NEITHER PROTAGONISM NOR AUTONOMY: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW HIGH SCHOOL IN AMAZONAS

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ABSTRACT: The 2022 school year marks the implementation of the New High School in Brazil. The state of Amazonas is, since the conversion of Provisional Measure No. 746/2016 into Law No. 13,415/2017, in line with the actions of the federal government. The research carried out used the historical-dialectical method and built a documentary analysis of Resolutions nº 83 and 84 of 2021 of the State Council of Education of Amazonas - CEE/AM and the netnography of the implementation of the New High School in the state through the profile of the secretary of education on Instagram. The results showed that the New High School implementation process in the Amazon scenario is, since its genesis, taken by unilateral and hierarchical actions and that the state network and students are passive entities in this process. The implementation of the New High School in Amazonas has an imposing and technocratic character, therefore, it neither promotes autonomy nor favors youth protagonism.


RESUMO: O ano letivo de 2022 marca a implementação do Novo Ensino Médio (NEM) no Brasil. O estado amazonense está, desde a conversão da Medida Provisória nº 746/2016 na Lei nº 13.415/2017, alinhado com as ações do governo federal. A pesquisa realizada utilizou o método histórico-dialético e construiu uma análise documental das Resoluções nº 83 e nº 84 de 2021 - do Conselho Estadual de Educação do Amazonas (CEE/AM) e a netnografia da implementação do NEM no estado por meio da página do Instagram da secretaria de educação durante o período de 14/12/2021 até 24/01/2022. Os resultados demonstraram que o processo de implementação do NEM no cenário amazonense é tomado por ações unilaterais e hierárquicas e que a rede estadual e os estudantes são entes passivos nesse processo. A implementação do NEM no Amazonas tem caráter impositivo e tecnocrático, logo, nem fomenta a autonomia e nem favorece o protagonismo juvenil.


RESUMEN: El año escolar 2022 marca la implementación de la Nueva Enseñanza Media (NEM) en Brasil. El estado de Amazonas está, desde la conversión de la Medida Provisional N. o 746/2016 en la Ley N. o 13.415/2017, en línea con las acciones del gobierno federal. La investigación realizada utilizó el método histórico-dialéctico y construyó un análisis documental de las Resoluciones N.o 83 y 84 de 2021 del Consejo Estatal de Educación de Amazonas - CEE/AM y la netnografía de la implementación de la NEM en el estado a través del perfil de la secretaria de educación en Instagram. Los resultados mostraron que el proceso de implementación de la NEM en el escenario amazónico es, desde su génesis, llevado por acciones unilaterales y jerárquicas y que la red estatal y los estudiantes son entes pasivos en este proceso. La implementación del NEM en Amazonas tiene un carácter imponente y tecnocrático, por lo tanto, no promueve la autonomía ni favorece el protagonismo juvenil.

Introduction

Even with the visible difficulties that Brazilian schools experienced during the pandemic in 2020 and 2021, with a lack of access to remote classes, whether due to difficulties with the internet or even the lack of equipment to follow classes, at the beginning of the school year of 2022, the implementation of Novo Ensino Médio, or, New High School (NEM) in the Amazonas state education network is announced.

Silva and Ciavatta (2022) point out that Brazilian social inequalities have been maintained since colonial times and in the pandemic, they affected the poorest in a more serious way: in schools they showed themselves, especially, in the technological deprivation of this population.

Data highlighted by the report by Souza (2021) about the country's index for distance education shows that, on a scale of 0 to 10, the Brazilian index was 2.8 and, for the capitals, 1.6, according to studies carried out by the University of São Paulo (USP) and Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV). The journalistic website G1, in turn, exposed that out of every 10 Brazilian schools, 8 had difficulties with remote classes and internet problems during the pandemic: public schools that experienced this situation exceeded 90%; when the reality of private schools is analyzed, the rate drops to 58% (SANTOS, 2021).

In information about the NEM attached to its official website, the State Department of Education of Amazonas – SEDUC/AM, informs that distance classes will remain and day shift students will be able to study up to 20% of the content in this modality, while students of the night shift will have the possibility of reaching 30% (SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2022).

For Santos and Rocha (2022), distance education is a form of democratization of teaching, in which students' autonomy during studies and the possibility of adjusting times and locations to students' individual needs are main characteristics of this model.

In addition to this change, the secretariat announced the reduction in the workload of the Arts discipline and announced the subjects that will be part of the Training Itineraries - IF's of the network's students, namely: Life Project, Integrative Projects, Digital Culture and Financial Education, Tax and Entrepreneur.

