

## DISGUSTING POLICY: PERFORMANCE OF TEACHERS NOT ALIGNED WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION POLICIES

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### ABSTRACT

With that, we aim, in this article, to understand the implications of the performance of non-aligned teachers for the development of reforms, as well as for what could be considered success of educational policies. The interview was the main instrument to establish our analysis, seeking the motivations (or not motivations) of the teachers in the face of the activities, which were carried out in two schools, in the city of Mossoró, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte. From each school we

interviewed in a more systematic way two teachers, totaling 04 testimonies. We also had information in informal conversations with professors, managers and employees who contributed to our analysis. The interviews showed that, despite criticism, non-aligned teachers act to put the policy into practice, either by making 'concessions', or by denouncing the interests of private institutions and the lack of school structure as part of awareness and critical training of the student.

**KEYWORDS:** Educational policies, Resignification, Policy cycle, Teaching performance.

## POLÍTICA DO DESGOSTO: ATUAÇÃO DE PROFESSORES NÃO ALINHADOS ÀS POLÍTICAS PARA O ENSINO MÉDIO

### RESUMO

Objetivamos, neste artigo, entender as implicações da atuação dos docentes não alinhados para o desenvolvimento das reformas educacionais, bem como para o que poderia ser considerado sucesso das políticas educacionais. A entrevista foi o principal instrumento para estabelecer nossa análise, buscando as motivações (ou não motivação) dos docentes diante das atividades. De cada escola, entrevistamos de forma mais sistemática dois docentes, totalizando 04 (quatro) depoimentos. Tivemos,

ainda, informações em conversas informais com docentes, gestores e funcionários que contribuíram com nossa análise. As entrevistas mostraram que, apesar das críticas, os docentes não alinhados atuam para colocar a política em prática, seja fazendo 'concessões', seja denunciando os interesses das instituições privadas e da falta de estrutura da escola como parte da conscientização e da formação crítica do aluno.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Políticas educacionais, Ressignificação, Ciclo de políticas, Atuação docente.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years, we have developed research on educational policies for high school, basically focusing on re-meanings (Santos & Silva, 2016) and recontextualizations (Santos, 2013) at school, understanding teachers and managers as main agents of curricular actions in the school space. Largely supported by the continuous policy cycle theory of Ball and Bowe (1998), mainly in their dialogues and interlocutions with Lopes (2006), Lopes and Macedo (2011) and Mainardes (2006), we have understood that Ball's theory has been contributing to the criticism of the dichotomy between policy and practice, since it does not conceive the production of policies far from its implementation. It allows, therefore, to break with the production/ implementation binarism, so present in studies and research in the educational field and particularly in the field of the curriculum, moving away from a conception of practice as an implementation space, reduced to the dual simplicity of simple resistance or acceptance.

Thus, the school space, in general, and the classroom, specifically, are considered positive environments in the production of policies, in contrast to the ideas defended by structuralist studies that saw that space as the 'black box of education'<sup>1</sup>. With more emphasis, teachers take the position of privileged actors in the construction of policies. The teachers, leaving the position of mere 'implementers', are being perceived as important agents in carrying out the reforms. Hence the importance of understanding the contexts that enable/re-signify the agency, as well as the various motivations/interests/disputes that accompany the meanings attributed to reformist policies in the school context.

In a way, several researches have/ report understanding the teaching agency in the formulation of educational policies/ reforms. Some researches arise from interest groups in which the teacher is part (either approach with political parties, with unions, with academic and professional entities, or with opinion groups, churches, congregations etc.) such as, for example, Santos e Silva (2016) and Santos e Oliveira (2013). Other researches seek academic, professional or private interests (maintenance of employment/ function, functional rise, appreciation of the school with the community etc.), such as Almeida (2004) and Santos, Oliveira e Silva (2017). In common, we can see that the studies sought to understand the logic of action of teachers who assume reform as necessary, who believe in policies, who bet on policies as a way to bring benefits (for themselves, for the student, for the school or for the community) or, at least, assume the guidelines as part of their teaching activity, feeling, at least, encouraged to commit themselves to the success of the proposals presented.

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<sup>1</sup> The classroom as 'black box of education' was defended in educational policies in Ceará, in the 90s, by the secretary of education Antenor Napolini. The premise was that all other reformist structures worked, thinking policies, taking care of funding, bringing the best ideas to improve the quality of education, while much of the process was lost in the classroom space. Therefore, it would be necessary to unravel what was happening in the classroom, following how teachers treated policies and how they could control teaching performance to strengthen the implementation of reforms, avoiding deviations and errors (Santos, 2007).

