
Public educational policies in Brazil after redemocratization: pathways to citizenship?**Políticas públicas educacionais no Brasil pós-redemocratização: percursos à cidadania?****Políticas educativas públicas en Brasil después de la redemocratización: ¿camino hacia la ciudadanía?**Carina Copatti¹ <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0485-388X>Adriana Maria Andreis² <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5369-3766>

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Abstract

Having as a field of investigation the public policies in the educational scenario outlined after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988, the objective of this text is to analyze elements of citizenship in the documents of these policies in order to perceive advances and challenges present, also, with regard to the perspective of citizen formation. The central issue investigates to what extent Brazilian educational policies have contributed and/or limited a perspective of citizen training. Therefore, the methodological path involved the interaction between bibliographic and documentary research, considering as centrality the analysis of documents of national educational policy (CF, 1988; LDB, 1996; PNLD, 1985; PCN, 1998; DCN, 2013; BNCC, 2017).

Keywords: Public education policies. Redemocratization of Brazil. Citizen training.

Resumo

Tendo como campo de investigação as políticas públicas no cenário educacional delineado posteriormente à promulgação da Constituição Federal em 1988, o objetivo deste texto é analisar elementos da cidadania nos documentos dessas políticas visando perceber avanços e desafios presentes, ainda, no que tange à perspectiva de formação cidadã. A questão central investiga em que medida as políticas educacionais brasileiras têm contribuído e/ou limitado uma perspectiva de formação cidadã. Para tanto, o percurso metodológico envolveu a interação entre pesquisa bibliográfica e documental, considerando como centralidade a análise de documentos da política educacional nacional (CF, 1988; LDB, 1996; PNLD, 1985; PCN, 1998; DCN, 2013; BNCC, 2017).

Palavras-chave: Políticas públicas de educação. Redemocratização do Brasil. Formação cidadã.

Resumen

Teniendo como campo de investigación las políticas públicas en el escenario educativo esbozado después de la promulgación de la Constitución Federal en 1988, el objetivo de este texto es analizar elementos de ciudadanía en los documentos de estas políticas con el fin de percibir los avances y desafíos presentes,

también, con respecto a la perspectiva de la formación ciudadana. El tema central investiga en qué medida las políticas educativas brasileñas han contribuido y/o limitado una perspectiva de la formación ciudadana. Por lo tanto, el camino metodológico implicó la interacción entre la investigación bibliográfica y documental, considerando como centralidad el análisis de los documentos de la política educativa nacional (CF, 1988; LDB, 1996; PNLD, 1985; PCN, 1998; DCN, 2013; BNCC, 2017).

Palabras clave: Políticas de educación pública. Redemocratización de Brasil. Formación ciudadana.

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Introduction

Are we, in Brazil, walking from a citizen's perspective? This question is discussed taking as a field of investigation the scenario that is developing in the country after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988. In dialogue with this universe of ideas, the documents of public educational policies, since that time, have been contemplating this assumption; these constitute the focus of this process of investigation that is outlined in the following pages. In this way, we aim to analyse elements of citizenship in the documents of educational public policies, aiming at perceiving advances and challenges that are still present in the context of these policies with regard to citizenship. It is important to emphasize that we understand the notion of context always implied in the geographical space-time dimension. In this sense, it is important to emphasize that the deliberations are related to the processes elaborated and objectified in the places around the world, and that they are legitimized in the form of documents.

According to this perspective, the methodological path involved the interaction between bibliographic and documentary research, based on the analysis of national educational policy, focused on the following documents: National Textbook Program (PNLD, 1985), Guidelines and Bases Law (LDB, 1996), National Curricular Parameters (PCN, 1998), National Curricular Guidelines (DCN, 2013), New National Curricular Guidelines for the Initial and Continuing Education of Professionals in the Basic Education Ministry (2015); Common National Curricular Base (BNCC, 2017). The analysis of these documents, in contact with theoretical references in the area of education, includes the organization of this writing, complexed by the dialogue between

the 1988 Federal Constitution, recognized as the Citizen Constitution, and the documents of educational policies in Brazil.

The proposed question aims to answer: How has Brazilian educational policies contributed to and/or limited a citizen education perspective? To discuss this aspect, the text is organized in four instances: a) educational public policies in the context of the redemocratization of the country; b) textbooks and the PNLD; c) beyond the textbook: the BNCC and the citizen dimension; d) democratization and citizen education in the development of educational policies.

Public educational policies in the context of Brazil redemocratization

After the long period of Military Dictatorship imposed on the country since 1964, the process of redemocratization of Brazil, from 1985, brought the possibility of outlining new educational public policies from a citizen's perspective, taking a look, for the first time in the country's history³, at the different social, ethnic and cultural contexts. This process began with the construction and approval of the 1988 Federal Constitution, our Magna Carta, which contemplated aspects relating to the construction of a democratic society and gave greater visibility to the perspective of citizenship.

