



NEW PATHS, OLD ROUTES: ANALYSIS OF MOVEMENTS OF SENSES ABOUT PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION

NOVOS CAMINHOS, VELHAS ROTAS: ANÁLISE DOS MOVIMENTOS DE SENTIDOS SOBRE A EDUCAÇÃO PROFISSIONAL E TECNOLÓGICA

NUEVOS CAMINOS, VIEJAS RUTAS: ANÁLISIS DE MOVIMIENTOS DE SENTIDOS SOBRE LA EDUCACIÓN PROFESIONAL Y TECNOLÓGICA

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How to reference this paper:

BRAIDO, L. S.; CASTAMAN, A. S.; FERREIRA, L. S. New paths, old routes: Analysis of movements of senses about professional and technological education. **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação**, Araraquara, v. 18, n. 00, e023002, 2023. e-ISSN: 1982-5587. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v18i00.16421



Submitted: 07/03/2022

Revisions required: 23/05/2022

Approved: 07/10/2022 **Published**: 01/01/2023

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Editor: Prof. Dr. José Luís Bizelli

Deputy Executive Editor: Prof. Dr. José Anderson Santos Cruz

RIAEE – Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação, Araraquara, v. 18, n. 00, e023002, 2023. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v18i00.16421

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ABSTRACT: This study aims to analyze the movements of meanings evidenced in the Federal Program "Novos Caminhos" for Vocational and Technological Education (EPT). For that, it is theoretically and methodologically based on the Analysis of Movements of Sense. It describes the EPT based on education and work, from ontological foundations and characterizes it according to the meanings evidenced by the Program under analysis. In the same way, critically, it unravels the meanings produced from the potentialities and strategies of the "New paths", when compared with the social, economic and political contexts in which they are constituted. As a result, it was noticed that the "New Paths" Program led to "old paths", already addressed since 1970, with the Theory of Human Capital. However, updated with the needs of the lived historical moment, these paths reinforce neoliberal perspectives that also strengthen the capitalist context and intensify the precariousness of pedagogical work and the scrapping of education.

KEYWORDS: Professional and Technological Education. Education. Analysis of Sense Movements.

RESUMO: Este estudo visa analisar os movimentos de sentidos evidenciados no Programa Federal "Novos Caminhos" para a Educação Profissional e Tecnológica (EPT). Para tanto, fundamenta-se teórica e metodologicamente na Análise dos Movimentos de Sentidos. Descreve a EPT com base na educação e no trabalho, a partir de fundamentos ontológicos, e a caracteriza conforme os sentidos evidenciados pelo Programa em análise. Do mesmo modo, criticamente, deslinda os sentidos produzidos a partir das potencialidades e das estratégias do "Novos caminhos", quando cotejados com os contextos social, econômico e político em que são constituídos. Como resultados, percebeu-se que o Programa "Novos Caminhos" conduz a "velhos rumos", já abordados desde 1970, com a Teoria do Capital Humano. Todavia, atualizados com as necessidades do momento histórico vivido; esses caminhos reforçam perspectivas neoliberais que fortalecem também o contexto capitalista e intensificam a precarização do trabalho pedagógico e o sucateamento da educação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Educação Profissional e Tecnológica. Educação. Análise dos Movimentos de Sentidos.

RESUMEN: Este estudio tiene como objetivo analizar los movimientos de significados evidenciados en el Programa Federal "Nuevos Caminos" de Educación Profesional y Tecnológica (EPT). Para ello, se fundamenta teórica y metodológicamente en el Análisis de Movimientos de Sentido. Describe la EPT basada en la educación y el trabajo, desde fundamentos ontológicos y la caracteriza según los significados evidenciados por el Programa bajo análisis. Del mismo modo, desentraña críticamente los significados que se producen a partir de las potencialidades y estrategias de los "Nuevos Caminos", en comparación con los contextos sociales, económicos y políticos en los que se constituyen. Como resultado, se percibió que el Programa "Nuevos Caminos" lleva a "viejos caminos", ya abordados desde 1970, con la Teoría del Capital Humano. Sin embargo, actualizados con las necesidades del momento histórico vivido, estos caminos refuerzan perspectivas neoliberales que también fortalecen el contexto capitalista e intensifican la precariedad del trabajo pedagógico y el desguace de la educación.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Educación Profesional y Tecnológica. Educación. Análisis de los Movimientos de los Sentidos.

