



Policy enactment in school: considerations from Acting Theory and Policy Cycle

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ABSTRACT. The enactment of the policy Innovatory High School Program (ProEMI) in two government-run high schools is analyzed. According to Ball et al., enactment means that policies are interpreted and translated by several political agents within the school environment rather than merely implemented. Working with the prospect of 'enactment' provides new possibilities to understand the policy cycle as presented by Ball et al. disconnecting the context of practice in dealing simply with politics in action from the context of influence as the enshrined status of ideas. Current paper tries to show how policies are put into practice by teachers in each specific context, from the resources available in the school and from the feelings and immediate interests of the school community. The reasons for possible differences in the implementation of policy in each of the analyzed contexts are also discussed. In fact, policy results from discussions of various and contextualized demands involving several school agents closely linked to the policy in question.

Keywords: educational policy, school contexts, high school.

Promulgação de políticas na escola: considerações a partir da Teoria de Atuação e do Ciclo de Políticas

RESUMO. Analisamos a promulgação da política Programa Ensino Médio Inovador (ProEMI) em duas escolas públicas de ensino médio. Promulgação, com Ball, se refere ao entendimento de que políticas são interpretadas e traduzidas por diversos atores políticos dentro do ambiente escolar, ao invés de simplesmente implementadas. Buscamos operar com a perspectiva de *enactement*, dando novas possibilidades de entendimento ao ciclo de políticas como apresentados por Ball e colaboradores, liberando o contexto da prática de lidar simplesmente com a política em ação e o contexto de influência como instância sacralizada das ideias. Objetivamos perceber como as políticas são colocadas em ação pelos docentes, em cada contexto específico, a partir dos recursos disponibilizados à escola e dos sentidos (sentimentos) e dos interesses imediatos da comunidade escolar. Buscamos ainda entender os motivos das possíveis diferenças na realização da política em cada um dos contextos analisados. Consideramos que a política é resultado das disputas de várias demandas contextuais, envolvendo os diversos atores escolares em estreita relação com a política em questão.

Palavras-chave: política educacional, contextos escolares, ensino médio.

Promulgación de políticas en la escuela: Consideraciones a partir de la Teoría de Actuación y del Ciclo de Políticas

RESUMEN. Analizamos la promulgación de la política Programa Enseñanza Secundaria Innovadora (Programa Ensino Médio Inovador - ProEMI) en dos escuelas públicas de enseñanza secundaria. Promulgación, con Ball, se refiere al entendimiento de que políticas son interpretadas y traducidas por diversos actores políticos dentro del ambiente escolar, al revés de simplemente implementadas. Buscamos trabajar con la perspectiva de *enactement*, dando nuevas posibilidades de entendimiento al ciclo de políticas como presentados por Ball y colaboradores, liberando el contexto de la práctica de lidiar simplemente con la política en acción y el contexto de influencia como instancia sacralizada de las ideas. El objetivo fue el de percibir cómo las políticas son llevadas a cabo por los docentes, en cada contexto específico, a partir de los recursos disponibles a la escuela, de los sentidos (sentimientos) y de los intereses inmediatos de la comunidad escolar. Buscamos aun entender los motivos de las posibles diferencias en la realización de la política en cada uno de los contextos analizados. Consideramos que la política es resultado de las disputas de varias demandas contextuales, involucrando los diversos actores escolares en estrecha relación con la política en cuestión.

Palabras clave: política educacional, contextos escolares, enseñanza secundaria.

Introduction

In this article, we analyze the enactment of the policy Innovative High School Program (ProEMI in Portuguese) in two public high schools¹. Enactment refers to the understanding that policies are interpreted and translated by various political actors within the school environment, rather than simply implemented (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012). In general, we operate with the prospect of enactment, in dialogue with Ball (1994, 1998) and Lopes (2005, 2006), giving new possibilities for understanding the political cycle as presented by Ball and collaborators (Ball, & Bowe, 1992, 1998), mainly releasing the context of the practice of dealing with the politics in action (minimizing its condition/possibility in text production and influence on policy – macro and micro) and the context of influence as instance of enshrined ideas (always boastfully hovering over other contexts).

The research aimed first to analyze how the policies are put into action by teachers, in each particular context, from the resources made available to schools and from the senses (feelings) and immediate interests of the school community (improving the performance in ENEM exam, remaining active, attracting more students, achieving more recognition by the community and by the directors, developing a 'quality education', providing equal opportunities, contributing to 'social justice' etc.) and, second, to understand the reasons for the possible differences in achievements (*puesta em practica*) of the policy in each of the assessed contexts.

To achieve these goals, we gather three techniques usually used in studies with interpretative paradigms: observation, interview and documentary analysis (Ludke, 2006).

The observation intended to notice only the school context, but also served as means to follow some of the activities assigned to the program (ProEMI) in execution, allowing the description of activities, as well as the level of involvement of the school community with the proposal.

