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THE PEDAGOGICAL 'ETERNAL RESTART': A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF HIGH SCHOOL REFORMS AND TEACHER IDENTITY

O 'ETERNO RECOMEÇO' PEDAGÓGICO: ANÁLISE CRÍTICA DAS REFORMAS DO ENSINO MÉDIO E A IDENTIDADE DO PROFESSOR

O 'ETERNO RECOMIENZO' PEDAGÓGICO: ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DE LAS REFORMAS DE LA EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA Y LA IDENTIDAD DEL PROFESOR

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Resumo

This article investigates the implications of administrative discontinuity in Brazilian teacher education between 2017 and 2024. It focuses on successive changes to high school education (Law No. 13,415/2017 and Law No. 14,945/2024), analyzed through the analytical category of the "Eternal Restart." Methodologically, the study is qualitative, based on documentary and bibliographic analysis, utilizing Bardin's content analysis to identify patterns of professional weakening. The results indicate that the compulsory imposition of formative itineraries, combined with the "pragmatization" of knowledge in BNC-Formação, reduced teachers' intellectual agency to instrumental training. The analysis highlights a curricular schism between high school reforms and undergraduate teaching degrees (*licenciaturas*), leading to professional identity erosion and reformist burnout. Furthermore, the systematic dehydration of funding programs, such as PIBID, reinforces a scenario of depleted university autonomy and pedagogical disorientation. The study acknowledges limitations regarding its strictly national normative scope and the use of secondary data on occupational health. It is concluded that governmental turnover, lacking enduring state policies, compromises the National Education Plan and educational sovereignty. Therefore, strengthening institutional safeguards is urgent to protect teacher education from electoral-cycle fluctuations, ensuring the normative stability and professional dignity necessary for a high-density public education.

Keywords: Teacher education. High school reform. Political discontinuity. Educational policy.

Abstract

Este artigo investiga as implicações da descontinuidade administrativa na formação docente brasileira entre 2017 e 2024. O foco recai sobre as sucessivas alterações no ensino médio (Lei nº 13.415/2017 e Lei nº 14.945/2024), analisadas sob a categoria analítica do "Eterno Recomeço". Metodologicamente, a pesquisa é qualitativa, baseada em análise documental e bibliográfica, utilizando a técnica de Bardin para identificar padrões de fragilização profissional. Os resultados

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indicam que a imposição compulsória de itinerários formativos, aliada à "pragmatização" do saber na BNC-Formação, reduziu o protagonismo intelectual do professor a um treinamento instrumental. A análise evidencia uma cisma curricular entre as reformas do ensino médio e as licenciaturas, gerando erosão da identidade profissional e estafa reformista. Além disso, a desidratação sistemática de programas de fomento, como o PIBID, reforça um cenário de desidratação da autonomia universitária e desorientação pedagógica. O estudo reconhece limitações quanto ao seu escopo estritamente normativo nacional e ao uso de dados secundários sobre saúde ocupacional. Conclui-se que a alternância de governos sem políticas de Estado perenes compromete o Plano Nacional de Educação e a soberania educacional. É urgente a consolidação de uma blindagem institucional que proteja a formação docente das oscilações dos ciclos eleitorais, garantindo estabilidade normativa e dignidade profissional para uma educação pública de alta densidade.

Palavras-chave: Formação Docente. Reforma do Ensino Médio. Descontinuidade Política. Políticas Educacionais.

Resumen

Este artículo investiga las implicaciones de la discontinuidad administrativa en la formación docente brasileña entre 2017 y 2024. El enfoque se centra en las sucesivas alteraciones en la educación secundaria (Ley nº 13.415/2017 y Ley nº 14.945/2024), analizadas bajo la categoría del "Eterno Recienzo". Metodológicamente, la investigación es cualitativa, basada en el análisis documental y bibliográfico, utilizando la técnica de Bardin para identificar patrones de debilitamiento profesional. Los resultados indican que la imposición obligatoria de itinerarios formativos, junto con la "pragmatización" del conocimiento en la BNC-Formación, redujo la agencia intelectual del docente a una capacitación instrumental. El análisis destaca un cisma curricular entre las reformas de la secundaria y las licenciaturas, provocando erosión de la identidad profesional y cansancio reformista. Además, la deshidratación sistemática de programas de fomento, como el PIBID, refuerza un escenario de autonomía universitaria agotada y desorientación pedagógica. El estudio reconoce limitaciones respecto a su alcance normativo nacional y al uso de datos secundarios sobre salud ocupacional. Se concluye que la alternancia de gobiernos sin políticas de Estado permanentes compromete el Plan Nacional de Educación y la soberanía educativa. Es urgente fortalecer los blindajes institucionales para proteger la formación docente de las fluctuaciones de los ciclos electorales, garantizando la estabilidad normativa y la dignidad profesional necesarias para una educación pública de alta calidad.

Palabras clave: Formación Docente. Reforma de la Enseñanza Media. Discontinuidad Política. Políticas Educativas.

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1. Introduction

Brazilian education is marked by a paradox: an abundance of curricular reforms alongside a lack of administrative continuity. This cycle of rupture turns what should be long-term state policy into short-lived government projects. The most severe impact of this lack of coordination falls on teacher education, which shifts from a project of intellectual development to a hostage of ideological agendas and budget fluctuations.

In this context, teachers are cast into an "eternal restart." The succession of normative changes between 2017 and 2024 from the abrupt implementation of the high school reform to its recent revision underscores the fragility of Brazil's educational pact. As Saviani (2009) argues, reformist inertia consumes resources and disorients educators, draining the transformative potential of public schools in favor of compulsory technical improvisation.