Introduction

Dermeval Saviani (2007) argues in his text "Work and Education: Historical and Ontological Foundations" that work and education⁴ are presuppositions for the human constitution and are deeply intertwined, when analyzed from their ontological perspective. However, the author stresses that the separation of these categories is daily imposed by capitalism⁵ (and capital⁶), modeling itself to their needs and interests and contradicting the human condition. This relationship between capitalism and capital allows multiple readings, according to the context in which it is established, impacting all social dimensions. One example of this impact is public policies. By public policies, we mean the sum of efforts, regulations, actions of the State, "[...] seen as an investment that will bring a financial return, if not directly, at least to ensure qualified 'labor' for the most basic productive sectors" (FERREIRA; AMARAL; MARASCHIN, 2016, p. 35, emphasis added, our translation). In the case of education, educational policies are aimed at regulating and guiding the teaching and learning systems.

When it comes to public policies for Vocational and Technological Education (EPT in the Portuguese acronym), the division between work and education is already present in the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDBEN), Law No. 9.394/1996 (BRAZIL, 1996), with updated wording according to the Law No. 11.741, 2008 (BRAZIL, 2008). It is also revealed in Law n°. 11.892/2008 (BRAZIL, 2008), which creates and implements the Federal Network of Professional, Scientific, and Technological Education (RFEPCT in Portuguese) and in Resolution CNE/CEB n°. 6/2012 (BRAZIL, 2012a), which deals with the National Curricular Guidelines for Secondary Technical Professional Education.⁷, as well as in

RIAEE – Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação, Araraquara, v. 18, n. 00, e023002, 2023. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v18i00.16421

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⁴ The expression work and education is applied for understanding that "[...] work and education derive from an ontological and scientific conception antagonistic to ontology and 'science', which has as its function the maintenance of social relations that produce inequality, misery of large contingents of human beings and violence against them" (FRIGOTTO, 2015, p. 243, emphasis added, our translation).

⁵ According to Saviani (2007, p. 157, our translation): "This separation between school and production reflects, in turn, the division that has been processed throughout history between manual labor and intellectual labor. From this angle, one sees that the separation between school and production does not exactly coincide with the separation between work and education. It would, therefore, be more accurate to consider that, after the emergence of the school, the relationship between labor and education also assumes a dual identity. On the one hand, we continue to have, in the case of manual labor, an education that took place concomitantly with the labor process itself. On the other hand, we now have school-type education aimed at education for intellectual labor".

⁶ Based on Antunes (2005, p. 23, our translation), capitalism and capital are differentiated: "Capitalism is one of the possible forms of capital realization, one of its historical variants, present in the phase characterized by the generalization of the real subsumption of labor to capital".

⁷ Currently, there is the Resolution CNE/CP n°. 1, of January 5, 2021 (BRAZIL, 2021), which defines the General National Curricular Guidelines for Vocational and Technological Education. However, in the period of elaboration of the *Novos Caminhos* program, the curricular guidelines were defined by Resolution no. 6, of September 20, 2012 (BRAZIL, 2012a) and, therefore, it was prioritized to mention this.

the Federal Program "Novos Caminhos" (New Paths). The aforementioned Program was published in 2019, by the Minister of Education, Abraham Weintraub, and the Secretary of Vocational and Technological Education (Setec), Ariosto Antunes, in order to strengthen the policy for the EPT education modality and support educational institutions in planning and offering courses aligned to the demands of the productive sector.

Given this context, we aimed to understand how the public policies of EFA materialize and express "[...] the meaning of the social project of the State as a whole and the general contradictions of the historical movement" (SHIROMA; MORAES; EVANGELISTA, 2011, p. 9, our translation). To this end, this study analyzed the movements of meanings evidenced in the Federal Program "*Novos Caminhos*" for EPT, according to the presentation and strategies of that program, available on the website of the Ministry of Education⁸ (MEC).

As a theoretical and methodological foundation of the study, the Analysis of Movements of Sense (AMS) was applied in order to observe the movements of the meanings expressed by the "Novos Caminhos" Program. The analysis, in these terms, consisted of the exploration of tables with texts and excerpts extracted from the institutional website and also from public policies, as well as a brief description of the social, political, economic context, collating meanings to highlight the weaving and the imbrications about EPT in Brazil.

Thus, the text is divided into five parts. It starts with the introduction of the theme, followed by the conceptualization of the categories addressed, as well as its founding policies, and presents concluding summaries.