The semi-structured interviews were the main instrument to establish our analysis, since it sought the opinion of administrators and teachers about the motivations for the achievement of each of the activities, as well as seizing the inventions, adaptations/rehabilitations, recontextualizations of what would it mean to put the ProEMI policy in action. In each school, we interviewed more

systematically three teachers and a member of the administration, totaling 08 (eight) statements, although we have collected information in informal conversations with several other faculty and staff who may have influenced our analysis. We chose as subjects the teachers acting as coordinators of at least one activity related to the Innovative High School Program, signaling political involvement, thus having interesting information to our research².

The documentary analysis focused on the official document of ProEMI and in documents produced by the schools surveyed to which we had access. The 'documents' were as important as the observation and interviews, because they gave us a reading, partial by the way, on the possibilities of the policies, whether from the supposed official interests, or about some senses built/redefined by schools. However, at this point, it is important to note that there was no difference in the access to documents of schools. In two schools, we were able to rely on the school project for the ProEMI, with several projects of the activities performed, reports on experiences, evaluation, pictures and videos with announcements directed to the public inside and outside the school (available on the blogs of the two schools). In the other two schools, we only had access to part of the school's proposal and some reports/evaluations of activities provided by teachers who were involved in the actions.

Stephen Ball and the studies on curricular policy

The English researcher Stephen Ball, sociologist of education, professor of the Institute of Education at London University, occupying the Chair Karl Mannheim since 2001, has significantly contributed to the studies on educational curriculum policies in several countries of Europe and America, including USA, Mexico, Argentina, Chile and Brazil. His studies mainly discuss issues related to performativity, privatization of education, the new managerialism, the choosing of schools by parents, the discursive changes related to education, to language aspects and contextual interpretation of policies, the recontextualizations through hybridisms and enactments of policies in school environments, among other topics, focusing on the possibilities of critical construction of knowledge, aiming at some sense of social justice and equal opportunities, which is not always clear in his work.

¹ The research was partially funded by CNPq (PDJ grant and Universal notice, 2012).

² Author's Note: this research has no Ethics Committee Protocol, because it is in the process of formation in this University. The article is a result of post-doc research and approval of the Committee was not required because it was considered that the discussion would be made indirectly, without mentioning names and institutions directly.

Specifically in Brazil, the operation with the Theory of Continuous Policy Cycle, as presented by Ball and collaborators (Ball, 1994; Ball, & Bowe, 1992, 1998; Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992; Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012), has been strong, generating interesting discussion between researchers of educational policies. Lopes (2005, 2006), Lopes and Macedo (2006, 2011), Oliveira and Lopes (2011), Mainardes (2006), Tura (2009), Santos (2013), Santos and Oliveira (2013), for example, show the broad range of possibilities and theoretical articulations of the policies cycle approach to the understanding of the senses of the policies in the school context, supporting the idea that the policies are not just built outside the school arena and simply implemented in educational institutions. The policies are constructed, signified in different cycles, and re-signified from the action of agents that act in schools and of the historical and cultural conditions present there. In this sense, the practice is also political, “[...] opening the doors to the theorizing that understands as little productive the separation between curriculum in action and formal curriculum” (Lopes, 2014, p. 2).

Ball's theory therefore has contributed with the criticism to the dichotomization between policy and practice, which envisioned the production of policies on the one hand, versus the implementation on the other. It brings the possibility of breaking with the binary production/implementation, so present in the studies and researches in the educational field and, particularly, in the field of curriculum, moving away from a conception of practice as space for implementation, reduced to a dual simplicity of frontal resistance or submissive acceptance. According to Lopes (2014, p. 2), the political cycle showed itself

[...] a heuristic model with power not only to question the centrality of the State in curriculum policies, but also to question a vertical design of power that subsidizes such centrality.

Thus, by placing the field of practice as an important arena in the constitution of policies, Ball opens the way to realize the performance of all the agents that surround the school space in the production of policies. This idea was further investigated by Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) in the book *How schools do policy*, from researches performed in four English high schools, developing the concept of the *theory of policy enactment*. We consider the notion of enactment as acting/staging, in the theatrical sense of the term, as an intensifier to think about the constitution of the policies in the schools we surveyed.

The political cycle and the theory of acting

Our research converses with the theories of Ball (1994, 1998)³, Mainardes (2006), Lopes and Macedo (2006, 2011) and Lopes (2005, 2006, 2014), contributing to the understanding that investigating the re-signifying of policies in schools is to examine connections, relations, appropriations, translations and interdependencies, glimpsing the fact that policies are built, contextually, in close relationship with the will and the interests of the agents who act in that space. Thus, the political practices are specific and contextualized and their execution occurs in diverse ways, from the dynamics of each school. Thinking from this logic, actors involved in the (re)development of policies, among them teachers, administrators, directors and technicians of the secretariats and Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), influence the direction and dynamics of each action. In addition, the situation of the school, its recognition and its position in the community, its power of confrontation and mediation in the relationship with the organs - which may be the result of various historical and social processes, something that Ball summed up as being the school culture - are also factors to be considered in understanding how policies are mediated.

With the ‘continuous policy cycle’, we understand that educational policies do not come, peremptorily, from Governments and the State structure; on the contrary, they come from various contexts. Thus, we are far from a state-centered analysis that consider educational policies as directed by the State and implemented in school, leaving almost not prospect of reworking by the subjects, except resisting or implementing the imposed project.