Historically, Brazilian educational reforms have tended to overlap, with political urgency displacing pedagogical maturation. Before teacher-education policies can be consolidated at the school level, new guidelines are often imposed, creating cycles of interruption that hinder continuity and institutional learning.

Although the 1988 Federal Constitution and the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law (LDB 9,394/96) established pillars for ethical, scientifically grounded teacher education, the regulation of these principles has been marked by repeated setbacks and abrupt changes. In recent decades, what has advanced is less an evolution of the LDB's precepts than their fragmentation through decrees and resolutions that erode university autonomy and the theoretical depth of undergraduate teacher-preparation programs. This legal and pedagogical instability turns hard-won rights into fragile concessions, vulnerable to shifting power coalitions and the interests of an increasingly invasive education market.

The National Education Plan (PNE 2014–2024), conceived as a decade-long compass, set ambitious and indispensable goals for initial and continuing teacher education aimed at the definitive professionalization of teaching. What followed, however, was a deliberate suffocation of those goals, hit by successive budget cuts

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often framed as fiscal austerity and by chronic instability in the leadership of the Ministry of Education (MEC) and CAPES. This administrative discontinuity turned the PNE into a “letter of intent” without financial support, leaving teachers in a system that demands excellence while withdrawing basic institutional backing.

In this fragile context, continuing education underwent a perverse shift: it ceased to be an organic process of theoretical and pedagogical growth and degraded into emergency, utilitarian training focused on new regulations and platforms. Teachers who should be autonomous, reflective subjects of the educational process are reduced to mere implementers of tasks: workers under precarious guidelines and ready-made methodologies developed in technical offices far removed from school realities. This managerial logic strips teachers of their intellectual agency, turning teaching into the application of standardized protocols that ignore the complexity of pedagogical knowledge.

The most traumatic institutional and pedagogical rupture of this century was consolidated with the 2017 high school reform, initiated abruptly by Provisional Measure No. 746/2016 and later converted into Law No. 13,415/2017. Far from a natural evolution of educational guidelines, this reform radically altered the final stage of basic education, fragmenting the national curriculum into an “itineraries” model that, in practice, deepened inequalities in access to universal knowledge. By using a provisional measure for a topic of such complexity, the Brazilian state signaled a dangerous preference for political speed over pedagogical coherence.

This authoritarian imposition ignored decades of research and academic debate, silencing professional associations and voices from the “school floor” at a crucial moment of transition. The reform’s original flaw, procedural authoritarianism set the stage for a chaotic rollout, with no structured training support to prepare teachers for the new reality. The result was forced improvisation: educators, stripped of intellectual autonomy, were compelled to implement a reform they had not been consulted on and for which they were not adequately prepared.

The compulsory introduction of “Formative Itineraries” imposed unprecedented curricular flexibility on teachers. Under the rhetoric of “student choice,” this flexibility masked a profound dismantling of core curricular content. In a

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move of profound disconnect, the Brazilian state demanded a level of interdisciplinarity for which undergraduate teacher-preparation programs historically organized around disciplinary depth had not prepared their graduates. This training gap was not a minor setback but a systemic failure that cast teachers into a pedagogical vacuum, forcing them to navigate fields in which they lacked technical mastery and to sacrifice rigorous didactic transposition for superficial, improvised eclecticism.

This reformist architecture, as denounced by Kuenzer (2017), represents the apex of a market-oriented "pedagogy of competencies," which deliberately empties classical and scientific content in favor of instrumental, utilitarian training. For teachers, this process struck at their epistemological identity: historians, geographers, physicists, and biologists saw their specializations dissolved into generic blocks and were pressured to act as "facilitators" of socio-emotional competencies at the expense of the solid academic training that defines them. The result is the alienation of teaching work, as professionals lose ties to their disciplines and become reproducers of fragmented, depoliticized content.

Implementing the reform compelled many teachers to take on hybrid and often ambiguous curricular components, such as "Life Project" or "Entrepreneurship," without grounding in their prior academic preparation. This displacement functioned as pedagogical violence: the state, ignoring the depth required for teaching, offered "training" shaped by technical reductionism short videos, superficial manuals, and platform-based learning tracks. This model falls far short of the complexity of teaching, which requires time, reflection, and epistemological mastery, reducing education to the consumption of instructional content devoid of critique.

The ephemerality of Brazilian education policy is evident in recurring calls for innovation and technological modernization without the structural support needed for consolidation. As Pereira and Teixeira (2025) point out, a deep "gap between formulation and implementation" produces proposals that remain superficial in everyday academic practice. This disconnect between normative rhetoric, and the

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reality of precarious teaching conditions leads to many reforms to be perceived as fleeting, failing to produce lasting structural transformations in teacher education.

This precariousness is fueled by a chronic pathology of Brazilian public administration: federative discontinuity aggravated by changes in political leadership. At the Ministry of Education, each new administration often weakens or cancels established programs like PIBID or PNAIC to promote its own initiatives, leading to a pattern of institutional erasure. This obsession with claiming ownership of public policy ignores the accumulated experience of education systems and dismantles communities of practice, leaving teachers in a state of perpetual restart and professional insecurity.

The Institutional Program for Teaching Initiation Scholarships (PIBID) is an emblematic case of how successful education policies can be undermined. Although its effectiveness is well documented through retention indicators and the integration of university coursework with everyday school practice the program was subjected to sustained tightening between 2018 and 2022. Under the banner of fiscal austerity and ideological reorientation, PIBID faced recurring threats of extinction and deep cuts to the number of scholarships. These measures destabilized communities of practice and discouraged thousands of pre-service teachers who relied on the program for financial and intellectual support during their professional preparation.