Thus, in some way, the research seeks to account for the performance of teachers (teachers and managers, mainly) aligned with educational policies. Aligned, in order to find elements that justify their adherence to the proposals guided, being considered those who 'wore the shirt' of politics, school, education.

However, considering that the policies in school are also built by teachers who we defined, a priori, aiming to facilitate the analysis of the issue, as not aligned with the official dominant political guidelines, those more resistant to assume the defense of reform/ educational policy, We seek to analyze the logic of action of teachers considered oblivious to movements and articulations in favor of the implementation of policies. With this, we aimed to understand the implications of the performance of non-aligned teachers for the development of reforms, as well as for what could be considered successful educational policies.

At the outset, it is worth noting that the school policies referenced in this article are those built in the school context, often in the perspective of implementing an official educational reform/policy, as advocated by Ball (1998). This perspective was deepened by Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012), in the book *How schools do policy*, based on research carried out in four English secondary schools, developing the concept of the theory of politics in action/acting/staging (in free translation for the English expression theory of policy enactment). We therefore consider the notion of enactment as acting/staging, in the theatrical sense of the term, empowering to think about the constitution of policies in the schools we research. Therefore, we understand the context of practice as an important arena in the constitution of policies and, consequently, the performance of the agents that surround the school space as primordial to decipher some aspects of policies in schools.

Thus, we dialogue with subjects who participate in various policies implemented at the school that do not necessarily have the characterization of officer, although they are related to the Integrated High School Program (ProEMI<sup>2</sup>) with the New High School (NEM<sup>3</sup>) and, mainly reduced

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<sup>2</sup> The program Innovative High School - ProEMI was instituted by Order no 971, of October 9, 2009, in the context of the implementation of actions aimed at the Education Development Plan - PDE. The current edition of the program is aligned with the guidelines and goals of the National Education Plan 2014-2024 and the reform of high school proposed by Provisional Measure 746/2016 and is regulated by FNDE Resolution no 4 of October 25, 2016. The objective of ProEMI is to support and strengthen the State and District Education Systems in the development of innovative curricular proposals in secondary schools, providing technical and financial support, according to the dissemination of a dynamic curriculum culture, flexible, that meets the expectations and needs of students and the demands of today's society. Thus, it seeks to promote the integral formation of students and strengthen the youth protagonism with the offer of activities that promote scientific and humanistic education, the appreciation of reading, culture, the improvement of theory and practice, the use of new technologies and the development of creative and emancipatory methodologies (MEC).

<sup>3</sup> Law no 13.415/2017 amended the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education and established a change in the structure of high school, increasing the minimum time of the student in school from 800 hours to 1,000 hours annually (until 2022) and defining a new curricular organization more flexible, that contemplates a National Common Curricular Base (BNCC) and the offer of different possibilities of choices to the students, the formative itineraries, with focus in the areas of knowledge and in the technical and professional formation. The change aims to ensure the provision of quality education to all young Brazilians and to bring schools closer to the reality of today's students, considering the new demands and complexities of the world of work and life in society. (MEC).

in the speeches of the interviewees, with full-time high school education<sup>4</sup>.

The interview was the main instrument to establish our analysis, since it sought the motivations (or not) of the teachers before the activities, as well as apprehend the inventions, adaptations/ readaptations, resistances, recontextualizations of what would be put policies in action. The interviews were conducted in two schools, in the city of Mossoró, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, between July 2018 and March 2020. To meet aspects of ethics in research, and also at the request of school managers, we kept the names of protected institutions, naming the school located in a neighborhood closer to the commercial area of the city of Centro and the school located in an area further away from the commerce of Periferia. From each school we interviewed more systematically two teachers not aligned, totaling 04 (four) testimonials. We also use information in informal conversations with several other employees (teachers, managers and employees) who contributed to our analysis, as well as making it possible to locate and select the deponents.

