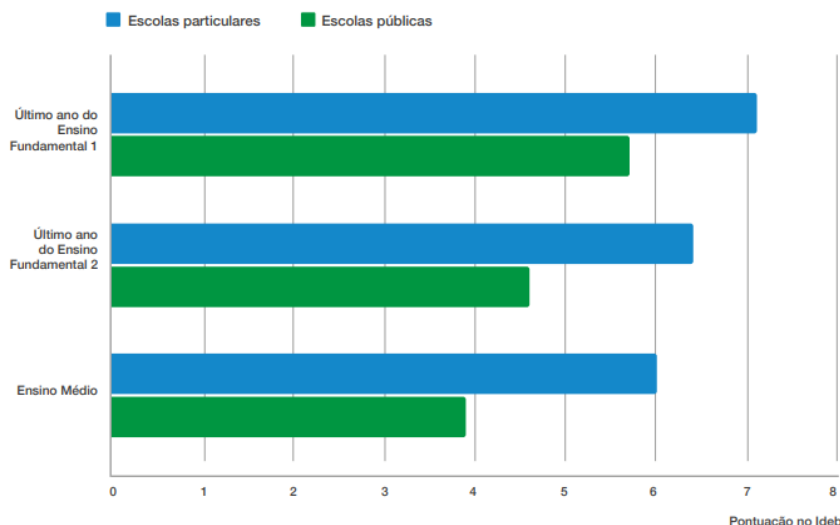


Observação: os países foram ordenados em ordem decrescente da maior para a menor porcentagem de alunos de 15 anos com pontuação abaixo do Nível 2, em Leitura, em escolas públicas.

Source: https://todospelaeducacao.org.br/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/A-Educacao-noBrasil_uma-perspectiva-internacional.pdf

We see that in almost all countries presented in the figure 2, with the exception of Indonesia and Thailand, the percentage of students with unsatisfactory reading performance is higher in public schools. According to the report released by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), this difference can be justified by the fact that private school students belong to families with a more favored socioeconomic situation and have more access to books, better conditions for learning and permanence in school. We also highlight in the graph the great difference in Brazil between the percentage of students from the public and private school, with the number significantly higher for the first, being the country with the greatest disparity between them. In this same direction, let us observe in the figure 3 the results obtained by the two educational networks in the IDEB,

Fig. 3: IDEB scores in public and private schools – 2019



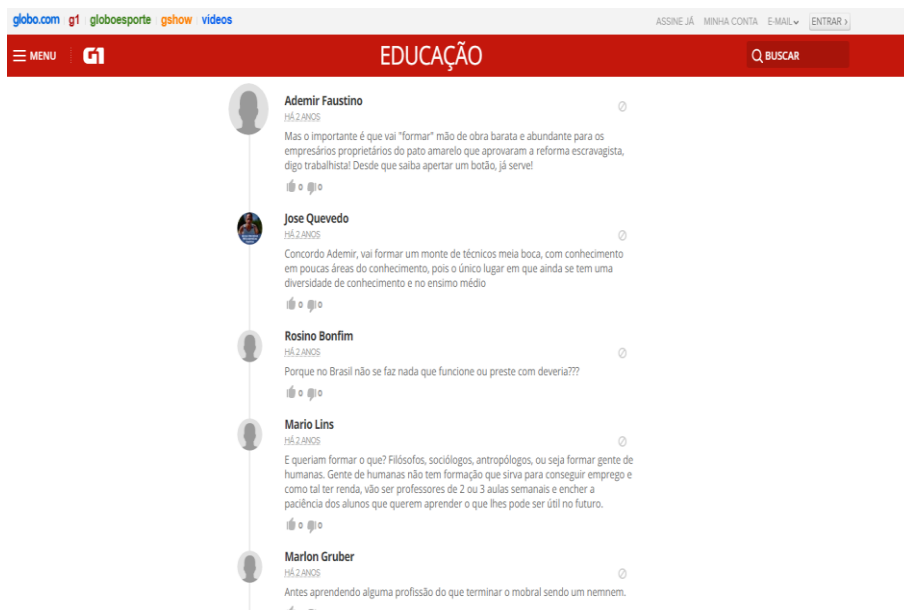
Source: https://todospelaeducacao.org.br/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/A-Educacao-noBrasil_uma-perspectiva-internacional.pdf