This precariousness is a direct symptom of the absence of a national teacher-education policy with stability and legal protection from the whims of temporary leadership. Without a durable regulatory framework, higher education institutions (HEIs) remain strategically paralyzed, unable to plan undergraduate teacher-preparation curricula in ways that respond to the real demands of school systems. Instead of evolving organically, universities are forced into reactive, episodic curricular revisions that track political convenience and market-driven visions. This structural disconnect undermines long-term preparation, turning the university into a mere validator of volatile government guidelines, at the expense of its role in educating critical intellectuals for basic education.

In 2019, CNE/CP Resolution No. 2/2019 consolidated one of the most controversial shifts in recent education policy by instituting the BNC-Formação,

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which required undergraduate teacher-preparation curricula to align with the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC). This moves tightened epistemological control within higher education institutions, reducing pedagogy and the education sciences to a checklist of operational competencies. As Gatti (2020) argues, the guideline prioritizes a technicist, performative view of teaching, in which training for the delivery of standardized content displaces critical reflection and solid theoretical grounding. Teachers are thus stripped of their role as educational intellectuals and shaped into technical instructors of skills predefined by regulatory agencies and market interests.

Institutional instability reached a new peak with Law No. 14,945/2024, which substantially restructured high school guidelines. Although this "reform of the reform" claims to correct distortions and respond to public criticism, it ultimately entrenches pedagogical impermanence. For teachers, it does not offer a definitive solution but imposes yet another cycle of compulsory readaptation on a workforce already worn down by years of improvisation. By changing credit hours and itineraries again before the previous model had been consolidated or evaluated, the Brazilian state reinforces reform fatigue and undermines pedagogical continuity.

Libâneo's (2013) account of the structural dualism of Brazilian education has intensified: one type of schooling for the elite and another weakened and vocationalized for working-class students, mirrored in the precariousness of their teachers' preparation.

Therefore, analyzing changes in government is not merely a matter of partisan politics; it is an institutional problem that undermines the right to quality education. Without teacher education protected by long-term state policy, Brazilian education remains adrift.

This article examines how these discontinuities have weakened teacher autonomy. Its central objective is to analyze the period from 2017 to 2024 by identifying gaps between the rhetoric of innovation and the reality of precarious working conditions and by outlining pathways toward a teacher-education policy that can endure changes in executive leadership.

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2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Dialectics between State Policies and Government Projects

The analysis of teacher-education policies in Brazil reveals a persistent tension between institutional continuity and political voluntarism. While state policies require robust legal frameworks and protected funding, the national scenario is marked by the ephemerality of "government projects" (Saviani, 2011). Subordinating educational planning to electoral calendars erases pedagogical memory and turns education into a field of ad hoc experimentation, where progress is repeatedly sacrificed in the pursuit of the "brand" of each new administration.

This disorderly and self-consuming turnover generates what the literature describes as severe curricular and epistemological fragmentation. Each reform cycle culminating in the 2017 high school reform operates under a *tabula rasa* logic, disregarding theoretical accumulation, technical diagnoses, and successful experiences from previous administrations. Higher education institutions (HEIs), responsible for undergraduate teacher-education programs, are pushed into institutional anomies: they must revise their pedagogical projects so frequently that there is little time to build a stable professional memory, resulting in training that remains permanently reactive to normative crises within the Ministry of Education.

At the core of this discussion lies the persistent theory of structural dualism in Brazilian education, a historical scar that segregates access to knowledge based on class origin. According to the forceful analysis of Libâneo (2012), the national education system operates under a logic of pedagogical apartheid: a humanist, encyclopedic, and scientifically rigorous education is reserved for the elite, destined for leadership and intellectuality, while an instrumental, fragmented, and purely technical training is imposed on the working class. This asymmetry is organically reflected in teacher training, which, depending on the network in which they operate, prepares them either for reflective and autonomous teaching or for the mere operative instruction of dehydrated content.

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2.2 Structural Dualism and the "Pedagogy of Competencies"

The 2017 high school reform exacerbated Brazil's historical structural dualism. According to Libâneo (2012), the system functions as a form of "pedagogical apartheid": a humanistic and scientifically rigorous education is reserved for the elite, while an instrumental and fragmented curriculum is imposed on the working class.

In this context, Kuenzer (2017) denounces the shift toward a market-oriented "pedagogy of competencies." Teachers are repositioned from educational intellectuals to "facilitators" of socio-emotional skills. This theoretical thinning consolidated by the BNC-Formação (CNE/CP Resolution No. 2/2019) reduces teaching to an operational activity and subordinates' university autonomy to the immediate demands of the BNCC (ANFOPE, 2020; Gatti, 2020).

CNE/CP Resolution No. 2/2019, by instituting the BNC-Formação, became a regulatory framework for an instrumental and technicist view of teacher education. By requiring compulsory alignment of undergraduate curricula with the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC), the Brazilian state sharply constrained university autonomy, converting HEIs into training centers for the implementation of standardized guidelines.

As ANFOPE (2020) argues, this normative move narrows space for critical reflection and academic research, subordinating the production of pedagogical knowledge to immediate curricular demands that often overlook regional complexities and learners' subjectivities.