Theoretical and Historical Notes

As mentioned in the introduction of this study, Saviani (2007, p. 152, our translation) points out that the intrinsic relationship between work and education is ontological and "[...] are specifically human activities [...], only the human being works and educates". It is in this exchange of needs that the human being, when working, becomes human:

[...] man is not born man. He is formed as a man. He is not born knowing how to produce himself as man. He needs to learn how to be man, he needs to learn how to produce his own existence. Therefore, the production of man is, at the same time, the formation of man, that is, an educative process. The origin of education coincides, then, with the origin of man himself (SAVIANI, 2007, p. 154, our translation).

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e-ISSN: 1982-5587

⁸ Available at: http://novoscaminhos.mec.gov.br/conheca-o-programa/o-potencial. Access: 24 Aug. 2021.

Work is understood in accordance with the Marxian description: "[...] a process in which man and nature participate, a process in which the human being with his own action drives, regulates and controls his material exchange with nature [...]" (MARX, 2008, p. 149, our translation). Thus, the subject modifies nature according to his needs, "[...] giving them a form useful to human life" (MARX, 2008, p. 149, our translation), that is, adapts nature to his demands according to the historical period in progress.

However, with the advance of capitalist conceptions ⁹ in the pedagogical work ¹⁰ carried out in schools, the categories of work and education began to be perceived separately, reflecting in the institutions as different metabolic formations, one school being destined to workers and another to the bourgeoisie, preparing them to be "[...] future leaders" (SAVIANI, 2007, p. 159, our translation). This whole movement of urbanization and search for new prisms was intensified with the oil crisis¹¹, that generated instability in capital accumulation, the increase of foreign debt in peripheral countries and pressure for reduction of public spending. Later, with the end of the civil-military state (1964-1985), "[...] the capitalist society reformulated its bases and restructured itself through a neoliberal policy¹²" (CARLOS; MENESES; MEDEIROS, 2020, p. 05, our translation). Then, with the high demand for specialized training, the school, the students and the teachers became the focus of studies and scientific research, in order to contribute to the continuous and accentuated demands of the economic sector.

This economic perspective on education is called the Human Capital Theory, highlighting the relationship between education and the economic and social context. With the growing demand for work by the population, Theodore W. Schultz perceived, in education, a possibility to overcome the gap between education and economy. Diffused in the 1970s, the Human Capital Theory believed that investment in education could, in the near future, favor the economy by always training new workers in line with the respective needs of capitalism

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⁹ By capitalist conceptions, we understand the influence of financial perspectives in education, such as neoliberal policies instigating educational systems. This viewpoint was intensified from 1980 on with the re-democratization of education, inspired by Theodore Schultz's 1960 Theory of Human Capital (SCHULTZ, 1973).

¹⁰ It refers to the work of teachers, "[...] when selecting, organizing, planning, performing, continuously evaluating, monitoring, producing knowledge and establishing interactions [...]" (FERREIRA, 2018, p. 605, our translation). In this perspective, it is "[...] immersed in a capitalist context, in which teachers' labor force is organized by employment relations and in which subjects act in social, political" (FERREIRA, 2018, p. 605, our translation).

¹¹ The oil crisis began in the 1970s, when the largest oil-selling countries, known as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), discovered that their product was finite. Thus, the price of the commodity skyrocketed, which destabilized the world economy (GOMES, 2013).

¹² By neoliberalism is meant a "[...] mode of existence of capitalism" (SAAD FILHO, 2015, p. 59, our translation). Based on Laval (2019), neoliberalism is reiterated as a strategy that intends to change society and transform the human being. It inserts in schools' concepts such as efficiency, performance and profitability, installing the competitiveness present in the markets.

(SCHULTZ, 1973). Therefore, the "[...] capital configured in the child, may be the key to an economic theory of population" (SCHULTZ, 1973, p. 09, our translation), and education came to be governed by capital and to contribute to its expansion. This theory intensified "[...] from 1950 on, with the end of World War II the world turns to economic and social organization. It is in a study group at the University of Chicago, coordinated by Theodore Schultz, [...] that the milestone of the Human Capital Theory occurs and the rejuvenation of education as an important element within this process" (KELNIAR; LOPES; PONTILI, 2013, p. 03, our translation).

However, the rupture in relation to education and work was not yet perceived, since both were found in school, but the highlight was that students from privileged classes had access to a theoretical intellectual training, while students coming from working classes received an education "[...] limiting and deeply impoverishing, both of theoretical knowledge, as of practical work activities" (ANTUNES; PINTO, 2017, p. 78, our translation). Therefore, in the 1970s, technical and vocational school projects were inserted in the educational system with the function of "[...] training students for wage labor, or rather, training their workforce for the market" (ANTUNES; PINTO, 2017, p. 78, our translation). With such prerogative, practices and techniques were exacerbated, forming large audiences of medium-level manual workers.