In the approach of the ‘continuous policy cycle’, Ball (1998), Ball and Mainardes (2011) and Ball and Bowe (1998) highlight the complexity inherent to the analysis of educational policies,

[...] emphasizing the micro-political processes and the action of the professionals who deal with the policies at local level, and indicating the need for the articulation of micro and macro processes in the analysis of educational policies (Mainardes, 2006, p. 48).

The political cycle is formed, initially, by three contexts, namely: influence, production of texts and practice. Later, other two are presented: the context of the results (effects) and political strategy. It is

³ We use only the name of Stephen Ball, although we do not undermine the merit of collaborators and partners, cited throughout the text, in the following work: Ball and Bowe (1992).

worth mentioning that all contexts are interrelated, and that there is no mandatory linear or sequential dimension between them. Explaining briefly each of these contexts, we can say that it is in the context of influence that public policies are also signified and the political speeches are built more systematically (Mainardes, 2006). The context of influence is then characterized by disputes in the construction of discourses that will define the general principles of educational policies. Several interest groups plead for significations of the world to influence the directions of the social purposes of educational policies. Here, the concepts therefore acquire legitimacy and form a primary discourse for the policy. We emphasize that saying this is different from saying that the ideas are born in this context and from it, they are irradiated to other contexts, since it is not possible to identify safely where one particular idea is born. What Ball presents, and we agree with him, is the manifestation of the existence of a context of ideas interrelated with other contexts, without precise limits between them, being impossible to detect the 'inside-outside' of each of the contexts. The separation is more an action to ease the argumentation of the cycle than the visualization of spheres separated from each other.

The same goes for understanding the context of the production of texts, as it is from it that the texts of educational policies are mostly produced, generally involving Governments, parliamentarians, experts in several areas, parliamentary advisers, consultants from non-governmental organizations, teachers and researchers from numerous institutions. In the production of texts, the antagonisms and conflicts presented in the context of influence circulate in disputes for hegemony to represent and be represented in the writing. Thus, the texts are the result of disputes, agreements, exchanges, alliances between groups that act in different places, with different conceptions, craving to control the policy representations. In this context, the political texts take written form with the claim to serve the general public interest.

The context of practice, in turn, can be characterized by actions that have occurred in schools. On it, (re)readings of the texts of policies are carried out, with reinterpretation and production of new discourses that transpose to other contexts, in a continuous circularity. In this sense, the practice should be considered as part of the policy, agreeing that the practice directions are represented in the policies in a fairly superposed way, highlighting the constant production of policies in the context of practice, with constant exchanges between proposals and practices: "[...] the senses of the proposals

permeate the practices, as well as the directions of the practices permeate the proposals" (Busnardo, 2011, p. 35).

We understand that the school cannot be seen only as a receptacle for policies elaborated far away from their reality, having only the function of implementing, as a helpless victim, everything that had been elaborated elsewhere. In the context of the practice, the policy is subject to interpretation and recreation, because it produces effects and consequences that may represent changes and significant transformations in the official policy proposal. As a proposal, by reaching the schools this policy is resignified and recontextualized through hybridism by the education professionals who work there. The teacher, in the function of teaching, has the freedom to recreate it and reinvent it, for example. It may be noted that such a policy is "[...] interpreted in different ways, since experiences, values and interests are diverse" (Mainardes, 2006, p. 53). Being part of the cycle, the agents maintain intense relationship with its construction, whether in resignification of the proposals presented and the reinterpretation of the policy texts, or in the constant exchanges between the various contexts.

With the perspective above, we intend to get away from conceptions that think the policies as subjected to simple implementation in schools after being formulated in some State instance. However, we do not disregard the role of the State in the elaboration of policies, even recognizing its power to induce practices in schools. Therefore, we ponder about the existence of various circumstances that corroborate the educational policies, believing that State proposals are built and (re)elaborated in various contexts, which, in practice, are redefined by the subjects that work in the schools, from their knowledge/power, conceptions, interests, and appropriation of the world. By resignification do not understand the new directions that teachers and administrators could give from an original direction of the policy, but the own directions built and rebuilt in/by the school in a relationship of understanding and translation of the proposals, set to hybrid projects (Ball, 1994). This hybridism is conceived as "[...] the mixture of local and distant global logic, always recontextualized [...]" on teaching practice, influenced by the school context (Lopes, 2005, p. 56).

We must clarify that the resignification does not happen simply by the action of its interpreters (teachers and administrators) in schools. As stated by Ball (1998), it is not a question of putting policies into practice, because this is a creative, sophisticated and complex process that is also always located in a

given context and place. Here, we define context as the movements performed by the school, (re)building global and local directions, in different ways and, primarily, in relation to government agencies, to the community and to the school itself.