In the preamble of the mentioned document the idea of:

[...] to institute a Democratic State, designed to ensure the exercise of social and individual rights, freedom, security, well-being, development, equality and justice as supreme values of a fraternal, pluralist and unprejudiced society, founded on social harmony and committed, in the internal and international order, with the peaceful resolution of controversies, we enact, under God's protection, the following Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil (BRAZIL, CF 1988, PREAMBLE).

In this presentation, democracy, freedom and pluralism are highlighted as aspects of an ensemble involved with the Democratic State. However, it allows revealing inconsistency, since it refers to the protection of the Divine Entity,

³ The democratic experience between 1945 and 1964 in which the 1946 Constitution maintained social achievements previously guaranteed, such as political rights, cannot be disregarded. This constitution already stated in article 166 that education is everyone's right and the State's duty, however, almost half the country's population at that time was illiterate and the education system still precarious in its structure and organization.

disrespecting, since the introduction, the secularity of the State and of the citizens in their multiple beliefs, or even in the condition of Atheists.

It was based on this document that public education policies began to be thought out in the democratic context established in the country. In 1996, the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law, LDB nº 9394/96, was published, composing the deliberations regarding education, taken as a public good, a right of everyone and a duty of the State.

Basic education in its public character would have, from this moment on, a series of assumptions, which were inserted in this document, more specifically by referring to the Principles and Ends of National Education, in which the following definitions are included:

Art. 2. Education, a duty of the family and the State, inspired by the principles of freedom and the ideals of human solidarity, aims to the full development of the student, their preparation for the exercise of citizenship and their qualification for work.

Article 3. Education shall be given on the basis of the following principles: I - equality of conditions for access and permanence in school; II - freedom to learn, teach, research and disseminate culture, thought, art and knowledge; III - pluralism of ideas and pedagogical conceptions; IV - respect for freedom and appreciation of tolerance; V - coexistence of public and private educational institutions; VI - free public education in official institutions; VII - valuing the professional of school education; VIII - democratic management of public education, in the form of this Law and the legislation of education systems; IX - ensuring quality standards; X - valuing the extra-school experience; XI - linking school education, work and social practices.

We notice that equality, freedom, coexistence, solidarity, valorisation, democracy and pluralism are textualised as constituent principles of the pathways to citizenship. Like the Federal Constitution, the LDB reverberated in a series of other laws that were later planned in order to maintain and amplify the democratic and citizen character that became, even if belatedly, the development of the country's educational policies.

In 1998 the National Curricular Parameters (PCNs) were built regarding aspects of the Brazilian's pedagogical tradition, the constitution of the school and its citizen dimension, containing didactic orientations about autonomy, diversity, interaction and cooperation, besides contemplating aspects about the availability for learning, time and space organization and selection of materials and evaluation possibilities.

The PCNs (BRAZIL, 1998) constitute a quality reference for education throughout the country, and their function is to guide and guarantee the coherence of investments in the educational system, socializing discussions, research and recommendations, supporting the participation of Brazilian's technicians and teachers, especially those who are more isolated and have less contact with current pedagogical production.

Through their open nature, they constitute a flexible proposal, to be implemented in regional and local decisions on curricular and educational reality transformation programs undertaken by government authorities, schools and teachers. [...] The set of propositions expressed here answers the need for benchmarks from which the educational system of the country is organized, in order to ensure that, respecting the cultural, regional, ethnic, religious and political diversities that go through a multiple, stratified and complex society, education can act, decisively, in the process of building citizenship, having as its goal the ideal of a growing equality of rights among citizens, based on democratic principles. This equality necessarily implies access to all public goods, including all socially relevant knowledge. (BRAZIL, 1998, p. 13).

In the document proposed as a parameter for educational actions, it refers to respect for cultural, regional, ethnic, religious and political diversities in a multiple, stratified and complex society. The citizen and citizenship are expressed as a process and goal for access to public goods and relevant knowledge. These texts are linked to all CF and LDB documents, with a specific commitment to also refer to the open character of schools and teachers.

In 2013 the National Curricular Guidelines (DCNs) were instituted, aimed at bringing Brazilian educational legislation regarding the different stages of basic education to knowledge: General Guidelines for Basic Education; Revision of the Guidelines for Early Childhood Education, for 9 (nine) year Elementary School, for Secondary School, for Technical Secondary Professional Education, for Basic Education in rural schools and for specialized educational services in the Special Education modality, in addition to providing guidance on the provision of education for young people and adults in situations of deprivation of liberty in penal institutions, for Youth and Adult Education (EJA), for Indigenous School Education, school education for children, adolescents and young people on the move, for Quilombola School Education, for Ethnic-Racial Relations Education and the Teaching of African and

Afro-Brazilian History and Culture. Also, the National Guidelines for Human Rights Education.