As we can see in the graph on the figure 3, the students of the private school system obtained better results than public school students at all levels of education – Elementary 1 (5th grade), Elementary 2 (9th grade) and Secondary – in the last IDEB assessment conducted in 2019. The data, therefore, allow us to question the evidence of meanings in the discourse produced by the BNCC, since the meanings of equal conditions and rights, advocated in the transparency of the document, does not stand and, thus, constitute itself as a fallacy. In the connection with what is said and beyond what is posed, silence constitutes itself as "the 'respiration' (the breath) of meaning; a place of retreat necessary for it to be meant, so that the meaning makes sense. Stronghold of the possible, of the multiple, silence makes room for what is not 'one' (...) Silence as a horizon, as an impending of meaning." (ORLANDI, 2007, p. 13)

Silence, as highlighted by the author, is inherent to the discursive process and works in the direction of the multiplicity of interpretation of meanings, exceeding the limit of what is put. In this sense, from the meaning effect produced in SD5 on student interest x school conditions, we highlight that some public schools, which have already implemented the BNCC, report problems in this supposed flexibility and students' right of choice, such as sufficient courses vacancies to meet the students' choices; thus, if a subject, such as languages, is booked, interested students will be relocated to another area. In this way, the student's right to choose is not respected, on the contrary, he may be required to attend all his secondary education in a specific area that was not his choice and with which he has no affinity. Moreover, considering that schools will not have the mandatory

offer of the five areas, students will already have a delimitation in the options. The materiality above triggered interpretation in the comments of the post, establishing a movement of subject positions and meaning, as in the DS6:

DS6: Print with comments on and in the discursive sequence 3 (news)¹⁰



Source: <https://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/base-curricular-do-ensino-medio-pode-ampliar-desigualdades-entre-estados-dizem-especialistas.ghtml>

The initial discourse cut inscribed in comment 1, AF, "But the important thing is that it will 'educate' cheap and abundant workforce for the owners of the yellow duck¹¹ (...)" operates through the bias of irony a subject position of disidentification with the knowledge of the pedagogical and the legal DF, since it contests the efficiency of the BNCC and produces the effect of meaning, by starting the sentence with the argumentative operator of opposition "but", which does not interest the draftsman of the BNCC and the State to reduce the social inequalities of the country; but rather, the training of cheap workforce for the market, according to the interests of neoliberal discourse

¹⁰ Comments will be referred to in the analysis by numbers, in the order in which they appear in the print; and the readers and commentators of the video, in turn, will be indicated by the initials of the names.

¹¹ The "Yellow Duck" metaphor emerged in 2015, when the Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo (FIESP), representant of 133 employers' unions, launched the campaign "enough of paying the duck" [be the scapegoat], which took a giant inflatable duck to the entity's headquarters, as a form of protest against the increase of taxes rates on fuel. It also became one of the symbols of the movement for the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff. Available at <https://economia.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2021/07/21/pato-fiesp-impeachment.htm> Accessed on 11 Nov. 2021.

In the BNCC, this enunciation about education for the working market operates in various stretches, according to statements that the competencies proposed by the document "favor basic preparation for work and citizenship" and that enable "students to actively, critically, creatively and responsibly enter a world of work increasingly complex and unpredictable". (BRAZIL, 2018, p. 465). In comments 2 and 3, according to the discursive cut: "it will train a lot of half-baked technicians" (JQ), "in Brazil nothing that is done works or pays" (RB), a subject position of identification operates with the discourse materialized in comment 1, because they also materialize the challenge to the technician character of the BNCC, which lowers the quality of teaching, as it will produce – according to comments 1 and 2 of SD6 – "cheap work force" and unprepared professionals. The discourse inscribed in the following comments (4 and 5) establish meanings of repudiation of the previous comments, with a subject position favorable to the BNCC. We highlight comment 4: "And who do they want to qualify? Philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, i.e., to educate the people of humanities. *Those people do not have training that serves to get a job and as such have income [...]* (italic ours)", the internet user also occupies a subject position of prejudice against the area of human sciences; here we have the determinations of interdiscourse because it is "the discursive knowledge that makes it possible to say everything and that returns in the form of the pre-constructed, the already said that is the basis of the sayable, sustaining each utterance." (ORLANDI, 2015, p.31). Thus, the discursive formulation of the commentary updates this memory of devaluation of human sciences and valorization of mathematics and technological sciences.

