

EJA EPT POLICIES IN BRAZIL: ASCENSION, STAGNATION, AND SILENCE

POLÍTICAS DE EJA EPT NO BRASIL: ASCENSÃO, ESTAGNAÇÃO E SILENCIAMENTO

POLÍTICAS EJA EPT EN BRASIL: ASCENSIÓN, ESTAGNACIÓN Y SILENCIO

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ABSTRACT: This study presents the movement and offer of Youth and Adult Education (EJA) policy integrated with Professional and Technological Education (EPT) in the Federal Network of Professional and Technological Education, in the Brazilian context, from its institution to the present day. Three distinct movements were analyzed: ascension, stagnation and silencing, producing data through documentary analysis, and, as a systematization, this text was elaborated, with the dialectical analysis as its theoretical-methodological orientation. It was assumed that the EJA EPT policy, built in this space-time as a context of “dialectic of disputes”, now advances and expands the offer, allowing access to the excluded strata of society, it now goes backwards to meet the interests of Capital. Thus, in addition to analyzing the supply and growth of the Federal Network, there was also the influence of the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment - PRONATEC, which started to be offered as of 2011, in the EJA EPT policy. The results point out the difficulty of maintaining the integral formation in EJA EPT, considering the neoliberal characteristics in course.

KEYWORDS: Youth and adult education. Professional and technological education. Public policies in education.

RESUMO: Este estudo apresenta o movimento e a oferta da política de Educação de Jovens e Adultos (EJA) integrada à Educação Profissional e Tecnológica (EPT) na Rede Federal de Educação Profissional e Tecnológica, no contexto brasileiro, desde sua instituição até os dias atuais. Foram analisados três movimentos distintos: ascensão, estagnação e silenciamento, produzindo-se dados por análise documental, e, como sistematização, elaborou-se esse texto, tendo por orientação teórico-metodológica a análise dialética. Partiu-se do suposto que a política de EJA EPT, construída nesse espaço-tempo como um contexto de “dialética das

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disputas”, ora avança e amplia a oferta, permitindo o acesso das camadas excluídas da sociedade, ora retrocede para atender aos interesses do capital. Assim, além de analisar a oferta e o crescimento da Rede Federal, observou-se a influência do Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e ao Emprego - PRONATEC, que passou a ser ofertado a partir do ano de 2011, na política de EJA EPT. Os resultados apontam a dificuldade de se manter a formação integral na EJA EPT, se consideradas as características neoliberais em curso.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Educação de jovens e adultos. Educação profissional e tecnológica. Políticas públicas em educação.*

RESUMEN: *Este estudio presenta el movimiento y la oferta de la política de Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos (EJA) integrada con la Educación Profesional y Tecnológica (EPT) en la Red Federal de Educación Profesional y Tecnológica, en el contexto brasileño, desde su institución hasta nuestros días. Se analizaron tres movimientos distintos: ascensión, estancamiento y silenciamiento, produciendo datos a través del análisis documental y, como sistematización, se elaboró este texto, con el análisis dialéctico como orientación teórico-metodológica. Se asumió que la política EJA EPT, construida en este espacio-tiempo como un contexto de "dialéctica de disputas" (MARASCHIN, 2015), ahora avanza y amplía la oferta, permitiendo el acceso a los estratos excluidos de la sociedad, ahora va hacia atrás para satisfacer los intereses del capital. Por lo tanto, además de analizar la oferta y el crecimiento de la Red Federal, también influyó el Programa Nacional de Acceso a Educación Técnica y Empleo - PRONATEC, que comenzó a ofrecerse a partir de 2011, en la política EJA EPT. Los resultados señalan la dificultad de mantener la formación integral en EJA EPT, considerando las características neoliberales en curso.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Educación de jóvenes y adultos. Educación profesional y tecnológica. Políticas públicas en educación.*

Introduction

The National Program for the Integration of Professional Education with Basic Education in the Youth and Adult Education Modality (PROEJA), launched in 2005, through Decree n. 5,478, became a reality in Federal Institutions from 2007 onwards. With that, besides having its scope extended to all Basic Education by Decree 5,840/06, it gained prominence in the Brazilian educational scenario, demonstrating the federal government's concern to strengthen a policy that caters to those excluded from the formative process at “mandatory age”.

From that initial action, a series of other actions were unleashed that reinforced the character of human formation of the working class, since, in the capitalist society in which we live, most workers need to devote practically all their time and effort to guaranteeing their own support, making it almost impossible to stay in school until completing studies and, only later, entering the world of work. Thus, a portion of workers is “forced” to leave school

benches to start working early and leave behind the conclusion of the formative trajectory that was incomplete and deficient.

In the Federal Education Network, PROEJA had its initial proposal based on the Gramscian conception of the unitary school⁴, the formation of students beyond the interests of capital (MÉZARÓS, 2008), with a view to their social and political emancipation. However, although this educational policy has assumed the responsibility for the integral formation of students, initially, its scope was restricted. When created in 2005, by Decree 5478, the National Program for the Integration of High School Technical Professional Education in the Education of Youth and Adults (EJA, Portuguese initials) Modality, known as PROEJA MÉDIO, limited its scope to high school education only. In the following year, Decree 5,840/2006 and the Base Document (2007) extended their effects to all Basic Education, in addition to renaming the policy to the National Program for the Integration of Professional Education with Basic Education in the Youth and Adult Education Modality (PROEJA, Portuguese initials).