Furthermore, it was reinforced that, in the private network, schools believed to form intellectual workers, appearing, in this period, many private pre-vestibular courses for access to Higher Education through vestibular tests. It is in this separation of schools for intellectuals and schools for workers that the characteristics of public schools are constituted, associated with the peculiarities of the "labor market" (ANTUNES; PINTO, 2017).

As a result, the separation between *homo sapiens* and *homo faber* is generated (ANTUNES; PINTO, 2017), and education becomes "[...] an investment, a business" (ANTUNES; PINTO, 2017, p. 103, our translation). Having clarified these aspects, the next section discusses work and education in educational public policies.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v18i00.16421

¹³ Professionalizing education in formation with high school was allowed according to Law #5.692/71, the Law of Directives and Bases (BRAZIL, 1971).

Work and education in educational public policies

The education primarily associated with the needs of the world of work develops from 1961 on, however, it is constantly demarcated by the clash between necessary training and qualified training. In school education, labor has its first appearance in Law no. 4.024/1961 (BRAZIL, 1961), the Law of Directives and Bases, which incorporates the Professional and Technological Education (EPT) in the high school curriculum. As pointed out in Chapter III, Art. 47, "Secondary technical education includes the following courses: a) industrial; b) agricultural; c) commercial" (BRAZIL, 1961). This document was reformulated in 1971 in order to propose an integration between Professional and Basic Education, which was later broken by Decree No. 2.208/1997 (BRAZIL, 1997), proposing "[...] light professional education according to the alleged needs of the market" (FRIGOTTO; CIAVATTA; RAMOS, 2005, p. 25, our translation).

In the period between the last two laws mentioned above, there was the publication of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education of 1996 (Law n° 9.394/96). Mota (2017) observes that, based on this document, education is aligned with economic perspectives. It is perceived "[...] that education in the mold of market society is used as an accessory instrument of the requirements of the universe of production, with a view to guaranteeing the maintenance of the productive cycle of capital" (MOTA, 2017, p. 03, our translation), and this causes education to become, more than ever, a commodity, dividing scholars in the area.

From there, roughly speaking, two groups are positioned around the evaluation of this decree. On the one hand, those who understand that the current decree [5.154] is the only possible path towards facing the duality of professional education versus secondary education, while others perceive that the decree, intending to be 'realistic', ends up naturalizing the duality. Interestingly, both groups support the concept of polytechnic education and oppose the educational duality, considered ancient and the result of class struggle (RODRIGUES, 2005, p. 02, emphasis added, our translation).

In this same historical moment, the shortage of workers is observed, which has potentiated yearnings and several perspectives in relation to the EPT. Pacheco (2013, p. 01, our translation), in a study on the labor shortage, addresses the "[...] lack of technicians is explained by the abandonment and disregard that past governments had with professional education. This evidence led the following government project to "[...] value and invest heavily in technical schools" (PACHECO, 2013, p. 01, our translation).

All this dubious scenario is part of the historicity of professional education in Brazil, which, starting in 2008, has incentive with the Law no. 11.892/2008 (BRAZIL, 2008), that

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creates and implements the RFEPCT¹⁴. It is understood that, as well as the Network, the EPT in its entirety "[...] is not and should not be treated merely as a legal issue. This is a discussion that demonstrates the economic and political project of the Executive Branch" (BRANDÃO, 2010, p. 63, our translation).

Thus, the function of vocational education has changed, so that it is not defined a clear goal that contributes to the promotion of education through work, but a superimposition of work, because there is "[...] a certain loss of boundaries between what is schooling and what is training [...] (con)forming them for the different needs of capital in general" (BRANDÃO, 2010, p. 69, our translation). Such changes end up modifying the pedagogical work, especially that of teachers. The professionals perform the "[...] disciplining for social and productive life, in accordance with the specificities that the processes of production, as a result of the development of productive forces" (KUENZER, 2005, p. 82, our translation), generate and deepen an overlapping of work in relation to education.

In 2012, with the definition of the National Curricular Guidelines for Secondary Technical Professional Education, a lot of instability and uncertainty of the path to be followed by those involved with EPT was perceived. In accordance with the Resolution CNE/CEB n°. 6/2012 (BRASIL, 2012a), the articulation between Basic Education and EPT, interdisciplinarity, and flexibility were intensified. For Kuenzer (2017), this flexibility is purposeful, in view of a pedagogical project of flexible accumulation whose main point is the unequal distribution of knowledge.