The already said about the devaluation of areas linked to the human sciences are updated, through new formulations, within the scope of intradiscourse; this commentary works a memory effect of the technical DF that produces a discourse on possible areas that impact the "development of science" and education with utilitarian purposes, as the following discursive cut from comment 4: "they will teach at 2 or 3 weekly classes and bother the students who want to learn something that can be useful to them in the future." Thus, we see the power game of memory operating, under this repeatability in digital networks, aiming to stabilize already said meanings of contempt and devaluation to the human sciences and the teaching profession as well. According to Indursky (2011):

If there is repetition it is because there is resumption/regularization of meanings that will constitute a memory that is social, even if it presents itself to the subject of the discourse coated with the order of the unknown. It is the discourses in circulation, manifested in language and plotted by the socio-historical fabric, which is resumed, repeated, and regularized. (INDURSKY, 2011, p. 71)

The discourse materialized in the DS6 leads us to reflect on the historical and ideological determinations that affect the discourses on Education and on the Human and Social Sciences, such as the creation of educational laws with capitalist objectives; greater investment in research in the fields of exact sciences, technology and nature, and lower for the human and social sciences. On the other hand, we argue that education cannot and should not serve primarily the labor market; it is important that it be seen as a form of expansion of knowledge, enabling the development of reflection, criticality, an investigative posture, and resistance. Education, thought with these characteristics, will enable the formation of conscious individuals, who know how to choose and act, in addition to other social spheres, also in the professional sphere, trained beyond technical training, with a critical, human and socially conscious education. These considerations refer us to Freire's (1996) discussions by stating that

the advancement of science and/or technology, can legitimize an unruly order in which only minorities of power squander and enjoy while the majority in difficulty even surviving. It is said that reality is like that, that their hunger is a fatality of the end of the century. I do not join my voice to those who, talking about peace, ask the oppressed, the tattered of the world, for their resignation. My voice has another semantics, there's another song. *I speak of the resistance, of indignation, of the righteous wrath of the betrayed and of the deceived. Their right and duty to rebel against the ethical transgressions of which they are the increasingly suffering victims. The fatalistic ideology of the neoliberal discourse and politics I have been talking about is a moment of that aforementioned worth of human interests in relation to those of the market.* (FREIRE, 1996, p. 62-63, italic ours)

Education, consequently, must be inserted in a critical and non-fragmented perspective of endurance and resistance, which allows the individual reflections and intervention in his social environment; actions, which, as Freire (1996) points out, prioritize human interests over the market. These discussions allow us to establish an association with the premise of Kuenzer (2007); who argues that, in the educational sphere, work should not be seen unilaterally, as the training for the realization of specific skills; but rather, from the perspective of coping with events, an articulation between tacit, theoretical, intellectual knowledge; a non-duality between theory and practice that will allow the student a more global and emancipatory development. From this angle, "facing events" implies the need for a new model of competencies based "on problem solving, for which

more theoretical knowledge and more complex cognitive skills are required, that is, the ability to work intellectually, as opposed to competence understood as tacit knowledge". (KUENZER, 2007, p. 1163).

The BNCC discourse proposes an educational model based on competencies, but denies its very proposal. It is incoherent, since it is not based on the education of the student, as a global individual, who knows how to act with autonomy in different situations; but rather, offers them a fragmented education. It supports the segregation and perpetuation of social inequalities from the formation of labor for technical professions, which demand a lower level of intellectual knowledge, aiming to meet the market demands, according to the determinations of neoliberal discourse. Thus, the BNCC discourse works with inclusion effects, but contributes to the maintenance of the market order and the (dis)social organization, a false inclusion or exclusionary inclusion, as Kuenzer (2007) points out:

The strategy through which knowledge is made available/denied, according to the unequal and differentiated needs of integrated work processes, is what we have called exclusionary inclusion at the tip of the school. *Instead of the explicit denial of opportunities for access to continuing and quality education, there is an apparent availability of educational opportunities, through multiple modalities and different natures, which are characterized by their unequal character and, in most cases, merely certification, which does not ensure mastery of knowledge necessary for the development of complex cognitive skills linked to intellectual autonomy, ethics, and aesthetics.* (KUENZER, 2007, p. 1170-1171, italic ours)

We call this "apparent availability of educational opportunities" an effect of evidence of meanings of the Pedagogical DF that works in the discourse of the BNCC, since the document materializes the effects of meanings of guarantee of rights, equalities of conditions, inclusive education, and fulfillment of a mandatory social role of the State in the field of Education; the student, from these effects constructed behind the transparency of language, is up to the role of "striving" to achieve the objectives proposed by the BNCC. In this bias, he does not learn and achieve success only if he does not want to, because the necessary conditions are guaranteed to him by the document and by the Government. These effects of meaning are part of a meritocratic ideology that crosses discourses of organizations in the public and private spheres, constituting, as Barbosa (2014) calls it, an "institutional meritocracy", which consists of

a principle enshrined in modern organizations that the admission, mobility, and professional rise of persons should be guided by their performance in carrying out the tasks allocated to them in the organizations. This logic is founded on the idea that, based on selection criteria, whose rules are previously established and known to all participants, such as the requirement of a specific type of qualification, an initial egalitarian situation is established that guarantees an equal opportunity for all in that circumstance. (BARBOSA, 2014, p. 81).