The set of efforts to consolidate the EJA EPT⁵ policy began a few years before its creation, and Opinion 11/2000 could be assumed as an initial act, recognizing EJA as a right, as an exercise of citizenship; Decree 5,154/04, rescuing the possibility of integral formation for High School (HS) integrated with Professional Education (PE); Decrees 5,478/05 and 5840/06, which created and expanded the scope of the EJA EPT; Invitation Letter 40/09, creating PROEJA FIC; Interministerial Ordinance 1,082/10, creating the Certific Network, among others.

In other words, from its creation to contemporaneity, the EJA EPT policy has carried out several advances, stagnation and setbacks. Given this and guided by the theoretical-methodological orientation, the study that gave rise to this text proposed to build theoretical reflections on the EJA EPT policy, presenting movements of rise, stagnation and decline of the offer in the Federal Network, in addition to point out perspectives, challenges and

⁴ Which provides a general, humanistic, formative culture that balances equally the development of the ability to work manually (technically and industrially) and the development of intellectual work capacities (GRAMSCI, 1988).

⁵ This study adopts the new nomenclature given to PROEJA during the 1st National Meeting of Youth and Adult Education of the Federal Network, which took place from 21 to 23 of May 2018, at the Federal Institute of Goiás. In the event, it was agreed that PROEJA is now called EJA EPT, to reinforce the need for Youth and Adult Education integrated with Professional and Technological Education, it is constituted as a policy and not just a program. One of the approved points was “[...] to reaffirm the EJA/EPT nomenclature, considering that the identification of the modality by the acronym Proeja is still accepted, due to its presence in many of the current documents”. Available: <https://www.ifg.edu.br/component/content/article/130-ifg/campus/cidade-de-goias/noticias-campus-cidade-de-goias/8449-encontro-nacional-da-eja-aprova-proposicoes-para-efetivar-acesso-permanencia-e-exito-dos-estudantes>. Access: 13 Jan. 2020.

scenarios. The problematization that guided the study was formulated as follows: what are the movements carried out by the EJA EPT policy in the Federal Network since its implementation until today?

From a theoretical-methodological point of view, a dialectical analysis of data produced through the study of documents was carried out. Studying documents requires systematic activities, namely, contextualization and selection of documents; initial reading to confirm the importance of the document; analytical reading; preparation of materials with selected data in the documents; analysis of these materials; systematization, with the comparison of the produced data, recontextualizing them. Only after that, it was possible to write this article, presenting the systematization of the study carried out, based on the aforementioned problematization.

The writing was elaborated in three sections, namely: EJA EPT policy in the progressive perspective: the strengthening of an inclusive policy; EJA EPT policy from the perspective of capital: the weakening; and EJA EPT policy under neoliberal influences: silencing, which are presented below. Following are final considerations that point to the difficulty of maintaining integral formation in EJA EPT in view of the ongoing neoliberal policies.

EJA EPT policy from a progressive perspective: the strengthening of an inclusive policy

The historicity of the offer of Youth and Adult Education integrated to Professional and Technological Education brings with it the marks of its immersion in the field of dialectics of disputes (MARASCHIN, 2015), caused by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic clashes. Having access to knowledge already produced by humanity and, from that, producing new knowledge with a view to social and human emancipation, empowers subjects. This condition, not always or almost never, is in the hegemonic interest of capital, whose conception of education for the working class is abbreviated in a kind of intellectual superficiality, valuing common sense and enhancing training, domestication, know-how, and not knowing how to think.

Many years ago, since Professional Education in Brazil was officially highlighted (1909⁶), until the beginning of the 21st century, hegemonic interests predominated in the

⁶ Ferreira (2020), in the work *Educação Profissional e Tecnológica no Rio Grande do Sul* (Professional and Technological Education in Rio Grande do Sul), recalls the important act of the President of the Republic, Nilo Peçanha, when he signed Decree 7566, on 23 September 1909, providing for the creation of nineteen Schools of Apprentices and Artifices “[...] located in the capitals of Brazilian states with the aim of offering free education

Brazilian political scenario, that is, the objective of formation of PE was not that of formation of students, but the technical qualification of the workforce. This historical perspective began to change in 2003, with the inauguration of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Elected by the majority of the Brazilian population, he defended an education management proposal to expand the Federal Network of Professional and Technological Education, which was stagnant after the issuance of Decree 2208, on 17 April 1997. This expansion was not just about for the structural form, but for the ideological one, in the perspective of the human formation of the students.