The guidelines brought in the National Curricular Guidelines (BRAZIL, 2013), consider its role as an indicator of political, social, cultural, educational options, and the function of education, in its relationship with the constitutional objectives of the Nation project, based on citizenship and the dignity of the person, which implies equality, freedom, plurality, diversity, respect, social justice, solidarity and sustainability.

In DCN (BRAZIL, 2013, p. 18) the concept of Citizenship,

It is a characteristic - to borrow Hannah Arendt's terms - essentially "social". That is to say: something still derived from and circumscribed to the scope of pure necessity. It is common to hear or read something that suggests a notion of citizenship as "individuals' access to the goods and services of a modern society," a contemporary discourse of a time when the numerous Brazilians' social movements were essentially struggling to obtain from the State conditions for a more dignified existence, from the dominantly material point of view. Even when this discourse changed in a more "political" and less "social" sense, that is, a citizenship now understood as the active participation of individuals in decisions relevant to their daily lives, this did not cease to be a claim that placed the political in the precedence of the social: to participate in public decisions means to obtain rights and assume duties, to request or ensure certain conditions of life minimally civilized.

We notice that the quotation from the American researcher, Hannah Arendt, is used as a support that citizenship is understood as social, but that it assumes the political effect through effective participation in decisions about choices. As we have pointed out, in the PCNs (1998), the understanding is that the exercise of citizenship requires access by all to the full range of cultural resources relevant to intervention and responsible participation in social life. In this sense, the domain of spoken and written language, the principles of mathematical reflection, the spatial and temporal coordinates that organize the perception of the world, the principles of scientific explanation, the conditions of enjoyment of art and aesthetic messages, the domains of knowledge traditionally present in the different conceptions of the role of education in the democratic world, among other demands, are imposed in the contemporary world.

It is also pertinent to consider the policies for teacher education in Brazil, given that the perspective of citizen education largely depends on the way teachers, professionals trained in different contexts, spaces and times, act, which will reverberate

in multiple perspectives on education and on the need (or not) for the citizen dimension. This is evidenced by the coexistence, in schools, of teachers who consider citizenship as the main focus for the formation of human beings and others who are nostalgic about the military dictatorship, understanding the period as that of "respect for norms" and "discipline".

The rigidity of the regime is directly related to the educational model present at the time and that, for many teachers, whether new to the profession or old (and without a keen eye on this process), defend this traditional mode of teaching based on the non-existence of spaces for dialogue and participation and, therefore, of enabling the social visibility of the subjects.

The document of the new national curricular guidelines for the initial and continued formation of professionals in the teaching of basic education, the opinion CNE/CP 02/2015, refers to citizenship at various times. One of the elements that it pays attention to is the school curriculum, taken as "the set of values propitious to the production and socialization of meanings in the social space and that contributes to the construction of the sociocultural identity of the student, the rights and duties of the citizen, the respect for the common good and democracy, the formal and non-formal educational practices and the orientation to work (BRAZIL, 2015, p. 2). At this point, the training of teachers for basic education, following the new guidelines, needs to contemplate the curriculum, this understood under democratic contributions and a bias that points to the construction of citizenship.

In Article 2, § 2, it takes into consideration that education is effective in educational institutions through pedagogical processes among professionals and students articulated in the areas of specific and/or interdisciplinary and pedagogical knowledge, policies, management, foundations and social and pedagogical theories for broad and citizen education and for learning at different levels, stages and modalities of basic education. This leads to the idea that the construction of the teacher's area and pedagogical knowledge and its relationship with the students, aspects that can contribute to citizenship, should be considered.

In Art. 5, it states that the formation of teaching professionals must ensure the National Common Base, guided by the concept of education as an emancipatory and permanent process. And it takes into account, in item I of this article, the integration and interdisciplinary curriculum, giving meaning and relevance to the knowledge and

experience of social and cultural reality, in accordance with the requirements for the exercise of citizenship and qualification for work. Once again, citizenship is evidenced as an exercise that permeates social relations and, therefore, a construct from the school.

In Art. 7 it considers that the teacher should have a repertoire of information and skills composed by the plurality of theoretical and practical knowledge, the result of the pedagogical project and the formative journey, consolidated in the professional exercise, allowing the knowledge of the educational institution as a complex organization in the function of promoting education for and in citizenship. Under these aspects, which are many, involves the knowledge of the school organization and also the function of the school in the construction of subjects prepared to act in the world, which refers to citizenship.

Finally, Art. 12 considers that the initial formation courses, respecting the national diversity and the pedagogical autonomy of the institutions, will be made up of three nuclei: I) general formation, of the specific and interdisciplinary areas, and of the educational field, its foundations and methodologies, and the diverse educational realities; II) Deepening and diversification of studies of the areas of professional performance, including the specific and pedagogical contents, prioritized by the pedagogical project of the institutions, in harmony with the teaching systems; III) Integrating studies for curricular enrichment.