In this respect, policy analyses should focus on the formation of political speech and on the active interpretation that the professionals who work in the context of the practice make to relate the policy texts to the practice. As defended by Mainardes (2006), each of the contexts presented by Ball and Bowe (1998) consist of arenas, discussion sites, environments of dispute and of interest groups that want to influence the policies. These are, therefore, environments that involve confrontations for the significance of the policies, certainly relating them to their understanding of the world and their interests in it⁴.

Politic theory in action, policy of enactment, as presented by Stephen Ball, in partnership with Meg Maguire and Annette Braun, in the book *How schools do policy: policy enactments in secondary schools* (2012), has a close relationship with the policy cycle, mainly focusing on the dynamics of the possible interpretation/translation in the context of practice (Lopes, 2014). The term enactment can be understood as a performance, not at all in a negative sense of deception or concealment (even though cheating and dissimulating are not completely removed from the idea of enactment, but in the theatrical sense, referring to the notion that an actor has a text that can be presented/reviewed/represented in different ways. The text, open to interpretation and supplementation, in addition to allowing various forms of performance, of intensity, of emphasis, of reading and improvising, is only a small part (however, an important part) of the production, and is always negotiating senses and possibilities of effectuation with the different relationships, structures and interests that surround the school stage. Thus, the use of the term enactment indicates that policies are interpreted and materialized in different and varied ways. The actors involved (in this case, the school subjects) have control of the process and are not 'mere implementers' of the policies. In general, with the theory of enactment, the authors reinforce the questioning of policy implementation, indicating that they are implemented and translated into specific contexts, from contextual dimensions. In

this way, the policies are put into action on existing commitments, values and experiences with other activities already performed. Thus, the theory of policy enactment should consider the objective conditions in relation to a set of interpretative subjective dynamics.

ProEMI as an attempt to direct the curriculum

The Innovative High School Program (ProEMI) is currently the main bet of the Federal Government for the high school, in Brazil. With the initiative of the Ministry of Education, in joint actions with the States and the Federal District, ProEMI intends to induce the redrawing of school curricula in all Brazilian schools, with the intention that the actions can be "[...] incorporated into the curriculum, expanding time at school and the diversity of pedagogical practices, meeting the needs and expectations of high school students" (Guiding document of ProEMI, 2013, p. 9). As part of the 'avalanche' of educational policies of the last few decades guided by the State, aimed to intervene in school routine (Santos, 2007), ProEMI presents the determination to raise the standards of school quality, almost always relating such demand with the requirements of the contemporary society and with the fulfillment of the social function of schools, intending to provide better conditions of life and work to the graduates of this teaching mode. Thus, the schools must understand and fulfill their role in the competitiveness of the national economy (seen as hegemonically globalized) and in social cohesion, attentive to the requirements of the new, volatile and unpredictable contemporary society, forming subjects capable of acting with the codes of the liberal and postmodern society (High School National Curriculum Parameters [PCNEM], 2009).

The assessment that justifies the taking of position by the Innovative High School Program, according to the Guiding Document of ProEMI (2013), shows that the current scenario of Brazilian high schools, in what concerns the positive data of offer enlargement (surpassing eight million and four hundred thousand enrolled students), indicating greater democratization in access to the school system, presents itself as an object of concern, due mostly to the high percentage of young people from 15 to 17 years who do not attend school (only 51% are in high school), to the increased distortion age/educational series among young people of the same age, the number of failure in the first year of high school (around 18%) and high dropout rate in the entire high school system (about 11% in the first year, 9% in the second and 7% in the third). The

⁴ The policy cycle received two other contexts: the context of results (effects) and the context of political strategy. The context of results or effects is concerned about issues of justice, equality and individual freedom, defending more appropriately the idea that the policies have effects, rather than simply results (Ball & Mainardes, 2011; Oliveira & Lopes, 2011).

situation prevents schools from fulfilling their social function, moving them away from the expectations and needs of young Brazilians (Guiding Document of ProEMI, 2013).

Given this scenario, the Ministry of Culture and Education advocates the need for expansion and strengthening of effective policies that guarantee the right to high school education of

[...] quality for everyone and the required conditions, through the expansion of the universalization of the attendance to the population, according to the consolidation of the social function of this stage of basic education (Guiding Document of ProEMI, 2013, p. 29).

In this context, according to the document of the MEC, the ProEMI, established by Decree No. 971, 10/9/2009, was created to provide the debate on high school with the District and State education systems, promoting innovative curriculum proposals in schools, providing technical and financial support, according to the spread of the culture of a dynamic, flexible curriculum that meets the demands of contemporary society.

To achieve the formulated goals, the guiding document presents a series of actions for education systems and to schools, so they can formulate the Curriculum Redesign Project (PRC in Portuguese) in line with the general guidelines for basic education and the National Curriculum Guidelines for high schools, considering the legal bases established by the respective School Systems. Therefore, PCR is the general document of schools (elaborated with the support/guidance of school systems) that could contribute, in theory, to the activities in each teaching unit.