Before advancing the historicity of EJA in the 21st century and observing the advances in policy, it should be noted that its first advance was still in the 20th century, with the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988, making the offer of youth and adults outside of school age mandatory and free of charge. Only after the approval of LDB 9,394/96, EJA gained greater prominence, because through it, one sees the opportunity to develop curricula that value extra-class experiences and the relationships between work, education and society, showing greater commitment of the State when classifying EJA as a teaching modality:

Art. 37. The education of young people and adults will be destined to those who did not have access to or continuity of studies in elementary and high school at their proper age.

§ 1 The education systems will ensure, free of charge, to young people and adults who have not been able to study at their regular age, appropriate educational opportunities, considering the characteristics of the students, their interests, living and working conditions, through courses and exams.

§ 2 The Public Power will enable and encourage the worker's access to and permanence in school, through integrated and complementary actions.

§ 3º The education of young people and adults must be articulated, preferably, with the professional education, in the form of the regulation (BRASIL, art. 37, 1996, our translation).

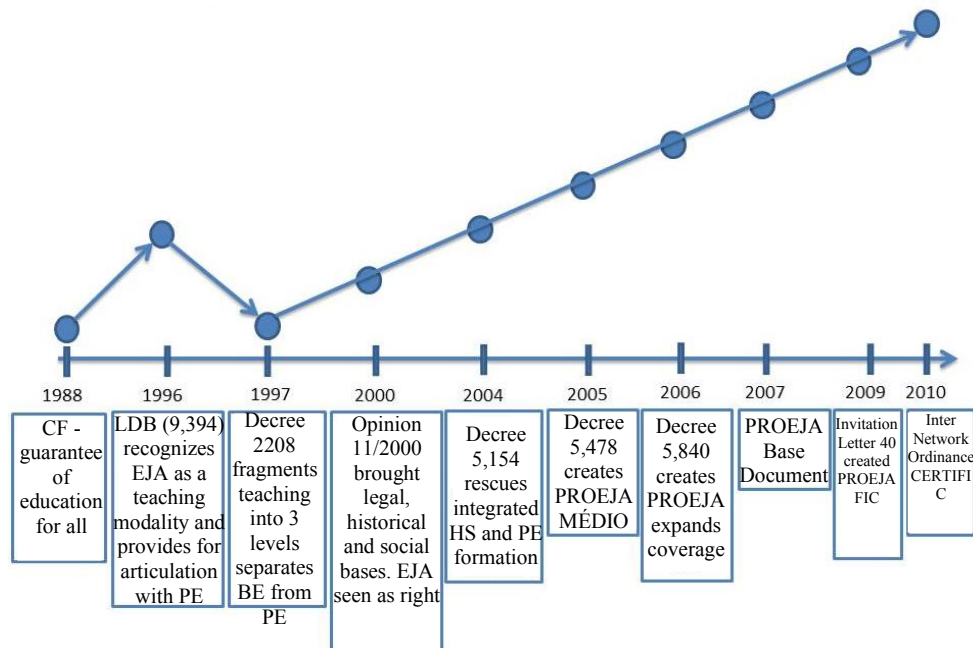
Opinion 11/2000 also supports EJA, which established the National Curriculum Guidelines (DCN) for this type of teaching, historicizing the offer, presenting the legal, historical, social, teacher formation bases, among others. According to this document, EJA is seen not only as a right, but as “the exercise of citizenship in contemporary society, which is increasingly imposing itself in these times of great changes and innovations in production processes” (BRASIL, 2000, p. 10). This understanding is reinforced by the following excerpt: “Thus, as a right of citizenship, EJA must be a commitment of institutionalization as a public

for work. The Schools of Apprentices and Artifices comprised a set of educational institutions, articulated among themselves by common characteristics and related by the same educational legislation [...]” (ibid., p. 118, our translation), being considered by many scholars the beginning of the Federal Network of Professional education.

policy proper to a modality of elementary and secondary education and, consequently, to subjective public law” (BRASIL, 2000, p. 48, our translation).

However, the history of EJA in Brazil was marked by advances and setbacks in its trajectory. Advances, with the enactment of CF/88 and Law 9,394/96 (LDB), recognizing it as a teaching modality, as already highlighted. Setbacks, with the interference of Decree 2,208/97, later surpassed by Decree 5,154/2004, when rescuing the integrated formation of High School with Professional Education. Also Decree 5,478/2005, which created PROEJA MÉDIO and Decree 5,840/2006, which transformed PROEJA MÉDIO into PROEJA, making it more comprehensive. The Base Document (2007) described a series of concepts that guide integral formation. Furthermore, in 2009, the issuance of the Invitation Letter 40 created the PROEJA FIC, for initial and continuing formation of workers without primary education. The following year, Interministerial Ordinance 1,082/2010 was issued, creating the CERTIFIC REDE, granting certification to the knowledge of workers. Figure 1 below illustrates the movement of advances and setbacks of the EJA EPT from 1988 to 2010.