Academic organizations and researchers have criticized the "pragmatization" of teacher knowledge that reduces the profession to operational performance. Gatti (2020) argues that teacher education should not be reduced to the mechanical mastery of classroom management techniques or the memorization of standardized manuals. Rather, teaching requires epistemological depth in specific fields of knowledge, as well as robust grounding in the sociology of education and developmental psychology. By prioritizing metric efficiency, the BNC-Formação risks hollowing out the teacher's intellectual role, turning critical professionals into

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protocol implementers who are less able to question the structures of inequality embedded in the education system.

A critical concept for this analysis is the "multidimensional precarization of teaching work," exacerbated by the structural ruptures of recent reforms. The compulsory imposition of new curricular components by Law No. 13,415/2017 operated a violent displacement of pedagogical expertise, compelling teachers to teach subjects entirely foreign to their areas of qualification and epistemological mastery. This phenomenon, far from being a mere administrative adjustment, constitutes an institutionalized technical negligence that severely compromises the quality of didactic transposition. Moreover, it threatens the professional identity of the teacher, who finds themselves stripped of their intellectual authority to act as an "improvised multipurpose worker," fragmenting the bond between scientific knowledge and classroom practice.

The ephemerality of Brazilian educational policies is intensified by the logic of discontinuity that frequently marks State initiatives, preventing the consolidation of structural advancements. As Pereira and Teixeira (2025) point out, Vocational and Technological Education (VTE) still faces the 'instability and discontinuity of programs,' which reveals the urgency for long-term public policies that overcome setbacks and normative fragmentations. This transitory nature of reforms, by failing to guarantee the necessary continuity, ultimately reduces strategic educational projects to mere instruments of temporary adjustment to market demands.

The systematic discontinuity of funding policies, exemplified by PIBID (the Institutional Program for Teaching Initiation Scholarships), illustrates the institutional fragility and administrative amnesia that plague Brazilian education. Widely recognized for promoting an organic articulation between academic theory and everyday school practice, PIBID was subjected to political and financial erosion. Under the justification of managerial reorientation, the program faced drastic budget cuts and guideline changes that distorted its original purpose of early and critical induction, in favor of models such as the Pedagogical Residency. This often top-down transition prioritized a pragmatic and utilitarian view of preparation, dismantled

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consolidated communities of practice, and replaced reflective development with operational training.

From Dourado's (2015) perspective, teacher education goes beyond the accumulation of credentials; it should be understood as an ontological and continuous process linked to professional recognition and objective working conditions. However, when the Brazilian state arbitrarily interrupts funding flows or changes career-progression rules decoupling incentives for qualification from functional promotion it breaks the pact of trust with teachers. This instability signals that educators' intellectual investment is treated as contingent and is subject to fiscal adjustments that frame education as an operating cost rather than as a strategic public investment, fostering professional discouragement and academic demobilization.

The enactment of Law No. 14,945/2024 emerges as an outgrowth of this chronic instability. Although the new legal text presents itself under the rhetoric of damage mitigation and the correction of the 2017 reform's structural flaws, it ultimately ratifies the logic of normative precariousness. The Brazilian teacher is cast into a state of "permanent and autophagic reform," where the speed of the legislator's pen solemnly ignores the maturation time indispensable to any serious pedagogical proposal. Thus, a temporal paradox is established: the time required for the sedimentation of an educational practice is invariably crushed by the ephemerality of executive mandates. The result is a school in a state of latent crisis, where teachers are forced to discard methodologies and lesson plans before even evaluating them, serving as a laboratory for political trials that never achieve institutional consolidation.

Historically, teacher education in Brazil has been shaped by recurring fiscal crises and budgetary management that often treats education as a primary adjustment variable. In austerity scenarios and budget freezes (*contingenciamento*), graduate scholarships and continuing-education programs key pillars of professional development are among the first targets of financial restriction, as noted in PNE monitoring reports (Brasil, 2023). This pattern is not merely technical; it is political in its effects: weakening investment in qualification limits teachers' professional

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autonomy and undermines the conditions needed to consolidate a high-quality public education system.

2.3 Multidimensional Precarization and Epistemological Emptying

The imposition of formative itineraries operated a violent displacement of teaching expertise. Teachers were compelled to teach hybrid components, such as “Life Project,” without any basis in their previous academic training. This phenomenon of “pedagogical robotization” (FREIRE, 1996) strips teachers of their role as cultural mediators, transforming the educational act into a mechanical delivery of standardized scripts. In addition, institutional instability generates what can be called a “permanent and autophagic reform.”

Law No. 14,945/2024, although it attempts to mitigate damages, institutionalizes a state of impermanence. As Pereira and Teixeira (2025) observe, the 'gap between normative rhetoric and the reality of precarization' converts rights into fragile concessions, subjected to the whims of fiscal adjustments and administrative amnesia.

The theoretical framework of this analysis requires recognizing the hegemonic influence of international organizations, such as the World Bank and the OECD, which operate as drivers of a globalized and standardized educational agenda. Guided by a strictly economic logic, these institutions impose teacher training models and large-scale assessment frameworks based exclusively on standardized test results (such as PISA), establishing a performance hierarchy that ignores Brazil's deep structural inequalities and regional specificities. By transposing metrics from developed countries into the reality of an unequal education system, these organizations promote a colonization of pedagogical thought, where educational success is reduced to a statistical index, disregarding the school's social and political function in the formation of citizenship.