From the choice of which IF's to attend and the study of these subjects, the secretariat points out in its text that NEM students will have their autonomy increased and will be protagonists of their stories. However, based on the publications and interactions between Instagram users and the administrators of the SEDUC/AM page, several questions about student
participation in the NEM implementation process arose, especially regarding doubts about the format, duration and the disciplines that make up the NEM, thus making questionable the protagonism and promotion of youth autonomy in a process that they seemed unaware of.

On its Instagram profile, which has just over 62 thousand followers, the Department of Education of Amazonas, until January 24, 2022, had posted 10 publications about the process of implementing the New High School. The sequence was inaugurated by the post on December 14, 2021, in which it announced the approval of the curriculum proposal for the 2022 school year by the Amazonas State Education Council - CEE/AM.

The publications' themes include curricular changes, the main transformations in secondary education, training itineraries, users' frequent doubts, marketing regarding actions with employees of the education department and youth protagonism.

Following the arbitrary logic that gave rise to the Secondary Education Reform with the publication of Provisional Measure n°. 746/2016 and which was later converted into Law no. 13.415/2017 (BRASIL, 2017), also known as the “Secondary Education Reform Law”, the CEE/AM establishes, through Resolution Ad Referendum no. 83/2021 (CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021a), the implementation schedule of the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC) for Secondary Education in the State Education System of Amazonas, in which, among other actions, it resolves to request review or elaboration of Pedagogical Political Projects, Proposals and Curricular Matrices and School Regulations so that they are in line with the BNCC; In addition to public and private basic education schools, the State University of Amazonas - UEA, is also obliged to comply with this normative document by June 2022 (CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021a).

In other words, the Secondary Education Reform, the New High School and the BNCC do not only represent a package of legal, normative and structural measures that only affect the last stage of basic education, they extend to all levels of Brazilian education and in an imposing manner, little used to public debate. This contrasts with the way in which this package of actions presents itself, as it appears in the post-parliamentary coup as an alternative to foster autonomy and youth protagonism for Brazilian high school students.

What is understood here as “arbitrary logic” is the taking of decisions in the public interest unilaterally or by a specific group of people, as is the case with the Provisional Measure, which in short is an instrument with the force of law with immediate effects to be used by the president of the republic in urgent and exceptional cases.
The other sensitive point regarding the decisions taken on secondary education refers to the ad referendum decisions regarding the schedule and implementation of the BNCC and the New High School in Amazonas, that is, discussions with the collegiate were suppressed due to an urgency in the approval of the resolution, since an ad referendum decision is one that dispenses with and suppresses debate between interested parties for subsequent approval.

The similarities between the federal executive and the executive of the state of Amazonas are in the suppression of public debate in relation to the New High School, which demonstrates an undemocratic and technocratic character of these actors during the NEM implementation process.

It should be noted that the state of Amazonas publishes Resolution no. 83/2021(CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021a) just 6 days after Ordinance nº. 521/2021 (BRASIL, 2021), which establishes the National Schedule for the Implementation of New High School, comes into force, demonstrating its alignment with the federal government. This alignment can be seen in the Explanatory Memorandum of MP nº. 746/2016 (BRASIL, 2016b), in which Amazonas was cited as one of the two Brazilian states that reached the target stipulated for this stage of basic education in the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB). At that time, the then secretary of education of the state of Amazonas, Rossieli Soares, with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and the inauguration of Michel Temer, occupied the position of Secretary of Basic Education (SEB) and Advisor to the Chamber of Basic Education (CEB), with a strong presence in relation to the New High School policy. In 2018, Rossieli became minister, heading the Ministry of Education (MEC) and approved, in December 2018, the BNCC for Secondary Education (BNCC/EM), even the document aimed at this stage of education basic education has been the target of scathing criticism by entities that work in defense of public education and socially referenced quality.

In a letter to the Lula government's transition GT, the National Movement in Defense of Secondary Education (MNDEM), presents scientific data on the effects of the reform, in which they call for the immediate repeal of Law no. 13/415/2017 and explain that the BNCC receives criticism primarily for its prescriptive and imposing nature (MNDEM, 2022).

However, although there was resistance to the imposition of the BNCC/EM and the NEM, both were implemented in Brazilian schools. In this sense, seeking to understand how the implementation of the New High School occurred in the Amazonas state network, based on the documentary analysis of Resolutions nº. 83 and 84 of 2021 (CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE
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EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021a, 2021b), linked to the NEM netnography in Amazonas from the official Instagram page of SEDUC-AM, the objective was to understand how this process developed, identifying its legal characteristics and the reception of regulatory changes.