The adhesion to the Program, both of the State departments and the schools, starts a movement of cooperation between the federated entities, where the Ministry of Education is responsible for technical and financial support to the Secretariats of Education and their respective schools. In this way, the State and District Secretariats of Education accept the task of developing and extending the actions directed towards the organization and implementation of policies for high schools, advising and contributing to the PCR of each school, so they are able to attend the needs of school units, with

[...] focus on the promotion of significant improvements that seek to ensure the right to learning and development of students, recognizing regional specificities and curricular concepts implemented by educational networks (Guiding Document of ProEMI, 2013, p. 32).

However, only the schools indicated by secretariats of education may present PRC. The technical and financial support will be annually directed to schools that elaborate and comply with the proposed curriculum redesign.

ProEMI's proposal establishes a benchmark for curricular treatment, indicating the basic conditions for the deployment of PCR.

a) Minimum of 3,000 hours (3000 hours), comprising mandatory 2,400 hours, plus 600 hours to be deployed gradually;

b) Focus on actions elaborated from the areas of knowledge, as proposed in the National Curriculum Guidelines for High Schools, which are the directive of ENEM exams;

c) Actions that articulate the knowledge to students' lives, their contexts and realities, in order to meet their needs and expectations, considering the specificities of those who work both in the cities and the fields, of Quilombola and indigenous communities, among others;

d) Focus on reading and literacy as elements of interpretation and amplification of the worldview, which are the foundation for all areas of knowledge;

e) Theoretical and practical activities that support the processes of scientific initiation and research, using laboratories of natural sciences, human sciences, language, mathematics and other spaces that promote learning in the different areas of knowledge;

f) Activities in Foreign/Additional languages, developed in environments that use features and technologies that contribute to the learning of students;

g) Fomentation of artistic production activities that promote the expansion of the cultural universe of students;

h) Fomentation of sports and corporal activities that promote the global development of students;

i) Fomentation of activities that involve communication, digital culture and use of medias and technologies, in all areas of knowledge;

j) Offer of actions that may be structured in multi or interdisciplinary pedagogical practices, articulating contents of different curricular components of one or more areas of knowledge;

k) Stimulation of fulltime teaching activities, with effective time to individual and collective pedagogical planning activities;

l) Accordance with the actions of the Political-Pedagogical Project implemented with effective participation of the School Community;

m) Participation of students of the National High School Examination (ENEM in Portuguese);

n) All curricular changes should meet the standards and deadlines set by the State Councils for the implementation of the changes.

Besides, the PCR must introduce actions that will compose the curriculum and these actions can be structured in different formats, such as: elective disciplines, workshops, clubs, integrated seminars, research groups, fieldwork and other interdisciplinary actions. For their realization, the acquisition of educational materials and technologies may be defined, as well as the inclusion of specific training for education professionals involved in the implementation of the activities. The school must also organize the set of actions that comprise the PRC from the macro-fields and the areas of knowledge, according to the needs and interests of the pedagogical team, teachers, the school community, and, above all, the adolescents and adults attending this stage of basic education. The school must contemplate the three mandatory macro-fields and at least two more macro-fields of their choice, totaling actions in at least five macro-fields. The macro-fields are: Pedagogical Monitoring (Languages, Mathematics, Humanities and Natural Sciences); Scientific Initiation and Research; Reading and Literacy; Foreign Languages; Body Culture; Production and Enjoyment of the Arts; Communication, Digital Culture and Media use; Students Participation.

Schools and contexts

We present now the schools focus of our research, revealing a bit of the context of each one of them. To preserve schools, taking into account the request of representatives of the institutions surveyed, we opted for anonymity of lines and of names of the schools. In this way, we will treat the first school by the codename Dune and the second, Central.

Dune: the democratic school of the community

The school Dune is situated in a populous neighborhood of the city of Fortaleza, with a history of violence, being always cited as an example of exclusion, marginalization and poverty. For this reason, governmental and non-governmental projects have been developed to minimize the precarious situation of the neighborhood. The school, the only one with exclusively high school education in the vicinities of the neighborhood, serves as headquarters for several of these activities. It has a reasonable physical structure with 12 classrooms, courtyard, library, sports and leisure quarters, multimedia teachers and computer and sciences laboratories. To attend the public of 900 (nine hundred) students in three high school

years, in morning, afternoon and night shifts, the school has 28 (twenty eight) professionals in the teaching function (including administrators and coordinators), being 21 (twenty one) effective and 07 (seven) temporary. According to data from the school secretariat, Dune receives students from several nearby neighborhoods (though it was not possible to identify which neighborhoods, due to the mobility of students), and there is no need for pre-enrollment as there are sufficient vacancies for all interested (the school promotes campaigns with banners and ads in public sites to attract the attention of parents, families and students).

Dune has been assuming, in the speech and the available materials, the proud of being from the neighborhood, from the community, spreading the idea of a democratic and decentralized management, in which all are invited to participate of the school's activities and decisions. As a way to maintain itself and agglutinate people, it develops a program of intensive community participation in school activities, involving various segments such as community radio, churches (catholic and protestant), amateur soccer teams, martial fights academies, marketers, social movements and military police. Thus it has gained recognition as a community school, with open space for the demands of any segment (whether political, cultural, social or religious) and even for private family activities (birthday parties and wedding ceremonies have already happened in the school hall).