Regarding the strict choice of interviewees, we started from informal conversations with the employees mentioned above, receiving indications of possible interlocutors. We sought to locate teacher profiles considered non-aligned with school policies, often considered 'against' or 'opposition'. However, in addition to the indication, we chose to accept the self-declaration of the deponent. By simple question, we asked the possible deponent if he considered himself aligned or non-aligned to the educational policies currently developed in schools<sup>5</sup>. Among the teachers self-declared non-aligned, and who were willing to contribute with the research, we opted for those who had more time of service in the school and developed full workload of two hundred hours in the same institution.

For presentation purposes in this article, we call the interviewed teachers of E1, E2, E3 and E4, being that E1 and E2 are from the school called Center and E3 and E4 from the school called Periphery.

In addition, although we do not carry out documentary analysis, our research still needed to focus on the guidelines of the official documents of ProEMI and NEM and on the documents produced by the schools surveyed that we were able to access. The documents served as subsidies to understand some meanings of policies, either from official interests or about some meanings constructed/reinterpreted by schools. At this point, however, it is important to note that there was a difference in access to school documents. In one school, we were able to count on the school project for ProEMI, with several projects of the activities carried out, with reports of experiences, evaluation, photos and videos of the actions and with calls addressed to internal and external

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<sup>4</sup> Program for the Promotion of Full-Time High Schools (EMTI), created by the Ministry of Education (MEC) through Order no 1.145 of 10 October 2016. The program aims to support the public education systems of the states and the Federal District to offer the extension of the school day and the integral and integrated training of the student. For this, the National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE) transfers financial resources to support the implementation of full-time high schools by the state departments of Education.

<sup>5</sup> In the presentation of the question to the possible witness, 'aligned' or 'non-aligned', it was clarified that it was not about commitment to school or education, but they agreed with the policy developed in the school environment to the point of 'wearing the shirt'. (FNDE).

public at the school (available on the school blog). In the other school we only got part of the proposal of the school and some reports/ evaluations of the activities provided by teachers who were involved in the actions of the New High School. It is worth mentioning that, due to the focus of this article, we will not make a description of the school documents, much less the official documents, trying to make the reading as fluid as possible. Whenever necessary we will make considerations in notes and direct to other works and/ or documents that deal with the issue in more detail.

This article is divided into four parts. After this brief introduction, item 2 brings the 'Policy in schools and legal determinations', in which we address and discuss the continuous cycle of policies, showing that the production of educational public policies gains new perspectives by dialoguing with the social actors surrounding the school and that the policy is not simply implemented in the school, after thought by the higher instances.

In the following we present 'Performance, logic of action and policies at school', discussing the concept of re-meaning and how all the school staff act in the process of re-meaning, showing also the close relationship between the policy of action and the cycle of policies.

We continue with item 3, entitled "With taste and disgust": the criticism as an instrument of reaffirmation of the protagonism of politics. Here, we discuss how the subjects considered non-aligned are part of the context of implementation, reinvention, showing, through interviews, how the interactions, approaches and distances of these teachers in the construction of policies at school and what are the implications for the so desired quality education. Finally, we bring some considerations, summarizing the findings of the research.

## 2 SCHOOL POLICIES AND LEGAL DETERMINATIONS

The continuous policy cycle approach, as presented/developed by Ball and Bowe<sup>6</sup> (1998), has been increasingly used in analyses of educational policies, almost always trying to refute a state centralism, putting different actors and contexts as part of the development and implementation of policies.

For didactic purposes, the authors present the policy cycle in three main contexts: influence, text production and practice. The context of influence can be identified as that of the construction of legitimizing discourses for certain educational public policies. In this context, interest groups compete to influence the definition of the social purposes of education, the possible relations between formation and social development, about the various meanings of 'being educated' (Santos, 2016). Being considered a field of theoretical dispute (and is, although not the only one) maintains the impression of birth, origin of politics<sup>7</sup>. However, it is already widely

<sup>6</sup> See contributions by Bernstein (1996 and 2003) and Foucault (2013).

<sup>7</sup> With Santos (2016, p. 274): "To say this, we emphasize, is different from saying that the ideas are born in this context to be irradiated into other contexts, because it is not possible to specify with certainty where a given idea arises. What Ball presents, and we agree with him, is to manifest the existence of a context of ideas interrelated with other contexts,

discussed that the intention of Ball and collaborators (Ball & Bowe, 1998; Ball & Mainardes, 2011) was not to fix an original place for politics, but, on the contrary, show that there is no linear possibility of detecting the birth of politics. It means more to say that politics is not born from the individual will of subjects or governments, but from infinite, and not totally controllable, social relations, clashes, disputes between groups in the social tangle (Lopes, 2006).