The study is based on the documentary analysis of Resolutions nº. 83 and no. 84 (CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021a, 2021b) and in the netnography of Instagram user interactions in posts about the implementation of the NEM in the state network of Amazonas. The selection of procedures took place so that document analysis and the perception of network users could build an overview of the implementation of the NEM at SEDUC/AM.

The proposed documentary analysis, which makes up the first section, sought to present the legal basis – namely: CEE/AM Resolutions nº. 83 and no. 84 of 2021 – which contributed to the construction of the current scenario in which the implementation of the NEM in Amazonas took place and identify the main characteristics of these documents, whose dialogue was constant with other texts, such as: Canabrava (2020), Costa et al. (2018), Ferreti and Silva (2017), Zan and Krawczyk (2019), Marques and Duarte (2020) and Quadros (2020).

Based on the study developed by Nazário, Santos and Neto (2021) about the netnography of the high school curriculum reform in Brazil, the netnography of the implementation of the NEM in Amazonas used the social network Instagram to identify the main themes that constituted interactions between users with the profile of the State Department of Education. To this end, the texts of the interactions that related to the implementation of the NEM were extracted.

The collections began on December 14, 2021, with the publication that announces the approval of the NEM's 2022 curriculum proposal, and end on January 24, 2022, with a post that addresses the training of professionals for the NEM in the interior of the state of Amazonas. These texts made up the textual corpus treated by the Iramuteq R 0.7 alpha 2 software, which created the word cloud and the similarity graph, in which the main words expressed by the subjects of the interaction appear.

Both the word cloud and the similarity graph, which make up the second section, are elements that help demonstrate what the central issues are regarding the implementation of NEM in Amazonas from Instagram, and both contribute to the understanding of how this process was received by users of this network and where the researcher, as inferred by Nazário, Santos and Neto (2021), does not induce the interaction dynamics of social network participants.
The study presented is linked to the doctoral course in Education of the Postgraduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Amazonas (UFAM), with funding for the research “The movement of education networks after Law nº. 13.415/2017” by the Amazonas State Research Support Foundation (FAPEAM), and intends, based on its considerations, to build a theoretical basis to analyze and intervene in the process, still ongoing, of implementing this law, which, unlike promoting autonomy and youth protagonism can lead to curricular demotion and the minimization of spaces for public debate about secondary education.

**Neither protagonism nor autonomy: what we have is a provisional measure and ad referendum**

The NEM was originated through Provisional Measure no. 746/2016 (BRASIL, 2016a), which was converted into Law no. 13.415/2017 (BRASIL, 2017), as a way of creating a scenario of credibility for Michel Temer, who assumed the presidency shortly after Dilma Rousseff suffered a parliamentary coup.

However, if it were not enough to inaugurate the decision-making that reforms the last stage of basic education through a Provisional Measure in the middle of the democratic period, as indicated by Quadros (2020, p. 79), President Temer imposes, with the BNCC, a crossing of the discussions around its process, which at the time was still under construction, and whose final draft was reflected in the High School Reform (CANABRAVA, 2020), in which the lightening and downgrading of imposed studies would be targets of critics of the reformist action.

Costa et al. (2018) state that the reform was a reflection of the 2016 coup and the interest is to instrumentalize education and align it with market aspirations, emptying critical thinking – via curricular changes –, in addition to promoting the privatization of sometimes physical spaces, sometimes of educational services. Quadros (2020) already points out the market's interest in working in basic education, given that in higher education private companies dominate the sector, and, to this end, they use the “evidence” methodology to base their premises around what generates or not productivity.

From the above, the Habermasian idea is ratified that science and technique, within the hegemonic instrumental rationality, serve to improve forms of social control and act, in the case of the NEM, as creators of “evidence” to justify its need for intervention through results obtained from proprietary instruments that, disconnected from reality, will serve to subsidize the interests of the dominant ideology. The logic of using evidence is part of the practice of
accountability, in which everything must be submitted to performance assessment (QUADROS, 2020).

The secondary education reform that gave rise to the NEM was justified by the low secondary education results in the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB). The following sequence was soon experienced: MP nº. 746/2016 (BRASIL, 2016a), conversion of the provisional measure into Law no. 13.415/2017 (BRASIL, 2017), published by the BNCC in 2018, Construction of Curricular References in 2020, approval and approval of the Curricular References in 2021 and their implementation in 2022.

In accordance with the logic established by the federal government, the state of Amazonas followed a path of suppressing public debate about secondary education paths in the state network. Evidence of this inference emerges from Resolutions no. 83 and no. 84 of the State Education Council of Amazonas which, respectively, deal with the implementation schedule of the BNCC for secondary education in Amazonas and the establishment of standards for the NEM in the state, approved ad referendum by the collegiate body of the said Council.