In order to overcome this duality, a comprehensive education was advocated. It is agreed when pointing out that "[...] Integral Education obviously has not and should not be related to the number of hours a child spends at school" (CASTAMAN; RODRIGUES, 2020, p. 307, our translation), and, yes, "[...] meet everyone in all its dimensions" (CASTAMAN; RODRIGUES, 2020, p. 307, our translation). In this sense, it is contrary to dualist schools, which present intellectual training to the children of the bourgeoisie and technical training for the children of the proletariat, as seen in the previous section.

This preamble highlights the need for pedagogical work aligned with the perspectives and specific demands for a truly democratic school, understanding it as a space of potentializing force, and facing work as "[...] a way of realizing oneself and the other and not the naturalization of the exploitation of some over others" (CASTAMAN; RODRIGUES, 2020, p. 309, our

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¹⁴ About RFEPCT we recommend reading Nascimento, Cavalcanti and Ostermann (2020), available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/rbeped/a/j66w94G68d56Z3CQhv5vCzG/?lang=pt&format=pdf. Access: 26 Sept. 2022.

translation). It makes one objectify the paradoxical evidence of professional school, which "seems" to be democratic, however, ends up perpetuating social differences (GRAMSCI, 2001).

Thus, the predominant scenario of Brazilian public schools was configured of a dubious character, being enhanced from the legal-media-parliamentary coup of 2016, which has "[...] radicalizing the dismantling of the State and the destruction of public policies aimed at the majority of the population" (BENTIN; MANCEBO, 2020, p. 160, our translation). Gradually, it erased the worker and the subjects of law. With the current government, there have been several setbacks and/or stagnations in the educational area. The Ministry of Education (MEC) was characterized by a conservative wave, by turnover, by the technical unpreparedness of the subjects appointed to positions and by mismatched information (BENTIN; MANCEBO, 2020). In this context, it is clear that only a year after the candidacy of the President of the Republic there was the publication of a program for EPT, called Novos Caminhos (New Paths), to be discussed in the following section, as a contribution to highlight the movements of meanings about EPT.

Senses of EPT: movement analysis

Aiming to understand the possibilities of EPT in the first federal government program (2018 - 2022) "*Novos Caminhos*" (New Paths), the AMS was developed. In constant overcoming and revision, this theoretical-methodological foundation represents the "[...] synthesis of what has already been and possibility for what will be the future" (BRAIDO; FERREIRA, 2019, p. 21) in relation to the researched meanings. Therefore, it enables dialectical-based research¹⁵, considering the social, political and economic context, in articulation with the historically lived processes.

The AMS allies interpretation, analysis, and comprehension, aiming to penetrate into the discourses, highlighting meanings that will be confirmed or not, when compared to others. The coming and going of the text, the recurrent reading, an intense activity of the readers/researchers, is aided by the elaboration of analysis tools, such as tables, syntheses, schemes, drawings, charts, etc. In these instruments, an in-depth reading is composed, in which the meanings become evident as results of the analysis. We then go on to syntheses, that is, grouping the meanings in their similarities, with the intention of recomposing the text, now in meaning. Only then does one go on

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¹⁵ "Dialectics is thematized in the Marxist tradition most commonly as [a] a method and, more usually, a scientific method, 'epistemological' dialectics, [b] a set of laws or principles governing one or the totality of reality: 'ontological' dialectics, and [c] the movement of history: 'relational' dialectics' (BOTTOMORE, 1997, p. 101, our translation).

to the systematization stage, the moment to write about the syntheses, that is, to elaborate the argumentation that, in the end, is another sense of what is read (FERREIRA; BRAIDO; DE TONI, 2020, p. 04, our translation).

With the need to understand the phenomenon under study, initially, this analysis describes the program and, concomitantly, highlights the meanings found, presenting the syntheses articulated to the historical, social, political, and economic phenomena.

The "Novos Caminhos" Program has as its main focus "Expand access to quality professional and technological education, strengthening the use of new technologies and the promotion of actions aimed at aligning supply with the demands of the productive sector" (BRAZIL, 2019, n.p.). Thus, it proposes to "Raise by 80% the total enrollment in technical courses and in Professional qualification courses by 2023" (BRAZIL, 2019). For this to occur, it cites some meanings about EPT, as well as the potentials of the Program, and then, through three axes, establishes its strategies.