The same understanding of the circulation of ideas applies to the context of text production. In this context, political texts take written form with the intention of serving the general public interest. From it the texts of educational policies are produced, involving, in general, government technicians, parliamentarians, experts in various areas, parliamentary advisors, consultants of non-governmental organizations, teachers and researchers from various institutions. In the production of texts the antagonisms, differences and conflicts presented in the context of influence circulate in disputes for hegemonies to be part of the written text. Thus, the texts are the result of many of the disputes revealed, generating agreements, meetings, alliances between groups that act in different places, with different conceptions, aiming to control the representations of politics.

Already in the context of practice will characterize the actions taken in schools. There are readings of the texts of policies, with the interpretation and production of new discourses that pass through the other contexts, in a continuous circularity. In this sense, the practice should be thought as part of the policy, agreeing that the meanings of the practice are represented in the policies quite imbricated, evidencing the constant production of policies in the context of the practice. Therefore, the school does not only resignify the policies (giving new contours and meanings) as it builds new policies, either reinterpreting the norms or using its theoretical/ practical accumulation to respond to the contextual demands of its universe.

Thus, the school cannot be seen only as a receptacle of policies thought away from its reality, having the function only to execute, as a helpless victim, everything that is elaborated elsewhere. The interpretations and recreations of the policy produce effects and consequences that make it possible to represent significant changes and transformations in the official political proposal, reinventing the policy, building contextual meanings, producing other policies. Thus, the agents maintain an intense relationship with its construction, whether in the re-meaning of the proposals presented and in the rereadings and interpretations of the texts of the policies, or in the constant exchanges between the various contexts (Santos, 2016).

With this, the school context and teaching performance are seen as primordial in the preparation of proposals for education, since the context of practice would allow several mechanisms of reelaboration/ recontextualization/ resignification of policies.

In this article, we agree that studies on the production of educational public policies gain new perspectives when they can break with certain external determinisms and seek to dialogue with various elements that intend to interfere in education, including the social actors that

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without precise limits between them, being impossible to detect the 'inside-out' of each of the contexts. The separation is more an action to facilitate the argumentation of the cycle than the visualization of spheres separated from each other".

surround the school. Saying this requires understanding that policies for education are complex, impossible to fully unravel, let alone in quick and simplistic analyses.

We have, then, agreement on the potential of the approach proposed by Ball and collaborators, taking care not to establish the 'revenge of the school' against the top down, against the policies that come from above. Thus, probably because of the emphasis on the role of school, some studies have been alerting to the possibility of 'deterministic inversion' (Esquisani, 2017), as if it were possible to put the school as producer of any policy, able, by itself, to establish its educational priorities. That is not it. In no way can mean that in the school space and teaching action can close the understanding beginning/ end of educational policies. Thus, the school is neither a helpless victim of policies designed in a higher instance (usually presented as created in refrigerated cabinets); nor does it depend solely on the agency of subjects and school contexts (often with the idea that everything can be done on the 'school floor').

With the perspective of the continuous cycle of policies, therefore, we seek to move away from conceptions that think the policy as feasible simple implementation in school, after being formulated in some state instance. However, we do not overlook the role of the state in policy-making, even recognizing its power to induce practices in schools. We ponder, therefore, on the existence of several circumstances that corroborate educational policies, affirming that state proposals are built and (re)elaborated in various contexts, which, in teaching practice, are resignified by the subjects who act in the school, from their knowledge/powers, conceptions, interests and appropriation of the world. Thus, as Ball (1998) shows, putting policies into practice consists of a creative process, sophisticated and complex, carried out by the school, building global and local senses, in various directions and, mainly, to the school community and the school itself. From this point of view, the focus of policy analysis should focus on the formation of the political discourse and on the active interpretation that professionals working in the context of practice make to relate the texts of as each of the contexts presented is made up of arenas, places of discussion, environments of disputes and interest groups that wish to influence policies. They are, therefore, environments that involve clashes for the meaning of policies, certainly relating to their understanding of the world and their interests in it.

### 3 PERFORMANCE, LOGIC OF ACTION AND POLICIES IN SCHOOL

With the above perspective, we seek to move away from conceptions that think politics as feasible of simple implementation in school, after being formulated in some state instance. However, we do not overlook the role of the state in policy-making, even recognizing its power to induce practices in schools. The contexts that enable the development of policies go through processes of resignification by the interested action of the subjects who work in school.