In other words, in the context of confronting the COVID-19 pandemic, which forced the school community to be absent from the physical spaces of schools (FERREIRA DA SILVA et al. 2023), discussion in a collegial instance was dispensed with at the time of implementation of a policy for Amazonian youth, the reality of which concerns a population aged 15 to 19 years estimated at approximately 386 thousand young people (IBGE, 2021a; IBGE, 2021b). What is alarming about this reality is that only 184,880 (approximately 47.9%) of these young people were enrolled in Secondary Education and 77,825 (approximately 20.2%) young people were enrolled in other stages and modalities of Basic Education (INEP, 2022).

Costa et al., (2018) point out that education in the Brazilian post-coup era is designed as a space to minimize debate and limit deliberative spaces; Regarding this, the authors defend a stance of resistance on the part of teachers, which can be presented in the construction of school documents to comply with the NEM.

Resolution no. 83/2021 of CEE/AM is brief and presents deadlines for adapting curricular documents and regulations of Secondary Education Institutions (IEM), reference matrices for Large Scale Assessments (ALE) for secondary education, for approval of the Amazonense Curricular Reference (RCA), to offer continuing education to teachers and for the State University of Amazonas (UEA) to adapt to the BNCC (CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021a).
In this document it is clear that the BNCC functions as an instrument of control over the training of students in basic and higher education, as well as dictating the curricula of all levels of Brazilian education. According to Zan and Krawczyk (2019), the BNCC is a document originating from Brazilian conservatism and the actions undertaken to implement it are in line with the current regressive political process.

Another point to be raised concerns the ALE, which, in this case, are also closely linked to the BNCC in terms of content and will have similar formats to those applied by the Basic Education Assessment System (SAEB), namely, the Prova Brasil.

According to Canabrava (2020), the school can only resist the prescriptive curricular impositions of the BNCC by proposing activities that connect the school with other scientific and cultural spaces. In other words, although the BNCC is imposing, as is the NEM, the school, through the proposition of school projects and programs, can resist control and create more progressive actions.

The school, through the Pedagogical Political Project - PPP, a document that must strive for collective construction (FERNANDES; PEREIRA, 2015), also has a space for debate and creation of activity approaches that are closer to the interests of school actors that will serve as response to what Zan and Krawczyk (2019) called an affront to the democratic character of public schools, devaluation of science and disrespect for young people through the implementation of initiatives such as BNCC.

What is explicit in this movement to establish an ad referendum schedule is the lack of respect for the autonomy of schools and the entities that represent them. Ferreti and Silva (2017, p. 396, our translation) state that “there is a dispute for hegemony and corporate training projects in secondary education” and that even though there was a majority critical of the proposal in MP no. 746/2016 (BRASIL, 2016a), it would not be heard, as it does not favor the status quo. In this way, antidemocratic actions occur because they favor those who represent the hegemonic power.

The implementation standards of the BNCC for secondary education in Amazonas are present in Resolution no. 84/2021 CEE/AM (CONSELHO ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DO AMAZONAS, 2021b) in its 27 articles, in which it presents the BNCC as the basis of Basic General Training – FGB, the methodologies of the Training Itineraries as something that favors youth protagonism, and the education system with the responsibility of ensuring the offer of more than 1 Training Itinerary so that the student can choose their “training trajectory”.
Furthermore, it establishes that the offer must consider the possibilities of the network and institutions; that daytime high school students can complete up to 20% of their total workload remotely, while nighttime students can reach up to 30%, and that for EJA students the percentage is capped at 80%. Controversially to so many impositions and the way in which it was approved, the aforementioned resolution contains in article 15 a space on the school's pedagogical proposal and the need for collective construction, respect for autonomy and the exercise of democratic management.

Is the protagonism of students from the Amazonas state network limited to the availability of the network's own Training Itineraries offer, that is, is the student a protagonist? Is the promotion of youth protagonism linked to taking subjects that make up the IF and that may not even be offered in their schools?

Quadros (2020, p. 126, our translation) recalls that “there is no provision in Law 13,415/2017 that even guarantees the possibility of students choosing in relation to training itineraries”. This confirms what Costa et al. (2018) pointed out the work of the media in deceiving society in the post-coup period, pointing out the reform as something positive for education, when in reality there is no youth protagonism, just a progressive reduction of secondary education to, in practice, a modality of education: Distance Education.