About the activities developed in the schools, according to the conception of Ball and collaborators (Braun, Maguire, & Ball, 2010), who perceive them as school policies, we listed those that were related as enabled by the Innovative High School Program. The listing below, although it represents our interpretation, sought to fulfill the order of the most cited and divulged (either on the school blog or in ProEMI materials), which does not mean, directly, they are the most important and effective in the school space. The following are the main policies included as part of ProEMI in school Duna:

1. Violence in school	7. Preparation for ENEM	13. No to homophobia!
2. Fight against drugs	8. Sexual education	14. Informatics for all
3. Family at school	9. Redaction/entrance exam	15. Sciences Olympiad
4. No to bullying	10. Winning sport	16. Natural environment
5. Theater in school	11. Prayer group	17. Chess in school
6. Literature for life	12. School radio	18. Zero maths

The policies attempt to encompass various demands of the school community, seeking to meet the benchmarks for the construction of the PRC indicated by the ProEMI document. However, the school incorporates more intensely their own demands, represented by 'combating the violence scenario in which the school is inserted'. For the pedagogical coordinator of the school (respondent 1), the activities performed by the school "[...] reflect the social and economic reality of the neighborhood in which the school is inserted [...]", characterized by the high levels of violence. Thus, the activities to be performed by the "Innovative, and they know it"⁵, cannot be separated from the school dynamics, from the daily problems with which we must live, as drugs, prostitution, teenage pregnancy, domestic violence" (respondent 2). All this, according to the pedagogical coordinator (respondent 1), without neglecting the aspects of students' learning, because,

[...] after all, they come to school to learn something, to build a better future, [to] pass the entrance exam, attend a university, and maybe come back one day, successful and able to contribute to their community, serving as example for other kids who may not even believe that it is possible to survive the neighborhood violence, the poverty, the situation of the world nowadays [...]. The school cannot give up its function of teaching, of aggregating knowledge (pause). The personnel of SEDUC is right about this [...], and that is why we aggregate activities directed to personal development, for coexistence and for overcoming poverty.

With the lines of the respondents, it became clear (see the line 'and they know it' of respondent 2 and, now, 'the personnel of SEDUC is right' of respondent 1) a certain conflict in the implementation of the curriculum redesign of the school: the demands of the school, of society, of the teachers, of the inductors of policies (either the ProEMI document, or its interpreters, the direction of the school and of technicians of SEDUC) vie for space in a document called the Curriculum Redesign Project (PRC).

There were conflicts, but normal conflicts within what is expected in the coexistence of responsible, well-intentioned professionals, which disagree in some points. However, the document itself says that [the respondent asks me to open quotation marks and starts reading his own draft] 'Curriculum Redesign Projects must meet the real needs of the

school units'⁶. Therefore, we are the ones who know what the real needs are, and it is not the SEDUC technicians who will tell us what we must and must not do. It does not mean we will forget about entrance exams, ENEM, IDEB... but they must not be an obsession to please the board, the secretariat, the government [...].

By means of the PRC, the authors gave differentiated settings in each of the activities, trying to enforce their interests, their worldview:

I have always argued that teamwork is the only right way. It is not the easiest way, but is the only one that allows involving and committing all in the development of the activities. In the construction of our PRC, as well as the entire process of adhesion [to ProEMI], we have always done everything collectively. Doing it collectively so the collective feels responsible. [...] of course, we had to give in and include activities that did not matter directly to the school, which did not bring problems neither to the school, nor to the community. Nevertheless, in the name of democracy, since it is important to someone⁷, it remained there, it is part of the PRC, even though it remained on paper (respondent 3).

Respondent 3 understands the fact that everybody pays the price for the democratic bias the school management assumes, and defends that all demands, even the minority ones, must be part of any educational policy, admitting that many of them will remain on paper because, if "[...] to be part of the whole, to feel contemplated, John Doe demands that his 'problem' is described in PRC, we collectively pay the bill". Such a democratic provision, however, has driven the curricular redesign away from the guidelines recommended by the guiding document, requiring multiple meetings and discussions between the school and the SEDUC, generating conflicts and "[...] real possibilities" (respondent 1) of the school being excluded from the ProEMI.

I do not even know if the threat of leaving us out of ProEMI would be fulfilled [...], but I know that common sense prevailed. It is understood that the proposals could be implemented even if they were not in the PRC, that the PRC was flexible, that it could change throughout the years. We decided to make a deal, leaving differences aside, each giving in a little, contemplating the interests of one and

⁶ The respondent was looking for the passage of the ProEMI document that says "Curricular Redesign Projects (PRC) must meet the real needs of school units with focus on the promotion of significant improvements that seek to ensure the right to learning and development of students, recognizing regional specificities and curricular concepts implemented by educational networks" (Guiding Document of ProEMI, 2013, p. 17).

⁷ The respondent refers to the policy 'No to homophobia'. Without going too much into details, showing some discomfort in dealing with the issue, she states that the policy only reaches one person, though it is advertised as an entire-school policy.