By re-meaning we mean not the new meanings that teachers and managers could give from an original sense of politics, but the own meanings built and reconstructed in/by the school in a relationship of understanding and translation of proposals, configured in hybrid projects (Ball,

1994). As for this hybridism, it is conceived as "the mixture of global, local and distant logics, always recontextualized" in teaching practice, influenced by the school context (Lopes, 2005, p. 56).

The re-meaning, it is necessary to clarify, does not happen simply by the action of its interpreters (teachers and managers) in school. As Ball (1998) shows, it is not about the transposition of policies, to take from paper and execute, to put policies into school practice. The process is creative, sophisticated and complex because it is also located in a certain context, culturally unlimited, but also specific (even if we can not have clarity of all its specifications). So the resignification has to do with agency and context.

Here, we define context as the movements carried out by the school, building global and local meanings, in various directions and especially in relation to government agencies, the school community and the school itself.

From this point of view, the focus of policy analysis should focus on the formation of political discourse and on the active interpretation that professionals working in the context of practice make to relate policy texts to practice. As Mainardes (2006) argued, each of the contexts presented by Ball and Bowe (1998) are constituted of arenas, places of discussion, environments of disputes and interest groups that wish to influence policies. They are, therefore, environments that involve clashes for the significance of policies, certainly relating them to their understanding of the world and their interests in it<sup>8</sup>.

The theory of policy in action, politics of action, has a close relationship with the cycle of policies, mainly focusing on the dynamics of interpretation/ translation possible in the context of practice (Lopes, 2012). The term enactment can be understood as staging, not in some negative sense, of deception or dissimulation (although deceit and dissimulation are not completely discarded in the idea of enactment), but in the theatrical sense, referring to the notion that an actor has a text that can be presented/re-presented/represented in different ways. The text, open to interpretation and complementation, besides enabling various forms of staging, intensity, emphasis, reading and improvisation, is only a small part (but an important part) of production, always negotiating meanings and possibilities of effectiveness with the various relations, structures and interests that surround the stage of the school. Thus, the use of the term enactment indicates that policies are interpreted and subjective in different and varied ways. The actors involved (in this case, the school subjects) have a certain control of the process and are not 'mere implementers' of policies. In general, with the theory of action, the authors reinforce the questioning of the implementation of policies, indicating that they are interpreted and translated to specific contexts, from contextual dimensions. Thus, policies are put into action in the face of existing commitments, values and experiences with other activities already carried out. Thus, the theory of policy enactment must consider the variables conditions that are connected in relation to a set of interpretive and subjective dynamics by school authors.

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<sup>8</sup> The policy cycle was added from two other contexts: the results context (effects) and the policy strategy context. The context of results or effects is concerned with issues of justice, equality and individual freedom, more appropriately defending the idea that policies have effects rather than simply results (Mainardes, 2006; Oliveira & Lopes, 2011).



#### 4 "WITH TASTE AND DISGUST": CRITICISM AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR REAFFIRMING THE ROLE OF POLITICS

Admit, finally, that the policies in school go through the performance of school subjects, and are related to their understanding/ interests of/ in the world, allows to think the logic of action of teachers in policy building in school. From our perspective, this also includes the authors "not affiliated", "not friendly", who "do not wear the shirt of school" (Manager School center), as they are known in schools teachers non-aligned to educational policies. In this way, the subjects considered non-aligned, recognized as resistant to any action and contrary to the broader ideals of school and/or educational policy, are part of the context of implementation/ reinvention/ resignification of the policy. Understanding how such interactions occur and what are the implications for politics, school and the idea of quality education is a great challenge that, for now, we intend only to make a curious approach: what policy in school do those teachers who do not want to make the established policy?

The performance of teachers that we consider 'non-aligned', who work "with disgust for school" (Manager School center), can show several aspects of educational policies in schools, especially in relation to the perspectives of putting into practice principles that, in theory, they are at the base of the reform of the secondary education, as, for example, the mobilization of the school in favor of the policy, the innovative projects and the effectiveness of any assumption of a democratic school (often reduced to some deliberative spaces such as teacher meetings and consultation with the school board) and quality (usually linked to external evaluation numbers, such as IDEB, or results of student approvals in higher education through performance in ENEM).