In nucleus I, one of the needs is "research and study of the relations between education and work, education and diversity, human rights, citizenship, environmental education, among other central problems of contemporary society" (BRAZIL, 2015, p. 10). Once again the guidelines for teacher training for basic education insert aspects of democracy and revisit the need to take citizenship as an element in training and teaching work.

The fact is that legislation has advanced under these assumptions and has given visibility and legitimacy to the citizen's perspective. However, the doubt that remains and which lacks studies in a more specific way in relation to teacher training courses (among them in public, community and private universities and in courses in colleges and EAD), is whether these aspects have been considered effectively, or whether only the discourse of the law is reproduced, maintaining a formative process based on transmission, traditional teaching and the hierarchy of knowledge, as occurred in the dictatorial period.

When teacher training occurs in such a way that democratic presuppositions and citizenship are not deepened and debated in their meanings, it can remain a way of perceiving education only with the purpose of "transmitting" certain contents, of reproducing certain values, without moving towards the participative, dialogical and critical dimension that is intended in a country constituted under a democratic bias and thought for the citizen action of the subjects.

The documental complex that has been mentioned so far, despite the inconsistencies pointed out, shows an effort to refer and qualify citizenship. Parallel to all this set of standards, since 1985 the national policy of the textbook⁴ has been formally configured from the National Programme of Textbooks (PNLD), which since 2017 has been called the National Programme of Textbooks and Teaching Materials.

This program, prior to the redemocratization of Brazil, is taken as a reference in the proposed study because it refers to a set of measures that refer to the complexity of the production of textbooks intended for public schools in Brazil and that, since the 1990s, has gained a more qualified character in view of the process of evaluation of didactic collections from the pedagogical evaluation started in 1996. The movement to expand the policy of textbooks goes through the period of redemocratization of the country and has become, in recent decades, a complex program, whose materials for schools contemplate aspects of democratization of access to knowledge and considers the citizen's perspective in its general definitions.

The importance of understanding the developments in the implementation of this policy takes into account the influence of these materials in the contexts of public school education and to constitute one of the materials that most directly reaches the population, even if it circulates only between teachers and students, but is, according to Callai (2016), one of the few didactic materials accessible to Brazilian students and possible to be accessed by most families.

⁴ Although the first movements to use and organize teaching materials for schools referred to a process that began in the mid-19th century, it was only in the 1920s that the first steps were taken to build didactic proposals for the country's students. In this context, in 1929 the National Book Institute (INL) was created to legislate on public policies on textbooks, and in 1938 the National Textbook Commission (CNLD) was created to establish criteria for controlling the production and circulation of books in the country. Subsequently, other actions were taken to provide schools with teaching materials, such as the MeC/UsAID agreement, which remained for a few years supplying books to schools. Other actions were outlined in the following years, culminating in significant advances and the expansion of the program with the distribution of teaching materials at all levels of basic education, starting in the 2000s in a more specific way.

PNLD and the Brazilian textbook: Is it a possibility for citizen formation?

Implicated in the universe of Brazilian public policy, educational policies are conformed by means of more recent documents that are concerned with textualizing citizenship. In this universe, the PNLD and more recently the BNCC are prominent, since they are documents of Brazilian educational policy that are strongly present in the school. Therefore, we are dedicated to focusing on the analysis of citizenship in this complex document, starting with textbooks.

The PNLD, in its implementation in 1985, was controlled by the Student Assistance Foundation, which would purchase and distribute textbooks with federal resources. However, the production of materials would be in charge of the private initiative. This has been one of the aspects that refer to the relationship between the democratization of access to knowledge through textbooks and the production process restricted to private capital and, in this sense, to a select group of publishing houses.

Other decisions inherent in the unfolding of the national book policy, which began in 1985, refer to the reuse of books by other subsequent classes, i.e. the distribution of non-consumable books, and their choice being made by teachers in the schools where they would be used, which has broadened the possibility for teachers to get to know the proposals better and make more democratic decisions about which collections to choose. There was also the specification of the technical process of quality control of textbooks, the evaluation of these materials and the organization of textbook banks to be distributed according to the needs of public school institutions.

In 1994 the criteria for the evaluation of textbooks by MEC/FAE/UNESCO were articulated, thus expanding the criteria for the evaluation and qualification of textbooks. In 1996, the process of pedagogical evaluation of textbooks began, which resulted in greater qualification of these resources, since it enabled groups of teachers in higher education and, later, also in basic education, to become part of the evaluation teams of the textbook collections. The democratization of the process brought new meanings to the extent that the subjects who use these materials would also have representation in the process of evaluating the materials.