Figure 1 – EJA EPT advances and setbacks from 1988 to 2010



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on the history of the EPT (2020)

It can be seen in Figure 1 that between the publication of CF/88 and 2010, there were significant advances for the EJA EPT, demonstrating the government's commitment to strengthening the policy. The exception for this period is related to the effects caused by Decree 2,208/97, which fragmented education into three levels and separated Basic Education

from Professional Education. On the other hand, Decree 5,154/04 annulled this fragmentation and resumed the possibility of integral formation. This educational perspective consists of considering, throughout the entire formative trajectory, not only the technical professional qualification, but the increase in education and the human development of the subjects. Ciavatta explains:

What is integrating? It's making whole, making whole, what? The word takes on the moral sense in some current usage. But that is not what this is about. We refer the term to its sense of completeness, of understanding the parts as a whole or unity in the diverse, of treating education as a social totality, that is, in the multiple historical mediations that materialize the educational processes. In the case of integrated education or secondary education integrated with technical education, we want general education to become an inseparable part of professional education in all fields where preparation for work takes place: whether in productive processes or in educational processes such as initial formation, such as technical, technological or higher education. It means that we seek to focus on work as an educational principle, to overcome the manual work/intellectual work dichotomy, to incorporate the intellectual dimension to productive work, to form workers capable of acting as leaders and citizens (CIAVATTA, 2005, p. 84, our translation).

Thus, there is the educational principle of work as the structuring axis of the formative process that considers its ontological and historical sense (SAVIANI, 2007), from the perspective of the human condition, of transformation and re-transformation of nature for social production. Ricardo Antunes (2009, p. 165, our translation) states that work “[...] is constituted as an original, primary source of realization of the social being, protoform of human activity, the basic ontological foundation of human omnilaterality”. Previously, there was the conception of work for Marx (1989, p. 202, our translation):

A spider performs operations similar to those of a weaver, and the bee surpasses more than one architect in building its hive; but what distinguishes the worst architect from the best bee is that he figures his construction in his mind before turning it into reality. At the end of the work process, a result appears that ideally existed before in the worker's imagination. He does not just transform the material it operates on; he imprints on the material the project he consciously had in sight, which constitutes the determining law of his way of operating and to which he has to subordinate his will.

In the analogy made by Marx, between animals and human beings (in this case, between the spider and the weaver and between the bee and the architect), the ontological characteristics of work in the process of human formation are understood, that is, the human being, by modifying nature, transforms it into something he had already done in his imagination and, “by modifying it through this movement, he modifies, at the same time, his

own nature” (MARX, 2012, p. 255, our translation). In this way, it is understood that it is, in the practical, daily performance of work, that the social being is distinguished from other beings. In other words, “Men and women who work are endowed with awareness, since they previously conceive the design and the form they want to give to the object of their work” (ANTUNES, 2013, p. 7, our translation).

And, in this sense, having the educational principle of work as the structuring axis of the EJA EPT policy, the Base Document (2007) clarifies in the item "*Concepts and Principles*" that:

Historical experience has shown that there is no economic development if it is not accompanied by social and cultural developments. Education is, in this sense, the process of creation, production, socialization and reappropriation of the culture and knowledge produced by humanity through its work. Faced with the process of growing social exclusion, structural unemployment, unemployment, youth unemployment, low education and insufficient qualification of workers, concentration of wealth, productive restructuring and incorporation of information and communication technologies in the production process, changes and transformations will only be significant if they are, in fact, structural and deep, that is, if they involve the configuration of another society, on ethical bases – political, cultural and social (BRASIL, 2007, p. 31, our translation).

Thus, the effort of the government of the time to create the PROEJA and enable the offer of education for young people and adults was evidenced as an extraordinary and complementary effort of society in the human formation of the subjects, instead of conceiving it as something residual of the process educational (VIEIRA PINTO, 2010). In this perspective, it was established in the PROEJA Base Document that one of its conceptions is:

[...] to pursue the construction of a model of society in which the educational system provides conditions for all citizens, regardless of their socioeconomic origin, to have access, permanence and success in public basic education, free, unitary and with quality for regular age groups, and that guarantees the right to lifelong learning for young people, men and women (BRASIL, 2007, p. 34, our translation).

It is noticed that, in addition to proposing an integration policy, there was a pedagogical proposal and pedagogical principles expressed in the Base Documents⁷. With the government's commitment to strengthening the EJA EPT policy, evidenced in official documents and specific legislation, the trajectory towards interconnected policies began, proposing a new educational culture and triggering a series of complementary actions. As an

⁷ It is important to note that three documents were prepared to think about the pedagogical strategies for the construction of the EJA EPT policy, the PROEJA Médio, the PROEJA Fic and the PROEJA Indígena.

example, citing Letter of Invitation n. 40/2009, the offer of PROEJA FIC was expanded to workers who did not complete elementary school. Another example is the creation of the CERTIFIC Network, to recognize the knowledge of workers who could not or did not have the opportunity to attend formal educational environments, but whose life experiences built the knowledge of a certain professional qualification. There is a clear movement towards valuing workers, increasing schooling and professional formation with an emancipatory perspective.