In fact, when asking how the school does politics, to be in line with a work by Ball (2016), the answer indicates a certain awareness of the role of the teacher in the execution of activities, since "nothing happens, or everything can happen, depending on the will, enthusiasm and performance of the teacher" (Interviewee 1). In this sense, the interview is also a place of outpouring: "I'm going to give my diagnosis because it gives heartbreak to see the school like that, without reaction. It's not that I don't like the school. I like! The disgust is for the situation, for the feeling of nothing happening as it should..."

Thus, the interviewee shows his position in front of what he considers right and wrong of educational policy:

From the beginning of the proposal, since the mobilization process, I was considered one of the most critical against, who did not want the school to enter another adventure by changes that does not guarantee any success for the school, for the students. As I see that the school lost a lot [with the proposal], lost its autonomy, lost its way of making things happen to follow an outside model, as I have the courage to say this, I was seen as contrary, as being undesirable in discussions. (Interviewee 1).

And, although there is mobilization to include the school as an important part of decisions, elements that are in the guidelines of the reform, the complaint suggests that the teacher's feeling is that there is loss of something important, such as "the way the school made the projects, built the teaching-learning process, it was nice to see. [But] it was all abandoned to follow a manual". A certain enchantment missed by a time when the,

School had freedom to say no to the projects that came from 'up to down', which we could decide to do right here, for the school. I questioned this a lot with the director, with the coordinator, with the other teachers who end up getting carried away by the illusions of politics, to the point of being monitored all year by the board. I even got called to DIREC to talk about it. (Interviewee 1).

Therefore, the teacher 'non-aligned' can be considered someone not desired in school, which can disrupt the processes and harmony necessary for the execution of tasks necessary to the good progress of school actions. According to the witness, being considered "unwanted is very hard, because I like school", but it is the price to pay for "being aware of your action, of your responsibility in school". Therefore, it is important to recall how the proposal arrived at school:

At the end of last year (this part of the interview was held in September 2019), there was a board meeting with the school faculty to practically review the project. It was thus an advertisement ... in a very beautiful, very fanciful way. Thus, many were getting motivated with the project, mainly by promises of resources, equipment, training support announced. [...] Promises were not lacking. Only in January and February of this year, when we attended a week of training in Natal that we started to really understand how things would actually work. The reality was different. (Interviewee 1).

"Reality will always be different" (Interviewee 3). The main complaint, however, continues to recur on the difficulty of the school participating in the creation of the policy as an autonomous agent, a participant from the first moments, being able to influence "from the conception, through the adaptation to the reality of the school and the monitoring of funding, until the decisions regarding the students' own interest". According to him, what we heard in Christmas was different:

We know that the 'integral system' was developed by a private institute, the ICE [Institute of Co-responsibility for Education]. The government, ready, decided to choose the target schools. They took 18 schools and decided to transform into 'integral system'. That thing ... fairy tale. At the beginning, still there in training, people began to realize the flaws, making many questions. It was then that some clashes between some subjects, including me, and the SEED technicians. I participated, gave my opinion ... I thought that the environment allowed, that was to participate, of course! After all, we are in a democracy! But it seems not... (Interviewee 2).

Another testimony that recalls this episode in Natal, brings an interesting contribution to the complaints of the interviewed teacher regarding the undemocratic way the proposal was presented at the training seminar in Natal. According to the interviewee, the secretary of education lost patience:

The secretary was angry with a group of teachers who were just making criticism, finding problems, implicating with things that could not be answered there in the meeting and ended up being unhappy. But I don't think it was her intention to send someone away. It was more to put order and make clear that the project is optional. Who does not want to participate, get out! Isn't it? (Interviewee 2).

Perhaps this rhetorical question indicates a lot of the way some managers intend to make educational policy in schools: those bothered to withdraw. In the words of interviewee 1, paraphrasing the secretary:

'who is not happy here will be happy in another corner', spoke in a threatening tone. She could not have done this, because it left many teachers angry. That already generated a stir, was not legal. No one is at school, in the meetings, in the events of intruders. We are responsible. We just can not accept everything silent, without questioning, as if we do not know what we are doing. That time has passed! [...]

There, during the week, during the same event, already formed a group. Even this group exists today. This group aims to monitor more closely the failures of the integral system, not only to denounce but also to find ways to overcome, adapting our reality.