On the website, when highlighting the potential of the Program, it highlights valuative aspects for this education modality, since it highlights the EPT due to its "[...] extreme strategic relevance for Brazil. Besides the potential for the expansion of opportunities for socio-productive insertion of millions of Brazilians" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation). It also states that "[...] contributes to boosting productivity and national competitiveness" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation). Then, it expounds on the "[...] policy of employment and income generation and aligned with the demands of the productive sector" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation), and, also, "[...] with the dynamism, entrepreneurship and prosperity of the country" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation).

About the potential of the Program, it is observed in the data produced two senses: a) part of the concepts of "competitiveness" and "insertion in the world of work"; b) articulation of the courses with the demands of the productive sectors. In this sense, the website presents a "Map of demands for Professional Education", relating the courses with the desires in relation to each region of Brazil.

It is understood that, when the Program talks about the "world of work", several explanations and conceptualizations are necessary for its understanding. However, the Program does not describe them. Critics of the theme point out that being in the world of work does not guarantee employment. This nomenclature arises with the increase of unemployment and the precarization of work, seeking to manage the crisis of salaried work (FRIGOTTO, 1998). Thus, it changes "[...] not only the productive forms, but also the work process and education in general" (OLIVEIRA; ALMEIDA, 2009, p. 158, our translation), especially the EPT.

Thus, being "fit" for the job market, that is, being employable, has become a characteristic of workers for the job in question. The world of work is configured, in which there are people who are fit, but who may or may not be in actual employment. Employability is understood as "[...] the conditions of integration of the subjects to the current reality of labor markets [...] considering what employers define as competence" (MACHADO, 1998, p. 18, our translation). These are peculiarities that influence the education of students, characterizing it as the "pedagogy of competencies", again found in the strategies of the Program and, in the sequence, substantiated.

The other sense evidenced refers to the articulation of the courses with the demands of the productive sectors. That is, it understands education as subordinate to work, or domesticates or indoctrinates students (CASTAMAN; RODRIGUES, 2020), viewing them as "[...] apt for instrumental and specific competencies and skills such as tightening a screw or filling out a spreadsheet" (CASTAMAN; RODRIGUES, 2020, p. 309, our translation), changing the relationship between work and education, which proposes as the main point the human in reference to work, being the human as "[...] producer of its reality and, therefore, appropriates it and can transform it" (RAMOS, 2008, p. 03, our translation). However, in accordance with the capitalist system, which values profit, the program values work, which, according to this perspective, produces more value, if compared to education.

All this potential allies social needs with the perspectives of the Program, and are developed in four points, namely:

Chart 1 – Potentialities of the *Novos Caminhos* Program

- 1 Align the range of courses offered with the demands of the productive sector;
- 2 Support the implementation of the itinerary of Technical and Professional Training in High School;
- 3 Leverage the social and economic recognition of technical and professional training;
- Integrate data and statistics to support planning and management of Vocational and Technological Education.

Source: Brazil (2019)

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After analysis of the descriptions and collation of meanings, some questionable points were perceived, which deserve more critical attention. Initially, it is stated the need for a "[...] planning of the offer of courses that enable the development in specific sectors of the economy, according to the productive vocation of each region" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation). It highlights the end of the assertion in which the very subjects that promote EPT, allied to the tripod Education, Science and Technology, obnubilate science in favor of a Christian perspective conception, starting from the belief in vocation and not in local conditions. They point regional issues, scientifically explained, as "vocation".

Moreover, the "Novos Caminhos" program offers training itineraries aligned to the Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC) (BRAZIL, 2018). At all times, it encourages students' autonomy regarding the selection of the itinerary. However, it emphasizes that institutions must provide these courses for which students can choose. In this way, the school and the education system condition students' choices.

It also emphasizes the prestige of EPT and states that it will encourage access to courses by publicizing its offer, marking the vocational orientation as a possibility to publicize the courses. Finally, he presents the importance of data production for proper planning of vocational education and says that only based on this information the qualification of planning and management of EPT can be strengthened.

As for strategies, attention is drawn to their nomenclature. Normally, in scientific studies the term "objectives" is applied to indicate "that which one intends to achieve when one performs an action; purpose" 16. However, the actions to be developed by this Program are called strategies. The word "strategy" has its origin in the Greek people: "stratègós from stratos (army) and ago (leadership)" 17. It was initially related to the military, and later spread to the business field. According to the dictionary, it is defined as an "[...] art of coordinating the action of the military, political, economic, and moral forces involved in the conduct of a conflict or in preparing the defense of a nation or community of nations" 18. Therefore, this analysis shows that the meanings of the word strategy, rather than objectives, already enunciate the military influences on the government, thus being able to understand the origin of several chosen positions.