The set of these legal provisions, added to the institutional programs and the rescue of the possibility of integrating Basic Education with Professional and Technological Education, allowed the intensification of the development of the integrated curriculum in high schools across the country, in particular, in the Federal Network for Professional and Technological Education. This curricular perspective reconfigured the pedagogical work⁸ as a whole, adding characteristics of valuing the life and knowledge of workers, the completeness of the human being, understanding of the whole etc., which are the bases for education and integral formation.

However, the State's concern to offer the working class emancipatory education, which, in addition to raising the level of education, develops critical thinking, knowing how to think and interpret the world and the reality in which it operates, understanding the power relations present in its entirety, slowly, it began to change. Neoliberal principles, rooted in the state structure, surgically coordinated the implementation of a program that resulted in the weakening of the EJA EPT policy, as presented in the next section.

EJA EPT policy from the perspective of Capital: the weakening

Shortly after the small and significant advances in strengthening the EJA EPT policy, cracks began in the model of integral education developed, as Capital does not “sleep in a splendid cradle”. The human and critical formation of workers is not in its interest. Capital is only interested in qualified labor, capable of performing, with as much perfection as possible,

⁸ “[...] pedagogical work is the work of subjects who, by performing it, produce historicity and self-produce. It aims to develop means to achieve an end, but it goes beyond: it puts in interaction, interrelationship, relationship (these terms are not replaced, that is why they are cited) the subjects, with their knowledge, in a systematic, dialogical way, producing knowledge from the dialogue about this knowledge. It is immaterial work, as it generates immaterial goods related to the creation of information or ways of disseminating and creating this information, arguments, ideas etc. It is also considered, from the Marxian perspective, as unproductive work, as it does not directly contribute to the increase in surplus value.” (FERREIRA, 2018, p. 595, our translation)

certain tasks, but without questioning the means of production, that is, qualified labor in a quick and objective way, a kind of collective domestication of the workforce.

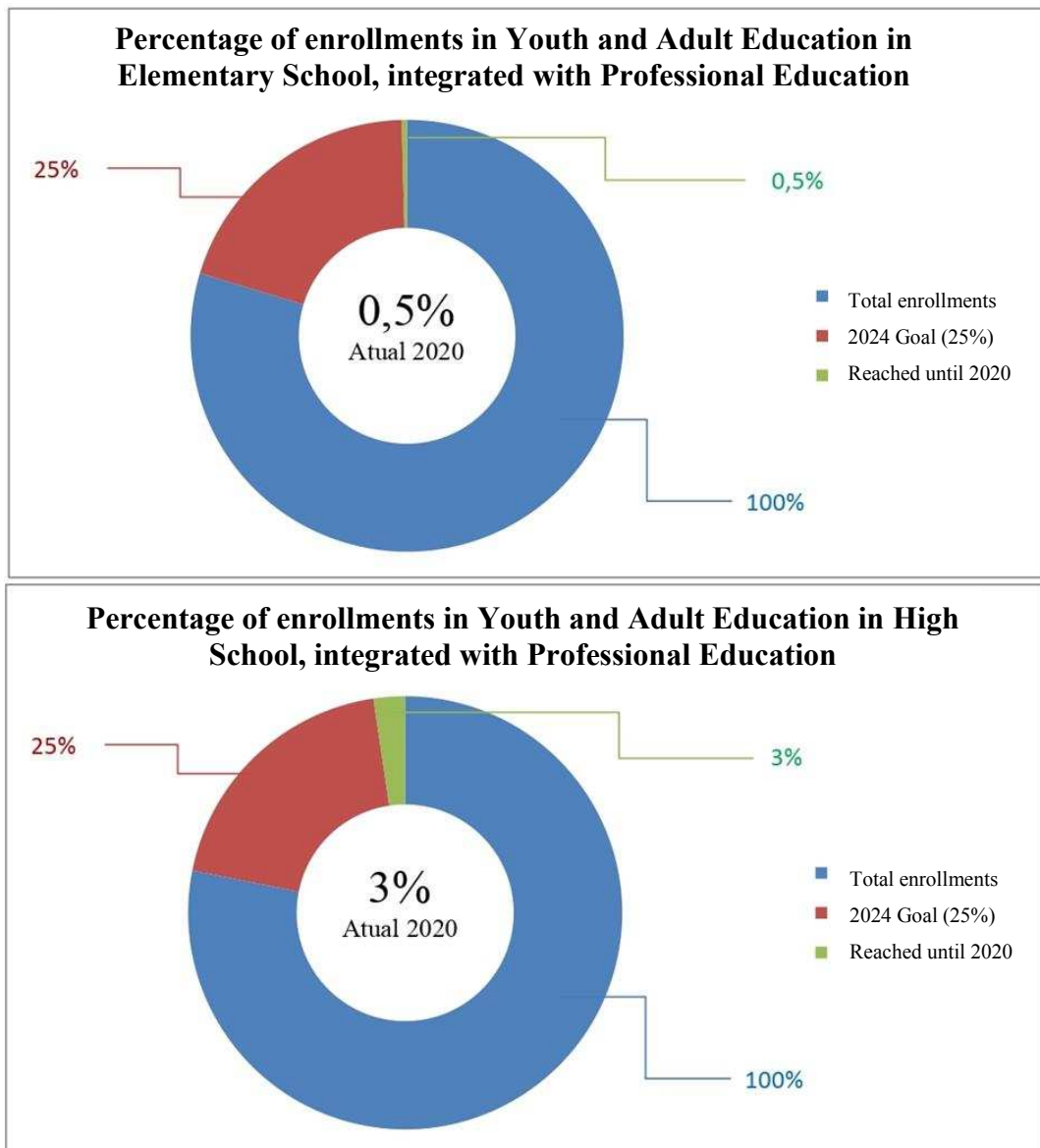
As already presented in the text, the EPT transits in a territory of disputes predominantly maintained under neoliberal influences that use the state structure (public education system) to train/qualify the workforce necessary for the development and profitability of Capital. In this context, the perspective of integral formation of workers becomes an obstacle to be overcome and the overwhelming logic of Capital mobilized the necessary political force to pressure the government and ensure that its interests overlapped with the policies in force. Thus, amid expanding and strengthening the integral formation of workers, in 2011, the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment (PRONATEC) was instituted (in the opposite direction). With the enactment of Law 12,513, of 26 October 2011, a more superficial and lighter type of formation was made available to the working class, emptying the banks of EJA and, consequently, weakening the policy. The urgency of insertion into the “labor market” to guarantee the family's basic needs prevails over the working class. Subsistence comes before qualification. The problem is that, in this logic, Capital is the one who holds the power and dictates the rules, leaving the workers to accept the work, as precarious⁹. The reference to the setback with the creation of PRONATEC stands out:

[...] there was a new period of advance that resulted from the great pressure and denunciations made by intellectuals in the National EJA forums, causing the State to include EJA in PRONATEC. Thus, in 2013 the Reference Document PRONATEC EJA (Law 12816/13) was launched, which guides the actions of the Program in conjunction with the PE, with a view to increasing schooling in line with ongoing policies and programs (ANDRIGHETTO; MARASCHIN, 2018, p. 6, our translation).

However, the organized popular effort, which ensured the small advance of including EJA in PRONATEC, was not enough to re-establish the damage caused in the EJA EPT policy, and the slowdown in its development became evident, as can be seen in the Graph 1 of Target 10 of the PNE (2014-2024):

⁹ For Standing (2014), “The work performed by the precarious workforce is, by its nature, fragile and unstable, being associated with casualization, informalization, employment agencies, part-time work, false self-employment and this new phenomenon of masses called crowd-sourcing, which we focus on elsewhere” (p. 12, authors' highlights, our translation). The author complements, saying that the precarious workforce refers to an emerging class linked by a life of insecurity, without permanent employment or labor guarantees, with little or no dignity and satisfaction.

Graph 1 – Goal 10 - EJA integrated with Professional Education



Source: MEC/Inep/DEED/Censo Escolar – adapted by the authors

The (in)evolution of the gradual expansion of enrollments dealt with by Decree 5,840/06 is provided for in Goal 10 of the National Education Plan (PNE), Law 13.005, of 25 June 2014, as follows: “Offer, at least 25% (twenty-five percent) of enrollments in youth and adult education, in primary and secondary education, in an integrated manner with professional education” (BRASIL, 2014). However, in consultation with the PNE¹⁰ Observatory, it appears that Goal 10 is far below expectations and will hardly be achieved by the Plan's effective date. This statement considers that, from the beginning of the Plan (2014)

¹⁰ Online monitoring platform for the 20 goals and 254 strategies of the National Education Plan. Available: <http://www.observatoriodopne.org.br/home>. Access: 26 Feb. 2020.

to the present day, only 0.5% of EJA enrollments in Elementary School and 3% in High School, integrated to PE, have been reached, as shown in the Graph 1.

By the alarming percentages presented, the abysmal distance between the goal established by the PNE and the one actually achieved/achieved is exposed. Therefore, it reflects the abandonment of Youth and Adult Education policies, which, once again, are being excluded from formal education environments, repeating the advances and setbacks that mark the historical trajectory of EJA policies in the Brazilian context. The emphasis on a formation for the working class is again focused on minimum formation, specific for work, without raising the level of education and without concern for the human development of workers, characteristics of neoliberal policies.

EJA EPT policy under neoliberal influences: silencing

With the neoliberal ideals in course and the EJA EPT policies weakened, two other measures prevented the recovery of integral education for the working class. The first was the sanction of Constitutional Amendment 95, on 15 December 15, 2016, freezing the budget allocated to education for a period of twenty years, and the second, the imposition of the Common National Curricular Base (BNCC), which again separates the Basic Education of Professional. reinforcing the dual character that historically marks Professional Education in Brazil (ANDRIGHETTO; MARASCHIN, 2018).