In addition to the evaluation of the textbook collections, schools and their teachers were offered, from 1997 onwards, the Textbook Guide containing the result of the evaluation of these materials intended for primary education. This very significant resource, although it has existed since 1997, in printed form and later made available on

the Internet, in many realities remains unknown, given that educational policies, the documents resulting from them, the guidelines that should reach teachers do not always arrive because of a series of difficulties in this interlocution, ranging from communication failures between MEC and school institutions, the lack of knowledge on the part of teachers of this resource as a facilitator of the choice of materials, or even the presence of editorial groups in school contexts, forcing and inducing the choice of their teaching collections.

In many schools, this contributes to the choice of materials based on certain collections made available by the publishers even before the LD Guide arrives to be accessed, perpetuating a questionable process regarding the democratization of the choice of collections, and fragile in the sense of perceiving whether, in fact, teachers are managing to access information on all the collections and perceive their proposals, including regarding aspects that contribute to citizen formation.

Starting in 2000 and in the following years, new advances occurred with the expansion of the PNLD, this because it began to distribute dictionaries, books in Braille, materials in pounds, Geographic Atlas and to carry out the service to High School through the PNLEM. In addition, the National Textbook Program for the Literacy of Youth and Adults (PNLA) was created.

Besides the production and distribution of these resources at all levels of Brazilian basic education, this policy has given greater visibility to the diversities and different contexts in which Brazilians who are inserted in public schools live. This occurs, for instance, in the content approached by textbooks, which, from the citizen and democratic constitution of the country, started to take into account a set of diversities, be they social, economic, cultural, ethnic, and, also, the diversities of gender, of family constitution, the visibility of subjects with different types of disabilities, among other aspects which, since the 1990's, have started to compose, even if in many collections in a little expressive way, an attempt to meet the different realities of the country and the diversity of subjects that compose Brazil.

Despite not being able to contemplate in depth all aspects of the Brazilian diversity in its multiple specificities, it was noticed a significant increase of spaces to approach diversity and weave possibilities of dialogue on other previously invisible themes.

The textbook proposals take into account a set of aspects established in a public notice published by FNDE, in line with current legislation and the developments of the National Textbook Programme. However, despite the care taken in considering the legislation, many publishers adapt their didactic collections to the public notice minimally, only enough so that they are not disapproved in the evaluation processes, as pointed out in certain geographic contents analysed by Corrêa and Meirelles (2019). This will be evident in didactic collections that, in many aspects, do not deepen debates regarding certain social and political themes. Without these highlights, citizen formation loses space and remains under a fragmented bias.

Another situation present in the context of the PNLD relates to the production of textbooks, which is largely dominated by private publishing companies, and this has consequently limited the production of works aimed at the diversity that is inherent in the country's public school students. Therefore, the existence of a restricted number of publishing houses participating in the evaluation process ends up maintaining in the market, and especially in the context of the acquisition of books by the State, a small set of didactic collections destined to serve the students of the public schools located in the 27 federative units of the country. In this context, what is pointed out by Bairro (2018, p. 7) occurs:

The results point to a trend - which accompanies the increase in investments by the Brazilian State in the PNLD's public policy of the concentrated obtention of the PNLD's Announcements in the period by a few companies. These companies are concentrated in forming an educational conglomerate. [...] Even if they identify themselves, outside the program, as distinct companies, they appear under the aegis of the conglomerate in the Brazilian book program.

This process also limits the didactic options that often do not include the ethnic, social and cultural diversity of the country, consisting of an extensive territory and permeated by a multiplicity of contexts that differ and need an education that, in addition to other contexts, encompasses the aspects that involve the close/local reality.

Considering that significant value is invested in the production of the collections, they must always be perfected and take the attention to diversity and the citizen's perspective as conditions for a movement that effectively contributes to the improvements of society, going beyond its role of encompassing a set of knowledge that has historically been built.

However, a certain standard is still perceptible in order to ensure acceptance of this material in the market and that it is approved both in the pedagogical evaluation and by teachers and schools, which may "adopt" it for use for four years. This is justified because, as a commodity, the textbook, when built on a proposal that takes into account polemic issues in a broad way, can be considered by many teachers as a challenging material, and may not be accepted, since it instigates different points of view in the classroom and various debates. In this context, the teacher often prefers to avoid certain discomforts and choose a less critical book on certain social issues. The teacher thus selects materials that present themes expressed in an objective way, making it easier for students to read and develop activities, also because their school times are busy with the classroom and with restricted moments for planning and analysis. These aspects contribute to maintain the invisibility of these issues, which compromises the debate on issues necessary for citizenship education (COPATTI, 2017).

The didactic proposals are limited to a predefined model, which is suitable for the whole national territory, and are made available to schools after approval in an evaluation process carried out by the MEC. Thus, the approved proposals from each publisher (sometimes more than one collection from the same publishing group) start to dispute the choice of teachers and, therefore, space in the consumer market.

The public values invested are not planned thinking about the details of each collection, but follow an official notice that, in some aspects, includes the citizen dimension and in many others still makes its advances impossible, considering that most collections do not touch or deepen themes that contribute to full citizenship. In other words, citizenship that is accessible to all and viable for the development of society in an equitable manner is not, in fact, present in the language and proposals of textbooks in the different areas.