RIAEE – Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação, Araraquara, v. 18, n. 00, e023002, 2023. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v18i00.16421

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e-ISSN: 1982-5587

¹⁶ Online Search - Oxford Languages Definitions. Available at: https://languages.oup.com/google-dictionary-pt/. Access: 27 Aug. 2021.

¹⁷ Available at: https://www.dicionarioetimologico.com.br/estrategia/. Access: 27 Aug. 2021.

¹⁸ Online Search - Oxford Languages Definitions. Available at: https://languages.oup.com/google-dictionary-pt/. Access: 27 Aug. 2021.

The *Novos Camuinhos* strategies are divided into three axes: 1) management and results; 2) articulation and strengthening; 3) innovation and entrepreneurship. The first axis is broken down into three points and claims the need to update the National Catalog of Technical Courses (BRAZIL, 2020), which aims to "[...] ensure the offer of updated courses aligned with socioeconomic demands, local productive arrangements, and technological innovations in constant transformation" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation), as well as to be aligned with the training itinerary proposed by Law no. 13,415 (BRAZIL, 2017), the High School Reform.

It stands out here a disarticulation of the objectives of this Program, because at all times it is pointed out as a central characteristic of the students the possibility of choosing their training itinerary (as previously mentioned, adhered to the BNCC). On the contrary, there are indications as to the courses offered, which must be contained in the National Catalog of Technical Courses (BRAZIL, 2012b). The Catalog is defined according to social and economic needs, and, furthermore, these courses must be offered by the institution attended by the student. Therefore, it suggests a false autonomy, and a conditioning of the formative choices of each student.

The second and third points of this axis are related. The second presents the "New regulation of the offer of technical courses by Private Institutions of Higher Education (Ipes)" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation). However, in its explanation, it largely deals with a legal doubt that generated the impossibility of registering the diplomas of course completers in private institutions, which is the third point: "Regularization of diplomas issued by Ipes from 2016" (BRAZIL, 2019, n.p.). In the course of this position, it indicates that "Solving these problems was one of the priorities of the Ministry of Education" (BRAZIL, 2019). And this excerpt evidences a relevant meaning about the EPT of private institutions. One notices the government's emphasis on the offer of courses by the Private Network, exempting itself from the necessary investments for public EPT.

By pointing out that the solution to this problem was a priority, it places the Private Network as more important than the maintenance and adjustments needed in the public network, which at no time is cited with urgency by the MEC. This incentive to private institutions appears before the military period, however "[...] it is certain that it deepened and consolidated during the validity of this regime" (SAVIANI, 2008a, p. 301, our translation). When studying the "educational legacy of the military regime", Saviani (2008a, p. 298, our translation) points out a "Favoring the privatization of education", which invades the public spaces.

In addition to this strengthening of the private sector of education, we must also consider that the public sector itself was being invaded by a privatize-guided mentality, translated in the effort to speed up bureaucracy by perfecting the administrative mechanisms of schools; in the insistence on adopting market criteria in the opening of courses and in bringing the educational process closer to the productive process; in the adoption of business parameters in the management of education; in the creation of "curators councils" with business representatives and the inclusion of successful businessmen as members of university councils; in the effort to rationalize the administration of education, streamlining its operation and reducing its costs, according to the business model (SAVIANI, 2008a, p. 300-301, emphasis added, our translation).

All these characteristics of the first axis of "New Pathways" strategies can be understood in relation to the "pedagogy of competencies", that is, "[...] they ignore the didactic-pedagogical and infrastructural conditions of the public school system, homogenized under the logic of productivity and efficiency" (BENTIN; MANCEBO, 2020, p. 162, our translation). They are also particularized as pedagogies of learning how to learn originating from the New School movements (DUARTE, 2001). This "pedagogy of competencies" aims to "[...] equip individuals with flexible behaviors that allow them to adjust to the conditions of a society in which the very needs for survival are not guaranteed" (SAVIANI, 2008b, p. 437, our translation). In other words, "[...] it is no longer a collective commitment, being under the responsibility of the subjects themselves who, according to the epistemological root of this word, are subjugated to the 'invisible hand of the market'" (SAVIANI, 2008a, p. 437, emphasis added, our translation).

And it is exactly in the sense of contributing to technical education the second axis, called "articulation and fostering", which discusses the "[...] training for teachers and other professionals who work directly in Vocational and Technological Education" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation) and the "Fostering Technical and Vocational Training for Youth and Adults" (BRAZIL, 2019, our translation). The first point about the need for pedagogical and technical training for teachers and other professionals in EPT articulated with the requirements of the high school reform (Law no. 13.415 of 2017) (BRAZIL, 2017), about the formative itineraries, addressed earlier, stands out.