Thus, there is a succession of blows to the rights of integral education won not only in the field of EJA, but for education as a whole, in an attempt to implement the neoliberal logic of withdrawing the rights of less favored citizens, limiting access to knowledge and reinforcing the duality in the formative paths. In other words, it is a denial of the democratic rule of law. This understanding is in line with what was exposed by Jaqueline Moll *et al.* (2018, p. 124, our translation):

Once again, the path to full implementation in Brazil was hit, by the discontinuities of government actions, which impose a freeze on federal investments for 20 years, through Constitutional Amendment 95/2016, and through the disarticulation of the Ministry of Education of what was being built 10 years ago.

The discontent evidenced refers to actions whose effects, in practice, discontinue an integral education project that advanced, even modestly, towards lifelong formation, incorporating “[...] the perspective of the right and the need for a basic education for all” (MOLL *et al.*, 2018, p. 124, our translation).

Recently, an entry into a new backward cycle is evident. The approval of Law 13,415, of 16 February 2017, popularly known as the "new high school" law, the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC), imposed by the State, without first observing the precarious realities of education networks for this type of formative offer. Furthermore, the ominous "standard" document foresees the suppression of essential human disciplines for the integral formation of subjects and the reduction by half of the so-called "common base". On this aspect, Silva (2018) classifies the BNCC as the second of these acts that enshrines the first, EC 95. The acts are completed with the DCNs for High School. About the BNCC, the author asserts, based on the assumption that there is a resumption of a model similar to the Curriculum Parameters and Guidelines published in 1998, which were quite problematized:

In the material of the BNCC for secondary education, only two subjects are detailed (Portuguese Language and Mathematics). For all other areas or subjects, only the aforementioned competences, of a generic nature, are indicated, clearly evidencing the lack of commitment to a more complete and dense formation sustained in all the possibilities that surround school knowledge in its depth and need (p. 47-48, our translation).

Thus, left to their own devices, the student will have to "choose" for formative paths to be traced superficially in specific areas of knowledge, which do not allow this student to have access to the others. Thus, it limits his formation, leading him to alienation¹¹. In this sense, Silva (2018) reinforces that the minimalist perspectives attributed to Brazilian education by the current political situation demonstrate to whom this logic of subservience of public education to capital is aimed, denoting the disregard for the quality of public education and the integral education of subjects.

The integral formation of HS students seems to be the last concern of the State. The first indicates the willingness to transfer part of its responsibility and public resources to the

¹¹ Marx explains that the worker's alienation happens when he does not recognize himself in the product of his work, and/or when he is reduced to the commodity: "[...] the object produced by work, his product, opposes him as a strange being, as a power independent of the producer. The product of work is the work that has been fixed in an object, which has become a physical thing, it is the objectification of work. The performance of the work is simultaneously its objectification. The realization of work appears in the sphere of political economy as the worker's derealization, objectification as the object's loss and servitude, appropriation as alienation". Marx continues the explanation: "The realization of work arises in such a way as derealization that the worker becomes invalidated to death by hunger. Objectification reveals itself in such a way as the loss of the object, that the worker is deprived of the most necessary objects, not only for life, but also for work. Yes, work becomes an object, which he can only acquire with maximum effort and with unpredictable interruptions. The appropriation of the object is manifested to such an extent as alienation that the more objects the worker produces, the less he can own and the more he submits to the domain of his product, of capital" (MARX, 1964, p. 159). He also clarifies that: "The worker's alienation from his product means not only that work becomes an object, assumes an external existence, but that it exists independently, outside of it and foreign to it, and becomes an autonomous power in opposition to it; that the life he gave to the object becomes a hostile and antagonistic force" (MARX, 1964, p. 160, our translation).

private sector, with the approval of the National Education Council (CNE) which, in early 2018, internally processed a draft to establish the new National Curriculum Guidelines for Secondary Education (DCNEM), to revoke the norms established in 2012¹², under the justification of adjustment of the DCNEM to the new Law (13,415). This adjustment, therefore, according to Silva (2018, p. 48-49, our translation), would be the third act.

The first strangeness about what happened concerns precisely the fact that the aforementioned draft was being produced without any public knowledge about it. Furthermore, it was possible that the aforementioned norm would be changed without the new normative text having gone through any debate outside the CNE. For this reason, in the present text, this occurrence is considered as the third act that deals a blow to Brazilian education and reaches, above all, its last stage, secondary education.

The author considers that other issues underestimate the qualified formation of young people in public schools, for example, the recognition and certification of voluntary activities as sufficient to meet the curricular payment provided for in the wording of Article 36, § 11, of Law 13,415: "[...] for the purpose of complying with the curricular requirements of secondary education, the education systems will be able to recognize competences and sign agreements with distance education institutions with notorious recognition". According to the proposition of the CNE: "XIII - the activities performed by students, considered part of the high school workload, may be [...] participation in voluntary work, carried out in person - mediated or not by technology - or at a distance" (BRASIL, 2018). By transferring part of its BE formation responsibility to the private sector, the State ends up making public education precarious in favor of the private enterprise. It gets even worse when it uses public resources to finance the outsourcing of its core activity, as it has already done with Sistema S in the implementation of PRONATEC.