⁵ The respondent referred to SEDUC representatives who accompany the development of ProEMI activities.

another, entering a consensus that avoids the worst. It is better to join here than losing everything.

Central: a school that is reference of quality and activism

The Central School, recognized as one of the best public schools in the State of Ceará, is situated in a neighborhood considered middle class in the city, receiving students from central districts, from the outskirts and from the metropolitan region of the city of Fortaleza. With approximately 1400 (fourteen hundred) students and 43 (forty three) professionals, among teachers, coordinators and administrators, it presents a very good structure, with an auditorium (that also serves as theater), indoor sports court, ample indoor courtyard, equipped computer and sciences laboratories (both with specific teachers), broadband internet, medium-size library with staff and a librarian, 20 (twenty) well-ventilated classrooms, of which 04 (four) have air-conditioning system and a multi-expertise room for specialized educational service. The recognition of the importance of the school can be perceived in the intensive dissemination of its activities in various media, especially in newspapers of wide circulation and on social networks, in addition to its own site on the World Wide Web. According to a member of the administrative group (respondent 2), the school strives to maintain the recognition of its performance and, consequently, attracts the attention of the State authorities and the media. Central is headline, according to the respondent, due to the queues that form during the enrollment period, since the demand is much greater than the availability of vacancies. It is also highlighted in the articles on the performance of students of public schools in the National High School Examination (ENEM) and in the approval rates in other procedures for access to higher education.

Another important feature of the school is the recognition of an activist spirit of its employees and teachers. Historically, the most important mobilizations of the teaching category rely on the support of employees, managers and teachers of the school. Such engagement, recognized by other schools and by the community of the city, generally happens due to the close relationship between school and social movements, and also with the State's public universities, such as the Federal University of Ceará (UFC in Portuguese) and the State University of Ceará (UECE in Portuguese). Not coincidentally, several teachers of the school,

including of the school board, have a Master's degree in Education.

The activities developed by the school, listed below, partially represent how the production of policies in the school environment can be understood according to the context of the institution.

1. University being	7. School reinforcement	13. No to homophobia!
2. Access to ENEM	8. Visit to the University	14. Informatics
3. Maths Olympiad	9. Writing for all	15. Science fair
4. Enablers of knowledge	10. African-ness	16. Environment
5. Educational supplement	11. Interdisciplinarity	17. Chess in school
6. Young agent	12. Youth and drugs	18. Radio

As the respondent 6 asserts, the policies developed in the school on behalf of ProEMI are geared towards reinforcing classroom activities and for the 'formation of consciences'.

Our school has a recognized trajectory in developing successful teaching projects aimed both to improve student learning, and to develop other aspects of human formation and social consciousness. Thus, we do not accept the idea of starting everything from scratch, as if the school does not have anything already built. The time of passive acceptance of reforms and changes is long gone [...]. What we did with the ProEMI was to articulate the various activities that we have developed beforehand and we directed them to the interests and guidelines of the innovative. I mean, we do not have to invent anything new to participate of the policy, unless incorporating activities to their respective macro-fields, seeking to reach the load time of 3000 hours of ProEMI.

We realize that there is a certain loftiness of the school in the negotiation of the policies, since it has more power to choose activities it considers important enough to be developed. However, following the interviews, we need to consider the interests and expectations of the "[...] students that are in school in order to make the most of the learning process, because this is why they chose this school to study" (respondent 4). Thus, we can understand that the academic feature, focused on the preparation for examinations and tests, is very strong in the school, which is possible due to the academic level of the teachers, the educational structure and to a student audience interested in competing for vacancies in universities.

You cannot escape the fact that we must assume, as school, commitments with the community we serve, that comes here in search of quality education, attracted by the concept of excellence the school

won, represented by the performance of our students in ENEM, entrance exams, IDEB [...]. Many of our students have been to private schools, have condition to return to private schools ... but prefer to study here, because they know, they believe in the school. [...]. Now, a public school that disputes the approval rates, approving more than many particular courses, must bother many people.

It is a good reputation, which the school conquered with a much effort with the community, the State, and we are responsible for that reputation. As much as we strengthen not only this type of quality, because we are interested in thinking about other types of quality too, we know that we should serve our public well, it is our obligation [...], it is the students' right to access this 'technical' formation⁸.

Although they consider that public schools should not be "[...] evaluated as good or bad by IDEB numbers, or by the number of approvals in entrance exams", and that it does not make sense "[...] to perform a quantitative assessment that neglects the contribution of each School for human formation", the respondents of Central school defend the emphasis that the school gives to the examination, taking into account the characteristics and interests of its students, because "[...] there is no contradiction between general and technical formation". What exists, "[...] in fact, is an attempt to disqualify public schools, trying to strengthen the private initiative [...]", attributing to them the label of violent, unstructured and incompetent (respondent 6).

Apparently, the school coexists with the paradox with a certain tranquility.

This other kind of quality I mention refers to critical formation, contributing to form citizens that will interfere with their environment, fighting against injustice, thinking collectively, transforming society. The education that targets entrance exams, tests, public tenders, preaches individualism, is daily built based on competition between students, selfish people who seek only their own benefits. We need to train people beyond this capitalist paradigm, finding ways to keep the quality of the content without losing the opportunity to build human, responsible, supportive subjects. It is a dilemma that every school with a critical feature must face. It is not easy getting out [of it].