When faced with a scenario of expansion of public investments in the evaluation, acquisition and distribution of these materials, reflect on what format has outlined the citizen's perspective and to what extent it appears, has become a necessity.

Only in 2017, according to FNDE data, a total of 1.295.910.769,73 Brazilian Reals were invested in textbooks in the final years of elementary school⁵, including students from the 1st to the 9th grades and replacing copies for high school. In 2018, a

⁵ Investments related to the attendance of teachers and students of this level of education and the replacement of books to other levels of education, also considering the replacement of books according to the increased number of enrolments.

total of 1,467,232,112.09 Brazilian Reals were invested, mainly in high school, in addition to the PNLD Field, EJA and replacement of books for elementary school. The investments made in 2019 with the books for children's education, mainly, amount to 1,102,025,652.17 Brazilian Reals, also contemplating the replacement of copies for elementary and high school.

The numerical data allow us to establish relationships between the organization of educational policy and the citizen perspective because they express the range of schools, students, works and values invested in the purchase of textbooks to be distributed to students throughout the country, democratizing access to a knowledge built historically and recognized as necessary to be transmitted to new generations.

On one hand, these data make the continental dimension of Brazilian territory visible, and they agree with the inference that, given the density of the scope of these investments, on the other hand, they refer to the difficulty in caring for the way this content is conveyed in these materials and with regard to the limitation of the actors/social groups (say economic) entrusted with the task of building book formats that bring out certain discourses in their proposals.

The resources invested, as we can see, maintain the availability of many copies of textbooks that currently serve the vast majority of students in public schools in the country. However, a great number of these young people do not feel contemplated in these materials, either because of the way they use language, the fragmented structure of contents, the difficulties still present in relating to the different realities, the diversities and other situations that are made invisible or presented in a way that ends up disregarding their forms of existence.

Considering the unfolding of the national policy of the textbook it is important to problematize the dynamics of these policies as they are often directed to content in the school context and guiding changes and (re)adaptation of didactic-pedagogical proposals as, in many realities, these materials are used as the main source of research or as the main element of the class.

Bittencourt (2004), points out that the textbook can take on different functions, depending on the conditions, the place and the time it is produced and used in different school situations. Because it is an object of "multiple facets", it is constituted as a cultural product, as a commodity linked to the publishing world and within the logic of

the capitalist market, as a support for knowledge and teaching methods of the various subjects and school subjects, and as a vehicle of values, ideological or cultural.

As we have pointed out, a challenge still present in the proposition of textbooks and in the evaluation has been the relationship between the quantity of these materials (by making them available to all schools and networks) and the quality of these productions. And this quality goes far beyond well elaborated texts and activities, reverberating mainly in the way they are built to bring citizenship as a social practice to all students.

Faced with this challenge, Höfling (2003, p. 163), draws attention to the situation highlighted by publishing groups, which, in the arena of decision-making and definition of public policy for the textbook, may compromise the nature and very concept of a social policy with more democratizing outlines. This is because it is a document and its concreteness is realized in the school context as a school curriculum. This perspective, in the current context, has been outlined in an even clearer and broader way, when a proposal for a Common National Curricular Base (BNCC) is installed, which ends up moulding the didactic collections to its proposal.

Some aspects concerning the BNCC are discussed below.

Beyond the textbook: the BNCC and the citizen dimension

The definition of a Common National Curricular Base (BNCC), provided for in the 1988 Federal Constitution and debated in recent years, initially promised a very strong mark towards the citizen's perspective. However, in its implementation, at the end of 2017, in the final version of the BNCC, the citizen's perspective was quite blurred. The objective is to develop learning based on skills and competences.

This document (BNCC, 2017) considers competence as the mobilization of knowledge (concepts and procedures), skills (practical, cognitive and socio-emotional), attitudes and values to solve complex demands of daily life, the full exercise of citizenship and the world of work. It considers that it is from the construction of skills and competences that one can contribute to the resolution of social demands, of work and act in a citizen manner. Therefore, citizenship is inserted as one of the ten general competencies of the National Base for basic education, as follows:

6. Value the diversity of knowledge and cultural experiences and incorporate knowledge and experiences that enable you to understand the relationships in the world of work and make choices in line with the exercise of citizenship and your life project, with freedom, autonomy, critical awareness and responsibility. (BNCC, 2017, p. 9).

The exercise of citizenship, although mentioned both in the general aspects of this document and in referring specifically to the curricular components, does not advance the debate on what citizenship is proposed and from what perspectives it can be thought. The dimension of citizenship considered in the BNCC refers to the 1988 Federal Constitution, in which it mentions article 205, which recognizes education as a fundamental right shared between State, family and society, determining that education, as a right of all, shall be promoted and encouraged with the collaboration of society, aiming at the full development of the person, his/her preparation for the exercise of citizenship and his/her qualification for work.