This managerialist and performative logic in education establishes a dictatorship of metric efficiency, prioritizing the achievement of quantitative goals over integral human formation. The teacher, caught in this gear of exacerbated productivism, is subjected to constant pressure for immediate results and

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uninterrupted adaptation to new annual guidelines that emerge without proper institutional support. This scenario of teaching vulnerability has generated devastating consequences for workers' health: chronic occupational stress and burnout syndrome are no longer isolated cases but have become central and alarming themes in contemporary educational literature. The precarization of working conditions, combined with the de-intellectualization of teaching practice, converts the classroom into an environment of mental exhaustion, where teachers fall ill while trying to reconcile the complexity of the educational act with the rigidity of performance spreadsheets.

Continuing education, which legally and ethically should constitute an inalienable right and a space for intellectual emancipation, is transfigured into an alienating administrative burden when imposed by vertical and authoritarian logics. According to the forceful defense by Nóvoa (2017), true teacher development must be conceived "within the profession," grounded in collective reflection on praxis and the exchange of knowledge among peers in daily school life. However, the dominant Brazilian model subverts this premise by prioritizing episodic, fragmented, and purely instructional courses, dictated by abrupt structural reforms that ignore the teacher's subjectivity. This "office-based training" disregards accumulated pedagogical maturity, treating the teacher as a passive repository of new technical norms rather than a critical subject capable of producing knowledge from their own labor reality.

Complementing this scenario of devaluation, the introduction of the "notorious knowledge" (*notório saber*) provision by the 2017 reform represented a frontal attack, both symbolic and practical, on the foundations of teacher professionalization in Brazil. By legally endorsing individuals lacking a teaching degree or *stricto sensu* pedagogical training to take over classroom teaching in technical and vocational education, the State operates an academic fraud. This measure not only makes teaching more precarious but also dehydrates the scientific and humanist path necessary for building the "educator self." The institutional message is unequivocal: teaching is reduced to a mere technical "know-how," stripped of the ethical, psychological, and didactic complexity that defines the

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profession. It is a deregulatory offensive that delegitimizes the university as a training hub and downgrades education to a technical instruction activity, devoid of its potential for social transformation.

The enactment of Law No. 14,945/2024, although presented as a movement for curricular recomposition by expanding the workload of Basic General Education (FGB), operates on a terrain already devastated by seven years of fragmentation and uncertainty. This late revision attempts to mitigate deep pedagogical distortions but faces consolidated structural and symbolic damage: the morale of the teaching category, exhausted by successive cycles of improvisation, is in a state of motivational anemia and reformist burnout. According to the CONSED (2024) diagnoses, school infrastructure was precariously shaped to meet an itinerary model that has now been revised, generating a legacy of wasted resources and a sense of institutional discredit.

This "reform of the reform" does not erase the impact of the symbolic violence suffered by teachers who, for nearly a decade, were compelled to teach curricular components emptied of scientific rigor. The return of classroom hours to traditional disciplines is a partial victory that does not, by itself, solve the fragmentation of educational networks. The Brazilian teacher emerges from this period not only overburdened but skeptical regarding the permanence of educational norms, given that institutional fragility allowed High School to be used as a political laboratory. What is observed in 2024 is an attempt to rebuild pedagogical bridges on weakened foundations, where the recomposition of the workload is merely the first step toward a necessary and urgent rehabilitation of professional dignity and the stability of State policies.

In short, the theoretical framework presented here reveals that the systemic discontinuity of training policies is not a mere setback or a management failure, but a structural characteristic of a governance model that subjects education to the logic of fiscal adjustment and political marketing. Overcoming this state of impermanence requires, therefore, the constitutionalization and institutional shielding of training policies to protect them from the whims and ideological oscillations of temporary managers. Only the consolidation of a State Policy, with earmarked funding and

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perennial legal frameworks, can ensure that the Brazilian teacher ceases to be a "reform tightrope walker" to become the architect of a high-density scientific and human public education.

The critical analysis of this article is sustained by the inescapable premise that no educational reform is materially possible without perennial investment in the teacher's subjectivity and qualification. By neglecting the maturation time of pedagogical practices and disregarding the voices of those who sustain daily school life, the Brazilian State operates a silent dismantling of the public school. What is claimed is the recovery of teacher agency in the face of the advancement of managerialism and empty technique. It is imperative that training be understood as an intangible heritage of the nation, a pillar of sovereignty that daily resists attempt at devaluation and the dismantling of public policies, ensuring that the act of teaching remains an exercise in freedom and social transformation.

3. Methodology

The present investigation adopts a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical nature, grounded in the understanding that educational phenomena are socially constructed and resist mere statistical reductionism. The research design is structured as a documentary and bibliographic study, aiming to map the trajectory of teacher training policies through the lens of administrative discontinuity between 2017 and 2024.

3.1 Constitution of the Corpus and Data Sources

The data corpus was systematically established to capture the legislative transition between the 2017 High School Reform and the 2024 revision. The selection followed a purposive sampling criterion, including only documents with national normative reach or official technical assessments regarding teacher initiation programs. The sources are categorized into three distinct axes:

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- **Legal Frameworks:** A longitudinal analysis of the Federal Constitution (1988), LDB (Law 9,394/96), and the National Education Plan (PNE 2014-2024). High priority was given to Law No. 13,415/2017 and Law No. 14,945/2024 to contrast the "reform" and the "reform of the reform."
- **Official Technical Documents:** Reports from INEP regarding PNE goals (15 and 16) and technical notes from CAPES (2018–2022) concerning the budgetary strangulation of the PIBID and Pedagogical Residency programs.
- **Scientific Literature:** A survey conducted in the SciELO and Google Scholar databases, utilizing descriptors such as "Teacher Training," "Administrative Discontinuity," and "High School Reform." We prioritized benchmark authors (Saviani, Libâneo, Gatti, and Kuenzer) to provide a critical epistemological counterpoint to the normative texts.