According to the discourse of the meritocratic ideology, differences in the performance of each person are results of personal skills; not considering the "broader historical, conceptual and sociological aspects of the issue, nor the moral foundations of individual merit." (BARBOSA, 2014, p. 81). Approaching such weightings to our analytical corpus, we conclude that the social inequalities of the students, the precarious conditions of many public schools, the possibilities for the unfold of teacher's work, the regional diversities and the differentiated pace of learning are silenced in the BNCC.

Finally, we also highlight that at the end of comment 1, " (...) owners of the yellow duck who approved the slave reform, I mean labor! As long as you know how to push a button, it's good!", operates a metaphor effect established by replacing "work reform" with "slave reform". For Pêcheux (2014b, p. 96) the metaphorical effect consists of the "semantic phenomenon produced by a contextual substitution"; in this specific case, there is resistance to the discourse of labor reform and the denunciation of neoliberal determinations on the pedagogical discourse of the BNCC, since according to it, learning must meet business interests¹².

In the comment in question, we observed a memory effect of the period of slavery that establishes a parallel between labor reform and the approval of the BNCC. The discourse operates a subject position of contestation to the BNCC, as well as to the labor reform, both crossed by a government discursive formation, as well as by the corporate DF.

From the effects of meanings produced in the discursive sequences that constitute the corpus of this work, we realize that there is a movement of meanings over/in the network marked by semantic changes, clashes, and tensions. The discourse, therefore, is characterized as "movement of the meanings, erratic of the subjects, temporary places of conjunction and dispersion, of unity and diversity, of indistinction, uncertainty, paths, anchorage, and traces."

¹² BNCC and Labor Reform (RT) were approved in near periods. RT was sanctioned and entered into force in 2017, by then President Michel Temer, through the Law. 13,467. The BNCC, in turn, as presented in the Introduction, was published in 2017 (Early Childhood Education and Elementary School) and in 2018 (High School).

(ORLANDI, 2015, p. 8). The discourse in the Formative Itineraries, in this conjuncture, in/on the network is in a continuous movement of meaning, silencing, and stabilization of the already said.

Conclusive remarks

From the presented analysis, we noticed that there is a dispute of meanings between the discourse materialized in the BNCC, the discourses inscribed in the news and comments in social. The discourse inscribed in the BNCC produces effects of transparency of meanings, there are effects that the FI consider the flexibility of the national secondary school curriculum; the social and cultural differences of Brazilian regions, diversity, and student preferences, and the right to choose. However, when questioning this evidence, misunderstandings are established, since the language is flawed, opaque, and, as Orlandi (2016) points out, there is a coating on the meanings of public policies; the analyses show that there are a number of unsaid utterances about the implementation of FI, such as reduction and cuts of educational funding; discrepancies between public and private schools; implication in the workload and work of teachers, socioeconomic differences of students and between regions of the country; among other aspects that influence school organization with these Itineraries. Therefore, we rely on Orlandi's premise (2007, p. 23) that "if language implies silence, the last is, in turn, the unsaid seen from within the language. It's not anything, it's not the emptiness without history. It is a significant silence. "Therefore, there are a number of meaningful silences inscribed inside the BNCC's discourse.

We have seen that there is a discursive game characterized by clashes and tensions, such as in DS3, in the subject positions assumed by the Ministry of Education and by the experts who comment on the text. the MEC produces a discourse that the FI allows the process of choice by students and the flexibilization of the national curriculum, while the subject positions assumed by the specialists, on the other hand, produce the following effects of meaning about FI: (i) reductionist view of learning rights; (ii) absence of guidelines; (iii) flexibility conditioned by the limiting conditions of the educational networks; (iv) expansion of social and regional inequalities; and (viii) the choices will not, in fact, be made by the students, but by the conditions and possibilities offered by schools.

As digital networks allow readers to participate in comments and, consequently, as subjects there is a movement of meanings and subject positions in DS6, that is, it operates to identify the discourse inscribed in the BNCC, such as the defense of education focused on technological development and professional training and reaffirmation of already-said about the

devaluation of certain areas of knowledge over others. But we also have counter-identification movements to the government discourse, such as the following positions: (i) contestation to the efficiency of the BNCC; (ii) the finding that it is not important to governments to improve education and reduce inequalities, but rather to train labor for the market; (iii) challenge to the technical character that works in the document. Thus, the archives circulating in the digital environment are affected by the historicity, as well as by the characteristic production conditions of the network. Discourses, therefore, are historically determined and crossed by ideology. The subjects, in so, enroll in the digital space discursively and take different positions. Therefore, the digital environment is characterized as a space of movement, which works between stabilization and sliding, setting up tensions and continuous ideological clashes.

CRedit

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