However, the BNCC focuses on the development of skills by clearly indicating what students should "know" (knowledge, skills, attitudes and values) and what they should "know how" (mobilization to solve complex demands of daily life, the exercise of citizenship and the world of work). This process, according to the document, offers references for strengthening actions that ensure essential learning, which is questioned by several authors in relation to the prescriptive tone that gains from the pedagogy of skills.

Faced with this, we perceived the focus mainly on the construction of an apparatus of elements, explained at various times, and the citizenship mentioned briefly, being an element that is not very deepened. This is also observed in its little deepened insertion in the curricular components, which, despite mentioning this perspective, do not directly insert contributions to make it effective. Only the curricular component of history covers this possibility in the objects of knowledge of the 5th grade of elementary school.

Likewise, the BNCC proposal specifically for high school, approved in 2018, mentions citizenship but also does not insert broader aspects that potentialize learning for the world of life, going beyond the idea of learning procedures to be seized and reproduced by students. The BNCC of high school is restricted to a general proposal and then opens itself to five formative itineraries, which oblige students to choose itineraries, some of which, in remote schools, in small municipalities, for example, are

not offered, further reducing the democratization of knowledge considered essential to integral formation and the construction of citizenship.

The citizen's dimension, in our understanding, needs to go beyond composing skills and competencies, being a broader understanding of the experiences in society, the developments that exist in it that, in a democratic context, allows us to act consciously, exercise rights and contribute with our duties also in the debates on issues that involve the society in which we live.

It is about understanding that educating for citizenship involves recognizing the centrality of the human's dimension. The construction of autonomy and adulthood are configured in processes inherent to citizenship. It is important to remember that citizenship is the central argument of the school in general, which works with knowledge considering the individual and the collective. But this is legitimate, as long as it proposes to provide an opportunity for the inclusion of people as participating subjects with regard to rights and duties.

The importance of the specific knowledge of the curricular components as devices in this process, as in Geography, for example, should be highlighted. Because geographic space is a product and a production of society, it is directly related to the concept of citizenship, because it concerns the common world and social equity. It is intersubjective that the geographic space is built, therefore, the commitment is to recognize the other as "another I". Geography, as well as other areas, is one of the sciences that contributes to the learning of citizenship because of its territorial implication and because of its possibility of understanding the world. (ANDREIS, 2012).

These aspects need to be considered, especially after the BNCC's approval, since a process of standardization of the curriculums and textbook proposals to this document has taken place. Thus, the textbooks are adequate to the competences and skills stipulated in it, but they still have several gaps in the sense of visualizing aspects aimed at the effective democratization of knowledge, both in view of the social and cultural diversities, as well as in relation to the approaches of the different themes that are presented today as current.

Democratization of knowledge and the perspective of citizen's formation in educational policies

Although citizenship has its variation in time and space, as Pinsky and Pinsky (2003) point out, it has an interactive character and this, in the interpretation of Carvalho (2015), changes as society is delineated and political regimes vary (in the colonial, dictatorial, democratic context).

The Brazilian geographer, Milton Santos (2007, p. 19), considers that:

Respect for the individual is the consecration of citizenship, by which a list of general and abstract principles is imposed as a body of individualized concrete rights. Citizenship is a law of society that, without distinction, reaches everyone and invests each one with the strength to be respected against force, in any circumstance.

The rights of the entire population, from the citizen's perspective adopted by Carvalho (2015), considers the civil, political and social rights inherent to the entire population, and not just a part of it, as considered in different times and societies over time. Civil rights are those fundamental to life, to freedom, to property, to equality before the law. Social rights guarantee participation in collective wealth and include the right to education, to work, to a fair wage, to health, to retirement, ensuring a minimum of social welfare for the entire population. And political rights "refer to citizen participation in the government of society. Its exercise is limited to the portion of the population and consists of the capacity to make political demonstrations, to organize parties, to vote, to be voted (CARVALHO, 2015, p. 15).

As an expression of social participation under an egalitarian dimension, citizenship is a necessity to be thought about and debated, since, according to Milton Santos (2007) it is still incomplete today. Consequently, changes in the use and management of territory are necessary if we want to create a new type of citizenship, a citizenship that is offered to us as respect for culture and as a search for freedom.

In order to think of the territory, the disputes imposed on it, the dynamics of the space that is constituted as a conjuncture of forces that are imposed and superimposed on social groups, a reflexive and dialogic exercise is needed, based on the construction of citizenship. According to Pinsky and Pinsky (2003), a possible path to citizenship is its learning at school, constituting the starting point of a work to strengthen its meaning. Thus, citizenship must be "active and demanding" as Carvalho (2015) considers.