This scenario of precariousness and uncertainty in the field of education began in 2015 and culminated with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, on 31 August 2016. The impediment of the government of "Dilma Rousseff, elected twice (2010 and 2014), interrupts the path of legislative constructions and investments in educational policies that allowed doubling the GDP in education in the last decade" (MOLL *et al.*, 2018, p. 114, our translation). Since then, instability has expanded under Michel Temer's government (2016-2019) and is accentuated by the current government of Jair Bolsonaro. The dismantling and precariousness of public education systems are visible and began with EC 95. Progressive ideas, widely discussed and materialized in comprehensive education curricula, are no longer

¹² Opinion CNE/CEB 05/2011 and Resolution CNE/CEB 02/2012.

a priority to give way to neoliberal ideas of a minimal State and the commodification of education¹³.

After nearly two years of mandate, the current government has not presented any consistent proposal for education in general and, in particular, for Professional and Technological Education. It becomes even more worrying for Youth and Adult Education, which transits in a kind of “limbo”, since there is no reference to this modality in the BNCC and, in addition, one of the first actions of the current government was to extinguish/ to dissolve the Secretariat of Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (SECADI), the MEC body responsible not only for EJA, but also for Education in the Field and Education in Prisons, modalities equally constituted by young people and adults.

The current government's silence regarding EJA policies is “deafening”, alarming and extremely worrying. The picture of total abandonment of this teaching modality became even more precarious. In addition to not appearing in the official documents of educational policies, the CNE approved on 21 November 2018 Resolution No. 3, allowing the offer of up to 80% of the EJA workload in the distance mode, as expressed in the document:

Art. 17. Secondary education, the final stage of basic education, conceived as an organic, sequential and articulated set, must ensure its educational function for all students, whether teenagers, young people or adults, through different forms of offer and organization.

[...] **§ 5 In the youth and adult education modality, it is possible to offer up to 80% (eighty percent) of their workload at a distance**, both in basic general education and in the formative itineraries of the curriculum, provided that there is appropriate technological - digital or not - and pedagogical support (CNE, 2018, p. 9, authors' highlights, our translation).

As evidenced, in the uncertainties with the Education for Youth and Adults policy, it is believed that this government not only despises the young and adult public, which had to enter the “labor market” early to guarantee the basic necessities of survival, as well as reserves for the working class a minimalist and domesticating formation for labor, in accordance with the demands of Capital. If so, only the substitute exams and the quick and disconnected courses of the totality will be enough for the “qualification” of the “skills and competences” of the EJA students.

¹³ The Ministry of Education and Culture, through the National Council of Education, issued Resolution No. 1, of 2 February 2016, which Defines National Operational Guidelines for institutional accreditation and the offer of courses and programs in Secondary Education, Education High School Technical Professional and Youth and Adult Education, in the Elementary and High School stages, in the Distance Education modality, in collaboration between the education systems. With this action, the State transfers to the private sector a stage of its responsibility to offer basic education and to workers the cost of their formation.

Given this framework of total abandonment by the current government in relation to the modality, some questions remain unanswered. What will happen to EJA? Will there be the possibility of integration with EPT? Does EJA have no place in the current government's educational agenda? Will it continue to exist in classroom courses or will it be given a supplementary character again? How will the curriculum structure of Professional and Technological Education be? Which conception of Pedagogy will permeate the curriculum, that of the pedagogy of competences or that of the historical-critical pedagogy? What role will the pedagogical work assume?

Final consideration

In short, the movements of advances and setbacks in EJA EPT policies in the Brazilian context are perceived and there are more uncertainties than certainties. The signs of its horizon allude to a reality different from that expected by politics.

When implemented, EJA EPT policies moved towards the Gramsci Unitary School, of integral education, whose objectives are not only to develop and expand workers' knowledge, but to raise education and form critical and reflective citizens, in a proposal of emancipatory education, beyond the needs of Capital.

Maintaining the integral formative perspective in a capitalist society split into classes is not an easy task and requires joint political effort. In the name of so-called governability, by allowing neoliberalism to lead the implementation of an educational policy (PRONATEC), the entire structure in motion was compromised. The fissures have increasingly widened and what little progress has been made in the less unequal formation of the working class has receded. Fragmented education again prevails, with rapid, lighter, superficial formation and without an increase in schooling.

The current government's silence on the inexistence of consistent public policies for Youth and Adult Education, while opening the possibility of offering up to 80% of the total EJA workload in the distance education modality, demonstrates its lack of commitment to the modality and transfers to the private sector the obligations that would be theirs par excellence. Therefore, a fragmentary and precarious education is reserved for EJA, with separate formative itineraries, forcing, once again, a significant portion of workers to abandon formal education environments. In addition, it completely disregards the sharp decrease in EJA enrollments and the achievement of the indices assumed in the PNE goals, as if it had no obligations to fulfill, putting the credibility of the State's role in question.

Finally, it remains to be said that, even in the face of the chaos that configures the scenario and the direction of EJA today, we believe in public school, in popular mobilization and in the hope of the full exercise of the democratic rule of law, capable of resisting until it is possible, by popular will and direct vote, to change the course of the country and resume the paths of human and social development.

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