3.2 Analysis Procedures

Data processing was operationalized through Thematic Content Analysis (Bardin, 2011), structured in three systematic phases:

i) **Pre-analysis:** Exhaustive reading (*lecture flottante*) of the legal texts to identify recurring lexical patterns, such as the rhetoric of "innovation" versus the reality of "flexibilization."
ii) **Exploration of the material:** Categorization of the corpus into three analytical dimensions: normative instability, funding erosion, and the epistemological erosion of professional identity.
iii) **Treatment of results and inference:** Rather than merely describing laws, the analysis examined their context of production, confronting gaps between the prescribed curriculum and teachers' objective working conditions.

To ensure internal validity, the study employed the triangulation of sources, contrasting official budget execution data with the critical perceptions found in the academic literature of the period.

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This study does not seek to exhaust the topic; rather, it offers a reflective overview of the instability of the teaching profession amid polarization and emergency reforms that have shaped the last decade in Brazil.

Accordingly, the general objective of this study is to analyze the impacts of changes in government and recurring education reforms on the continuity of teacher-education policies between 2017 and 2024. Specifically, it seeks to (1) identify the major regulatory ruptures during the period, (2) examine contradictions between the 2017 high school reform and university-based initial teacher preparation, and (3) propose guidelines that support consolidating teacher education as long-term state policy rather than short-term government policy.

3.3. Data Source Synthesis

To ensure transparency and systematic organization of the investigated material, **Table 1** summarizes the documents that constitute the research corpus, categorized by nature and analytical relevance.

Table 1: Synthesis of the Research Corpus (2017–2024)

Category	Primary Documents / Sources	Analytical Relevance
Legal Frameworks	Federal Constitution (1988); LDB No. 9,394/96; PNE (Law 13,005/2014); Law No. 13,415/2017; Law No. 14,945/2024.	Mapping the normative trajectory and the cycle of "permanent reform."
Official Reports & Technical Notes	INEP Monitoring Reports (2020-2023); CAPES Technical Notes on PIBID and Pedagogical Residency (2018-2022); CONSED Position Papers.	Identifying budget strangulation and gaps between policy and implementation.
Normative Resolutions	CNE/CP Resolution No. 2/2019 (BNC-Formação); CNE/CEB Resolution No. 3/2018.	Analyzing the "pedagogy of competencies" and the erosion of university autonomy.
Theoretical Benchmarks	Critical Literature: Saviani (2011); Libâneo (2012); Gatti (2020); Kuenzer (2017); Pereira & Teixeira (2025).	Providing the epistemological lens to critique the instrumentalization of teaching.

Source: Prepared by the author (2026).

3.4 Spatial and Administrative Delimitation

This study focuses primarily on the national normative plane, centering its analysis on the federal legislative instruments such as Law No. 13,415/2017,

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Resolution CNE/CP No. 2/2019, and Law No. 14,945/2024 that dictate the general guidelines for High School and teacher training in Brazil. The data corpus is composed of documents with national jurisdiction, issued by the Ministry of Education (MEC), the National Council of Education (CNE), and the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research (INEP).

As Saviani (2011) and Dourado (2015) argue, the national normative level functions as the “prescribed curriculum” and the legal bedrock for state policies. However, this study recognizes the “federative complexity” of the Brazilian education system. While norms are centralized at the federal level, their materialization occurs within a decentralized framework, as discussed by Laval (2004) regarding tensions between global mandates and local implementation.

Consequently, the analysis does not intend to exhaust the specificities of implementation within each of the 27 state sub-systems. Instead, it aims to uncover the structural logic of the "Eternal Restart" as it is designed at the federal level. By delimiting the scope to the national plane, this research highlights the centralized volatility of educational governance, which subsequently forces a state of permanent readaptation upon state networks and higher education institutions across the country.

4. Results and Discussion

The findings confirm that the period from 2017 to 2024 consolidated a scenario of “reform fatigue” and professional insecurity. The analysis also reveals contradictions between the rhetoric of modernization and the reality of structural precariousness. The concept of the "Eternal Restart" (*Eterno Recomeço*) is defined in this study as a phenomenon of institutional instability characterized by the systematic overlapping of educational reforms that lack a maturation period. It is not merely a sequence of changes, but a pathological cycle of administrative discontinuity where each new political management promotes the "institutional erasure" of previous successful policies to implement its own programmatic "brand" (Saviani, 2011 & Libâneo, 2012).

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4.1 The Cycle of Impermanence: From Law 13,415/2017 to Law 14,945/2024

The legislative trajectory of Brazilian High School education is empirically marked by the rapid supersession of Law No. 13,415/2017 by Law No. 14,945/2024. Documentary evidence indicates that the 2024 revision restructured credit hours and curricular frameworks before the 2017 model could achieve institutional maturation. This phenomenon epitomizes Saviani's (2011) concept of "reformist inertia," where the accumulation of normative layers hinders pedagogical stability. Consequently, the State formalizes a state of "permanent restart," wherein legal volatility acts as a structural barrier to the consolidation of teacher identity, relegating educators to the role of reactive agents of shifting bureaucracy.

4.2 Programmatic Dehydration and Budgetary Sabotage

Technical notes from CAPES (2018–2022) document a systematic attrition of scholarship quotas and funding for the Institutional Program for Teaching Initiation Scholarships (PIBID). Analytically, these figures substantiate Dourado's (2015) thesis regarding the subordination of teacher education to fiscal adjustment variables rather than strategic State investments. The withdrawal of resources from established programs constitutes a form of "administrative amnesia" that dismantles communities of practice, sacrificing the qualitative integrity of public schooling for short-term fiscal targets.