Perhaps the secretary herself understood that her speech was inelegant, unfortunate, not consistent with times of freedom of expression, democracy and mobilization of all for education'. However, it is more interesting to analyze the reaction to speech considered authoritarian: "instead of leaving there, we enter more and more, because together we can find different ways of officers" (Interviewee 1). The policy in schools is also built as resistance to perspectives taken as authoritarian, "we can build resistances by participating in the proposal" (Interviewee 2). It may even mean that teachers perceive/ believe (and denounce) in attempts to impose projects on school realities, being attentive to form 'groups' of reaction, not necessarily to totally oppose the 'determined', but collectively, find escapes for the construction of other policies, alternatives and often contradictory with the hegemonic project.

Another point that bothers the group is the existence of public-private partnership:

We cannot accept that one of the companies that is part of ICE is Natura. Private institutions have their interests. Hard to believe that her interests are the same as ours, students, teachers, our schools. [...] I believe there is that partnership with the government: I support here [in the case of the company], receives tax exemption from the government. So I am critical because I do not believe, I am not naive, there are great interests behind. The 'integral system', produced by private companies, as it stands, cannot benefit the public schools of the periphery from such different realities {...}. (Interviewee 3).

Thus, the teacher shows that it is not only about accepting intrinsic aspects of the proposal to understand it as favorable or not to the school. The fact that the policy comes from private initiative, maintaining unclear relations between public and private, interferes in how teachers will produce approximations and distances with the proposal. As expected, teaching convictions,

formed from their interests and political struggles, will influence the acceptance and how policies will be resignified in the context of practice.

With this, the teacher perceives continuities and innovations in the process of constitution of activities in the classroom.

Compared to last year, which was not full-time, we still give the same content, with the same textbooks, following the themes of ENEM, following the same pattern. Now, with regard to the evaluations, we are obeying the determined by the 'integral system'. One of the changes is the requirement for weekly assessment. But the problem is not the weekly assessment. The issue is in the requirement that the test questions are objective. The requirement for human. In the student, this can generate discouragement. For parents, however, it may be good, since the student will spend the day at school, not getting loose on the street. Only in your child spend the day at school [...].

So, I changed my way of teaching. With the students all day in school, it is impossible to pass on activities at home, research. The student now has no freedom to research something at home, because we can not pass anything for the student to do at home. Thus, we are restricted to school surveys. As the computer room is not always available, and there are few computers, we have to do more activities in the book and on the chalkboard (Interviewee 4).

The continuities are presented with some regret. Such regret can be observed in the use of the words 'still' and 'themselves' to refer to content, textbooks and focus on ENEM. Thus, somehow there is dissatisfaction with what the school taught (before the reform proposal), and it can be understood that changes in the curriculum would be necessary. Accentuating this reference becomes important when we analyze that the teacher is not defending a teaching of the past, a policy of the past. It is not about any nostalgia of what and how the school taught previously. It is about, even recognizing previous gaps, understand that the paths currently traced are not enough to account for the goals of full-time high school. Thus, even dissatisfied with the path taken before, the current changes offered by the reform proposal do not meet their desires because "they remain the same projects, changing only the way of doing, since the student spends the day at school" (Interviewee 1). In addition, still in the opinion of the teacher, there is the aggravating factor of the requirement of a type of positive evaluation, with no possibility of questions that explore the students' writing in the discipline (in the human areas) considered important for the development of the subjectivity of the learners' writing. "How to train a critical citizen with closed questions and ready feedback? We can denounce private interests and the school's lack of structure, can't I?" he asks and adds. (Interviewee 3).

In this sense, despite considering valuable that the student can be more time at school, the teacher questions the lack of structure of the environment. Ends, in his words, "giving more of the same, more classroom in room" (Interviewee 3), making it impossible to use the extra time to generate more learning. In this case, perhaps the student was more productive at home, doing "tasks and taking advantage of time with more useful things" (Interviewee 3).

However, the set of statements may reinforce that, despite the criticism, non-aligned teachers act to put policy into practice, either by making 'concessions' (such as adapting the objective tests to extract the maximum of the student's reasoning or assuming the projects as

subjects, even without specific training for them), is denouncing the interests of private institutions and the lack of structure of the school as part of the awareness and critical training of the student. In any case, it is disputing the meanings of the integral high school proposal with the other teachers and professionals who work at and around the school (such as SEED, DIREC, for example) and, by doing this, it builds the integral high school, not as something ready and finished, but as a continuous process to come into being, since it will always be a possibility built and re-signified by different agents that act in the school.