However, this training topic "[...] only ratifies, in the sphere of teacher training, actions already forwarded [...], through Law no. 11.892" (BENTIN; MANCEBO, 2020, p. 163, our translation). This law, from 2008, already pointed out the need to reserve a minimum of 20% of its vacancies for undergraduate courses and special pedagogical training programs (BRAZIL,

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2008), encouraging the areas of Science and Mathematics. Regarding the theme of this study, it can be observed that there is a new path for old paths.

To end, the third axis is presented, strictly articulated with the first and the second, called "Innovation and entrepreneurship" (BRAZIL, 2019). With two subsections, this core encourages the "Expansion of Innovation Hubs in Partnership with Embrapii¹⁹" (BRAZIL, 2019), and the "Fomentation of Innovation and Entrepreneurship projects" (BRAZIL, 2019). These two points present conceptions articulated to the privatization of education, as is implied throughout the text, as well as the encouragement of perspectives stimulated by neoliberalism.

Studies on the impact of neoliberal public policies on French basic education indicate that "[...] it is actually a medicine that feeds the evil it should cure" (LAVAL, 2019, p. 21), and that they ended up reinforcing the phenomena of social segregation in schools, even causing the closure of small schools (LAVAL, 2019). However, in Brazil, we still do not have great results of the impact of this devastation.

Final remarks

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It can be seen, in the historical course of EPT and in the educational public policies cited throughout the study, that the conditions and assumptions of the materiality on the scene have continued to reproduce the structural duality, which destabilizes the EPT.

This movement is also revealed in the analysis of the "New Pathways" Program. It can be noticed that, as "new", this path has almost nothing. If we analyze the word *path*, we already have something interesting. According to the online dictionary (2021), path is "a strip of land for pedestrians or vehicles; road"²⁰; "space to travel from one place to another: the straight line is the shortest path between two points", as well as having a figurative sense, but equally indicating a direction: "the way in which a sequence of events occurs; tendency"²¹. All these meanings suggest a path to be walked between two poles, and, therefore, recognizes them. Relating the nomenclature of the Program, it is observed that the policies and the ideals of EPT remain the same, what is done are "new" paths to reach the same purpose, which has been on the agenda since 1970, with the Theory of Human Capital. And, of course, they are new paths, because they are related to current needs, because, if they were the "old" paths, they would not

RIAEE – Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação, Araraquara, v. 18, n. 00, e023002, 2023. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v18i00.16421

¹⁹ Brazilian Company for Industrial Research and Innovation.

²⁰ Available at: https://www.dicio.com.br/caminho/. Access: 20 Aug. 2021.

²¹ Available at: https://www.dicio.com.br/caminho/. Access: 20 Aug. 2021.

fit the historical moment in which we live. However, we point out that the paths are new, but the direction and the point to be reached are old.

The program preserves and conforms the capitalist and utilitarian societal project, since it understands training in a narrow sense. Moreover, it affirms the need for technical and professional training and aims to increase the number of enrollments in EFA, in response to the demands of the "labor market" and the productive sector. Thus, the focus of the Program reinforces the overlapping of work and not the ontological relationship of work and education aimed at Comprehensive education.

To contribute to the promotion of labor in superiority to education, policies of neoliberal perspectives are encouraged, inculcating in workers a "subjectivity of accountability" that "[...] blames the poor for their situation of poverty" (FRIGOTTO, 2015, p. 243, our translation).

Furthermore, it is believed that this perspective can compromise the integral human formation, hinder the access to the formative aspects that involve science, technology, culture and the world of work, as well as make even more precarious the pedagogical work performed by teachers. Therefore, "If the current world offers us as an immediate horizon the privilege of servitude, its effective combat and impediment will only be possible if humanity manages to recover the challenge of emancipation" (ANTUNES, 2020, p. 318, our translation). Fighting against the advance of precarious labor implies questioning and debating educational policies that can obnubilate human emancipation, a reason for a pedagogical work based on the intrinsic relationship between work and education.

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CRediT Author Statement

Acknowledgments: Not applicable.

Funding: Not applicable.

Conflicts of interest: Not applicable. Ethical approval: Not applicable.

Data and Material Availability: Not applicable.

Authors' contributions: All authors worked together and composed the text in a dialogical

way, with no overlapping of roles.

Processing and editing: Editora Ibero-Americana de Educação.

Proofreading, formatting, normalization and translation.