4.3 Epistemological Erosion and the "Notorious Knowledge" Provision

Resolution CNE/CP No. 2/2019 (BNC-Formação) and the "notorious knowledge" provision in Law No. 13,415/2017 formally authorize individuals lacking a teaching degree (*licenciatura*) to assume classroom responsibilities in technical tracks. This normative shift materializes Kuenzer's (2017) critique of the "pedagogy of competencies," which prioritizes instrumental "know-how" over scientific depth. By legally decoupling pedagogical training from professional practice, the State de-

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intellectualizes teaching, transmuting a complex scientific endeavor into a simplified instructional delivery service.

4.4. Normative Fragmentation as a Device of Exclusion

Implementing Law No. 13,415/2017 produced what the documents suggest as a “formative blackout.” The imposition of Formative Itineraries occurred in a way that was disconnected from undergraduate teacher-preparation curricula. This mismatch institutionalized improvisation: teachers were required to teach components without disciplinary grounding such as “Life Project” sacrificing epistemological depth for superficial eclecticism (Kuenzer, 2017).

Further evidence indicates that curricular fragmentation was not accompanied by structural changes in university programs, leaving teachers without theoretical or methodological support to develop interdisciplinary work. As a result, many educators were pushed into generic content areas with little guidance, reinforcing professional insecurity and weakening the quality of didactic transposition.

4.5 The Robotization of Teaching Practice and Platform-Based Training

Building upon this normative framework, the implementation of BNC-Formação sought to "freeze" curricula through a checklist of operational competencies. The discussion of continuing education revealed a reactive, "platform-based" model: episodic and remote training sessions focused solely on the BNCC, neglecting structural school deficiencies and regional diversity. As Gatti (2020) notes, this model strips teachers of their status as intellectuals, shaping them into technical instructors of skills predefined by regulatory agencies. This transition substitutes sustained professional development for a model of instructional consumption, further weakening the profession’s attractiveness and deepening state-level disparities.

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4.6 The "Reform of the Reform": Institutionalizing Impermanence

Law No. 14,945/2024, though framed as a course correction, required recently developed plans to be discarded for yet another cycle of compulsory readaptation. As Pereira and Teixeira (2025) observe, this transitional dynamic prevents structural consolidation, fueling what this study identifies as reformist burnout. Theoretical discussion drawing on Libâneo (2012) indicates that educational dualism intensified: elite schools maintained academic excellence, while teachers in the public system faced pressure for pragmatic compliance with digital platform protocols. This climate of pedagogical disorientation extends beyond technical issues to the human dimensions of teaching, evidenced by increasing reports of mental distress. This scenario also sparked significant resistance from public universities, which chose to preserve critical pedagogical projects despite legal and administrative conflicts with the CNE, highlighting the profound disconnect between policy-making bodies and teacher-preparation institutions. Even with the transition to a new federal administration in 2023 and the resumption of dialogue with organizations such as ANFOPE, the legacy of earlier discontinuities continues to constrain action. Initiatives like the National Commitment to Child Literacy (*Compromisso Nacional Criança Alfabetizada*) have emerged as new systemic demands, once again requiring teachers to adapt to shifting targets and monitoring frameworks without addressing the structural gaps created by previous reforms.

Overall, the results suggest that Brazilian teachers have become “reform tightrope walkers.” Without institutional safeguards to protect teacher-education programs from electoral swings, Brazil will likely continue to produce short-lived, low-impact policies. The recurrence of reforms framed as innovation and modernization often fails to take hold in institutional daily life. As Pereira and Teixeira (2025) observe, the persistent “gap between institutional discourse and school reality” suggests that many changes operate primarily at a regulatory level rather than producing durable structural improvement, thereby intensifying precarious working conditions instead of strengthening teaching and learning.

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4.7 The Curricular Schism: High School Reform vs. Undergraduate Teaching Degrees

The enactment of Resolution CNE/CP No. 2/2019 (BNC-Formação) and the subsequent Law No. 14,945/2024 established a mandatory alignment between teacher-preparation curricula and the specific competencies of the BNCC. Documentary analysis of university pedagogical projects (PPCs) reveals a forced shift toward "genericist" training, where disciplinary hours in areas like History, Physics, and Biology are often reduced to accommodate transversal themes such as "Life Project" and "Entrepreneurship."

This structural tension materializes the "fragmentation of knowledge" warned by Libâneo (2012) and Gatti (2020). When the State subordinates the *licenciatura* (degree) to the immediate, operative needs of the High School "itineraries," it promotes an epistemological inversion: the university ceases to be a space for scientific deepening and becomes a training hub for instructional facilitators. This process aligns with Kuenzer's (2017) critique of the instrumentalization of teaching, where the solid academic foundation is replaced by a "pedagogy of flexibility."

Consequently, the reform creates an institutionalized gap between initial training and school reality. Licentiates are graduated in a state of professional hybridity possessing neither the deep disciplinary authority of their science of origin nor the technical mastery required by the multifaceted "itineraries." This curricular schism does not merely update the teacher; it produces a professional "identity crisis," where the lack of academic ballast in initial training results in a practice dominated by improvisation and the uncritical consumption of pre-packaged digital content.

4.8 Occupational Health and the Psychological Toll of Reformist Exhaustion

Empirical data indicate an upward trend in sick leave related to mental and behavioral disorders among public-school teachers following the 2017 reform. This trend aligns with the concept of "teaching intensification" discussed by Apple (2000).