We understand, as an example of this, the fact that teachers consider it positive to take advantage of projects from other reforms (or school as they call), placing them as integral high school activities. Let's look at the following answer:

Here you have the projects of [high school] integral and the school projects. As school projects we have the June projects, the project of black consciousness, the project against violence, among others. In integral has the design of room change, space organization, improvement of environments and individual cabinets. From the teaching point of view, we have the laboratory, the computer room. And we also have the Life project, which is a new thing that involves affection and the student's life story. But at the bottom, when it comes time to register, everything is presented as a proposal for comprehensive high school. Thus, there is no lack of elements for the school to show and justify that we are doing much more for the student than the state investment we received (Interviewee 3).

The school does not start from "zero with the 'invention' of a reform" (Interviewee 1). Therefore it seems natural to understand that comprehensive high school happens as a construction, becoming new, readapting different already existing projects as part of the reform. After all, everything is school and, after the project, what remains "will continue to be school, the fever passes" (Interviewee 2). As another teacher emphasizes, "we have already had many reforms. In twenty-five years in education, I have seen the 'new' high school pass through here three times" (collaborator 2). It seems like a fever, soon passes. The "that remains is the true school" (Interviewee 3).

In addition to the excerpts above show that teachers feel a certain saturation of reforms, given the amount of policies, often concomitant, having as scope the changes in high school, as discussed by Santos e Silva (2017), also denotes the care for the continuity of school processes. They bet, therefore, while waiting for the overcoming of reform, in the cultural and everyday productions of the school, as resistance to policies considered coming from above. With this, even if they do not have all the elements to believe in their actions as correct, they believe in the dynamic culture of the school in overcoming the obstacles and failures that they observe in politics and in the school itself. In interview 2:

Not that I am against the comprehensive high school policy or against any project itself. Is that if I was to follow exactly what the ICE commands, the classes would become very monotonous. It would be difficult to attract students and keep them interested all day, every day of the year. The same goes for projects with an evaluation objective. We saw that it was not possible to evaluate simply as the manual dictates. It would not generate enthusiasm and the student ended up settling with

the grade. We realize that in the periods of projects, the rating index improves. But when it goes to the contents themselves, the story changes. If only in the projects good students will be harmed because learning will decrease. Projects benefit only students who are not so interested. (Interviewee 2).

So it is possible to see that the teachers are at ease to readapt the policy, even knowing that there is supervision. The supervision of DIREDD, according to teachers interviewed 2 and 3, requires that everything occurs as the ICE determines. Circumventing this system, "not getting bitolado in what it commands" (Interviewee 1), is a pedagogical obligation of the teachers who deal with comprehensive high school.

## 5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this article, we argue that policies at school are also made by teachers who we call 'not aligned' for not defending the educational reforms or policies, which arrive or are built at school, in such an undoubted way. Thus, these teachers are considered inattentive to the processes and articulations to put policy into practice.

Thus, we aimed to understand the implications of the performance of non-aligned teachers for the development of reforms, as well as for what could be considered success of educational policies.

This objective allowed us to decipher some aspects of the constitution of policies in schools, focusing on the performance of the agents that surround the school space.

We take as reference the Continuous Cycle of Policies of Ball and Bowe (1998), emphasizing that the school context and the teaching performance are seen as primordial in the elaboration of proposals for education, since the context of practice allows several mechanisms of reelaboration/recontextualization/ re-meaning of policies.

We discuss the concepts of resignification with theoretical support of Ball (1994), understanding it as senses built and reconstructed in school by the action, comprehension and translation of teachers and managers in their hybrid projects.

The conclusion, contingent and provisional, shows that the teacher 'non-aligned' can be considered an unwanted person in school, and may disrupt the processes for the execution of tasks necessary to the good progress of school actions. It also shows that teachers point out as a huge failure, the school does not participate autonomously and directly in the creation of the policy since the initial project.

Based on the set of speeches, we can affirm that the non-aligned teachers, even with the numerous criticisms, with likes and dislikes, act to put the policy into practice, even making 'concessions' and/ or denouncing the interests of private institutions and the lack of structure of the school as part of the awareness and critical training of the student. In any case, they dispute meanings and resignify politics, thus influencing the construction of the integral high school in a hybrid and continuous process.

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