Final considerations: realization of politics as acting/enactment

Dialoguing with the theories of Ball and collaborators, focusing on theory of policy cycles

and the theory of enactment, this article sought to understand how schools perform the policy called Innovative High School. Thus, according to the data collected and the analysis performed in this article, it is noted that ProEMI policies were those that the school, contextually, managed to produce from them. In this way, several factors led to the elaboration of the proposals in each school space, being impossible to detect categorically which elements allowed the achievement of each proposal. However, it is possible to observe that the differences between the proposals are related to the training of teachers, to the interests of the target-public, with the determination of one or another teacher for a particular cause, with the expectations of the school community etc. Several demands, many of them contradictory, vying for space, negotiate their existence, form conjectural alliances, seek a general meaning, hegemonic, in school curriculum life. With that, ProEMI is not, *stricto sensu*, a policy, but rather an enabler for many and many policies.

Initially, there seems to be no doubt that the policies are elaborated with the aim of influencing the daily life of school, seeking to give a certain direction to its actions. At the present time, under the scope of ProEMI, the influence is indirect, causing the schools to develop their educational projects according to their own set of rules (in the case of ProEMI, the induction goes by the name of Curricular Redesign Project). Ball (1998) and Ball et al. (2012) have described that there is no contradiction between a theory that thinks the role of subject in the construction of policies with the realization that the State remains a strong (and necessary) inductor in the field of educational policies. What should be questioned is the precept according to which the school only reproduces a policy originated and produced elsewhere.

Thus, it can be considered that the research enabled the perception of ProEMI's attempt to induce the policies, including the guidelines of the official documents that intended to clarify doubts, the assessors of the directive organs directly in the schools, the formation of the multipliers of the program, etc., but also by means of convincing the school community, attracting to the political management directors, coordinators and teachers engaged with some of the principles of quality education. Often, such attraction was facilitated by financial incentives to the school (more money for renovations and equipment), by decreased load time (dedication of a percentage of the load time to the development of the project) and salary bonuses (case of the State Network of Teaching of the State of Rio

⁸ The quotation marks were signaled by the respondent.

Grande do Norte, which enabled and additive in salary for teachers of the network operating in the ProEMI).

However, the attempt of induction, of constraining the practice (the discourse), as revealed by Lopes (2014), must be negotiated with several interests, with contextual issues, with motivations and demands of the various subjects that act in and interfere with the daily life of the school. Thus, when the school adapts a project, an action already performed by the institution as part of the PRC, it is giving meaning to the policy in line with the expectations/conditions/interests of the school. Nevertheless, it does not mean to say that there has been deformation of the initial proposal. It is not about considering the existence of ProEMI (original), and that the school has fraudulently built somethings else (a version). Originality and version are discursive perceptions of a same proposal, being impossible to detect which is the one, which is the other. With the theory of enacting, also revealed in the enactment of teachers in the development of the PRC, ProEMI is all the possibilities contextually built by the school and, by definition, in any way, one could overlap (as original) the other.

Furthermore, it is worth considering an issue that involves research in general, even without being the central focus of analysis, but which obtained reasonable representation on the lines of the respondents: the role of the State in the formulation of policies. The schools, taking as a reference the collected data, even expected a strong intervention of public institutions (MEC, State and Municipal secretariats) in the induction of policies. There is clearly an understanding that public policies are designed and implemented in order to meet some real demands of society. Meaning: there is no prior feeling of involvement of directive organs in the daily life of the school, as mentioned and repeated in many of the discourses in researches on educational policies. What can be considered, in fact, is that the subjects that work in the schools not only find the State interventions legitimate, as they feel to be indispensable the action of directive organs in the reorganization/rehabilitation of curricular policies to build their own policies from there.

State interventions denote real concerns with the school, with the educational ideals, show interest in the creation of significant quality education, making clear the importance of each individual school in the realization of social education, especially when this ideal is elevated to the condition of scope of civilization. Of civilization, indeed, because it is through State interventions that the schools feel empowered to present their demands, often covered

by the demands of the entire society: professional valuation, school lunches, improvements of the physical space, more equipment, more learning materials, better wages, among so many other issues, take place in the clash by the strengthening of education and of the civilization project.

Thus, more than features that determined policy can bring to schools (or as much as resources), State interventions are welcome at schools because they represent incisive demonstrations of support and of the importance of all who are part of the school. Obviously, it does not mean to say that the subjects are satisfied with their role and their representation in society. Maybe the satisfaction with the punctual interventions of the directive organs, in accordance with the considerations presented here, indicates precisely the opposite: it is always necessary to perform a new reform, a new policy, a new intervention, to keep alive the dream of a nurturing society. Thus, a project of a nation (an educator nation) is replaced by punctual actions, often contradictory, which fulfil their function of keeping the school (and its subjects), in the center of the most legitimate aspirations of the liberal democratic State.

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