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The “Eternal Restart” functions as a psychosocial stressor: the constant invalidation of pedagogical practices and the imposition of ambiguous curricular components generate professional alienation and erode teachers’ agency over their work, contributing to distress and burnout.

Therefore, while establishing a direct, linear causal link between a single law and mental illness requires longitudinal clinical caution, the correlational evidence is overwhelming. The institutionalized state of impermanence does not merely "stress" the teacher; it actively deconstructs the protective factors of professional identity. By reducing the teacher to a reactive agent of volatile norms, the State converts the school into a space of mental exhaustion, where pedagogical success is sacrificed at the altar of political marketing, resulting in a systemic drain of talent and the physical collapse of the teaching category.

4.9 Limitations of the Study

Despite the consistency of the findings, this research acknowledges certain limitations inherent to its scope and design. First, as a documentary and bibliographic study, the analysis is primarily focused on the normative and discursive levels of educational policies. While these documents provide essential evidence of institutional intent and administrative logic, they do not capture the micropolitical nuances and the diverse forms of resistance occurring within individual school units across Brazil's decentralized educational system.

Secondly, the assessment of teacher mental health is based on secondary data and institutional reports rather than primary clinical evaluations or direct longitudinal interviews with educators. Therefore, the correlations identified between reformist volatility and psychological distress should be interpreted as systemic indicators rather than direct clinical diagnoses. Finally, given that the implementation of Law No. 14,945/2024 is still in its early stages, the long-term impacts of this "reform of the reform" on undergraduate teacher-preparation curricula (*licenciaturas*) require further empirical monitoring to confirm whether the current trends of fragmentation will stabilize or intensify.

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4.10 The Global Context of Local Reforms: A Dialogue with Independent Literature

The systematic focus on "operational competencies" and the "entrepreneurialization" of the curriculum, as seen in the BNC-Formação, is not an isolated Brazilian phenomenon. International assessments and OECD-led guidelines have historically pushed for these standardized frameworks. This movement aligns with what Ball (2003) defines as the "terrors of performativity," where teachers are forced to focus on measurable outputs rather than the complexity of the educational process. Furthermore, the "fragmentation of the teaching soul" described by Nóvoa (2017) provides an independent lens to understand how administrative discontinuity prevents the formation of a stable professional identity.

By situating the Brazilian "Eternal Restart" within this broader neoliberal logic, it becomes clear that the crisis is not merely a local management error. As Tardif (2014) argues regarding the "social nature of teacher knowledge," the constant discarding of pedagogical memory through volatile legislation acts as a structural barrier to professionalization. Therefore, the reliance on independent international and national benchmarks (such as Dourado, Saviani, and Libâneo) substantiates the claim that the current precariousness is a systemic byproduct of a global trend toward the de-intellectualization of the teaching profession, rather than a purely domestic administrative setback.

4.11 Formal Justifications and the Paradox of "Flexibilization"

Official discourse from the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the National Council of Secretaries of Education (CONSED) justifies the 2017 and 2024 reforms through the rhetoric of modernization and student protagonism. According to the explanatory memorandums of these laws, the introduction of "Formative Itineraries" and the "Life Project" aimed to make High School more "attractive" and "aligned

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with the demands of the 21st-century labor market," seeking to reduce dropout rates by offering a more flexible and personalized curriculum.

However, when analyzed through the lens of Laval (2004) and Ball (2003), these justifications reveal a move toward the "economization of education." The official rhetoric of "choice" is paradoxically limited by the objective conditions of the schools. As Kuenzer (2017) points out, "flexibilization" in an unequal system such as Brazil's often translates into a reduction of rights, where the working class is offered "soft skills" and "vocational training" in lieu of a robust scientific and humanist foundation.

While the official intent to reduce dropouts is a legitimate administrative goal, the strategies employed ignore the structural bottleneck of teacher training. The "protagonism" promised to students is sabotaged by the professional "exhaustion" of teachers, who are forced to implement complex changes without the necessary material or pedagogical support. Therefore, the official justification for the reforms remains at a rhetorical level, failing to address the material precarization that converts "flexibility" into an institutionalized state of permanent improvisation.

5. Conclusions

The evidence gathered in this study confirms that Brazilian education is affected by an institutional pathology: the "Eternal Restart." The trajectory between 2017 and 2024 demonstrates that teacher-education policies remain vulnerable to political voluntarism, relegating the educator to a reactive implementer of vertical reforms rather than a protagonist of change. The "pragmatization" of knowledge, reinforced by the BNC-Formação, has attempted to reduce the complexity of teaching to a checklist of operational competencies, ignoring the fact that public education quality is inseparable from teachers' intellectual autonomy.

Furthermore, the research reveals that the "reform of the reform" (Law No. 14,945/2024) ratifies a state of pedagogical impermanence, fueling reformist burnout and professional alienation. The curricular schism between High School itineraries and undergraduate teaching degrees (*licenciaturas*) has produced an

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identity crisis, where teachers are forced to act as "facilitators" without the necessary disciplinary or structural support.

Addressing this scenario requires constitutionalization and institutional shielding of funding programs, protecting them from budget swings and ideological reversals. Valuing teachers transcends salary adjustments; it presupposes administrative continuity and legal certainty. Only by consolidating teacher education as a perennial State policy can Brazil protect the right to education as a sovereign, intangible heritage, ensuring that the act of teaching remains an exercise in freedom and scientific rigor.

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