Facing a context where education in its public character has been threatened in Brazil, the debate on citizenship is about the possibility of feeding and strengthening democracy. In the context of public education policies, citizenship needs to have space in the debate both in terms of the guiding documents and effectively reverberate in the proposals of textbooks and in the public education that is proposed in school institutions.

The current textbook collections, which have been framed in the BNCC's propositions, which contemplates citizenship in a poorly contextualized way, need to constitute the citizen's perspective as the background to its proposals. This is because citizenship is a living, dynamic process, and only advances to the extent that it makes visible the different subjects that make up society, many of them on the fringes, invisible, considered citizens only under the aspect of voters.

This necessary change reverberates directly in the educational processes that take place in schools located in the most diverse social, economic, cultural conditions of this country. It is in these spaces that textbooks arrive, sometimes more directly than the results of other recent educational policies, which bring democracy and the citizen as assumptions.

The textbook is the main resource used in many school contexts in the preparation and teaching of the various curricular components. In view of this, the debate on citizenship is a fundamental element in the construction of a society where participation and social justice are effectively contemplated.

There are questions that remain and relate to four essential aspects: a) How has the training of teachers for citizenship been constituted; b) how has the educational policies been outlined in relation to what specifically falls within the context of citizenship training, such as textbooks and the BNCC; c) what aspects can be reassessed in order to expand the quality of the materials made available in the face of the need to broaden experiences and citizen awareness; d) How has the results of educational policies implemented reached the school institutions.

These aspects, which may be the subject of further research, need to be thought out from their potential to contribute so that citizenship is indeed present in Brazilian society in a broad way and that, faced with the challenges of a context marked by difficulties in preserving democracy, it constitutes a strong voice from the spaces of

public education, taken since the 1988 CF as a public good, of quality, secular and accessible to all.

The citizen dimension in educational policy's needs, therefore, to be complexed in educational public policies, textbooks and legislation concerning teacher training. The challenge remains to advance research and reflection on these aspects, considering, immediately, that citizenship itself is necessary to ensure the debate that is proposed.

Final considerations

To strengthen educational public policies thinking about the formation of citizens tends to contribute to the construction of a society permeated by citizenship. In dialogue with these debates it is possible to point out that citizenship understood as "respect for the other as another I", in which democracy and the recognition of diversities are contemplated, is still a challenge that needs to be built through the clarity in the understanding of this principle, as well as its objectification in educational policy documents.

We consider, when analysing elements of citizenship in educational public policy documents, that advances have been significant since the 1990s, but that many challenges remain in the context of these policies with respect to citizenship. From the documents of educational public policies and answering the question that we have posed, we affirm that we are slowly and restrictively moving towards the citizenship perspective in Brazil, although it is still an incomplete, restricted citizenship that is not constituted in its potentialities in the face of innumerable historical processes that are related, to a large extent, to social inequalities, which imply in the non-implementation of social justice in a broader manner.

The educational policy, analysed in dialogue with the documents that legitimize the textbook program in Brazil and the BNCC currently implemented, brings the concern to cover, in a concentrated way, the national whole, but that, in this complex, has only contributed to the construction and respect for democratic principles.

So, there is still much to be done in this debate since the references to citizenship allow us to denote inconsistencies in some documents, in their proposals when they refer to citizen formation or to citizen action, in this case of teachers. Also, considering directly the BNCC's proposal taking skills and competences as central and having

citizenship as a result to be obtained from them. In the same way, the way textbooks treat diversity, sometimes superficially, and under fragmented contents, ends up making it difficult for essential aspects of the debate on the construction of a plural, democratic, citizen society to become effective.

As a result, more and more public resources have been invested in the acquisition and distribution of textbooks produced by large private companies, and shaped/framed to the BNCC proposal. Thus, on the one hand, we have an important movement to democratize the access to knowledge considered necessary to Brazilian students, but which, on the other hand, restricts the proposals to certain skills and competences, decreasing the visibility of diversities in the most varied ways, which makes it increasingly difficult to make progress in aspects essential for textbooks to be instruments for full citizenship.

It is our hope that the teacher training courses will be attentive to citizen education and the democratic perspective. However, in some teacher training contexts, the reproductive bias of content and social practices is maintained. We hope that, in the face of the unfolding of national policy that reduces investment in teacher training, the quality of the textbooks made available will be a permanent attention, contributing so that teachers who work in basic education can have access to coherent materials that effectively contribute to interpret society and build contributions to citizenship.

In view of the many aspects of this debate that are not covered in this article, we are mainly concerned about the setbacks in the debate on issues necessary for citizenship. In view of this, it is essential that we resist, having research and dialogue as possibilities for a dialogic movement between university and school, broadening the problematization of themes that are common to the different areas and that, under the gaze of Geography, the area from which we launch this gaze, seems important to us to be deepened, referring to the maintenance of democracy as a conquest of the Brazilian people and in relation to citizenship as a path for the participation of the population in the destinies of the country.

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