For Rocha and Santos (2022), Distance Education has collaborative work as its main benefit, especially with the use of active methodologies, in which the student has contact with the content before face-to-face classes, which, in any case, makes Distance Education a complement to the regular classroom.

As for the concepts of school autonomy and democracy in which decisions taken ad referendum are imposed on schools, it sounds paradoxical. However, the school must include in its praxis, PPP, projects and interaction with the community a counter-hegemonic education, one that, according to Marques and Duarte (2020, p. 2204, our translation) “contributes to overcoming social relations of domination and which is understood as a privileged locus for the appropriation of essential content for human emancipation”.

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The netnography of NEM implementation in Amazonas

Since the approval of the Curriculum Proposal for the 2022 academic year by CEE/AM, NEM has started to appear more frequently on the SEDUC/AM Instagram page. Data collection carried out on January 24, 2022 about publications aimed at announcing measures taken by the state government on the implementation of the NEM in Amazonas made it possible to find, on this occasion, 10 publications on the topic that accounted for a total of 314 comments and 11,119 likes.

The initial cut was based on the publication on December 14, 2021, in which it was made official on the social network Instagram that students entering the 1st year of high school will attend this stage of basic education in the format established by Law no. 13,415/2017 (BRASIL, 2017) and based on the BNCC/EM. The interactions were about the school calendar, the start date of the school year, given that in the previous two years, due to the pandemic, this period underwent changes, and 2022 there was also a period of postponement of face-to-face classes due to the possibility of high of cases, even with the progress, albeit late, of vaccination. Furthermore, there were interactions with emoticons between users and page administrators, showing positive signals between both parties.

In January the posts mixed between images and videos. On January 4th, the Secretariat published the curricular and pedagogical proposals. On January 5th, a video was published in which the complementary text presents the students as protagonists and announces the launch of NEM, which took place on January 4th, and a post was also published about the main changes and transformations that occurred in high school: the text states that there was everything the user/follower needed to know about NEM.

In Figure 1, which presents the similarity graph produced by the Iramuteq R software, the main words are presented – expressed in the interactions between the Secretariat's posts and followers – and the similarities between them.
From figure 1 it can be inferred that the relationships between the words: education, secondary and new are strong and also linked to: quality, market, model, change and good. The understanding that the NEM can be a positive change linked to employability and insertion into the job market comes at a time when the Brazilian economy is experiencing a decline and a scenario of high unemployment, which primarily affects students from the class workers and students from the public education network, in addition to showing their alignment with the interests of training cheap labor for the market, as pointed out by Costa et al. (2018), Quadros (2020) and Ferreti e Silva (2017).

The connections between the word education and the words work and financial, within the similarity graph (FIGURE 1), reinforce the instrumental educational conception of the NEM, in which cultural and social dimensions are marginalized to the detriment of training for the market: as an example of this we have established by CEE/AM to reduce the Arts workload for Amazonian high schools.

Also linked to education, the school appears, whose relationship with the word teacher forms a triad of entities that have suffered impositions in their respective ways and that have subjected one over the other to restrictions, namely: the modification of educational legislation provides for distinct training and restructuring of a stage of basic education, based on an
education based on the theory of human capital and which delegates to schools changes in physical and curricular structures, which, in turn, imply teacher training and teaching practices aimed at meeting the impositions of training dictated by the business community, which seeks in the NEM to open a market in basic education, which is primarily offered by the public education network.

The role of the teacher focused on critical training is the result of disputes between groups that defend the lighter training of this professional and those who seek training for the dissemination of historically produced knowledge (SANTANA, CARDOSO; SILVA, 2019).

In the word cloud generated by Iramuteq R about the implementation of the NEM in Amazonas (FIGURE 2), the terms education, school and secondary are most prominent, followed by education, good, year, new, student and teacher.

**Figure 2** – Word cloud of user interactions on SEDUC/AM Instagram regarding the implementation of NEM in Amazonas

When analyzing the most prominent words in the cloud formed by the interactions on the Secretariat's Instagram page, it is possible to notice that, despite the deliberations regarding the NEM being taken since its genesis in an authoritarian manner, its implementation did not present a criticism majority. The observed interactions are credited with providing a space not for criticism, but for questioning this technocratic and authoritarian process imposed not only on Amazonian society, but on all Brazilians.
Final remarks

The implementation of the NEM in Amazonas followed the schedule imposed by the MEC, eliminating the need for public debate about this process.

The posts on the official Instagram of the Department of Education of the state of Amazonas within the period observed were about government dissemination actions about the NEM, such as the approval of the curriculum proposal for 2022 (the year in which the NEM was implemented in Amazonian schools), launch and presentation of the NEM by authorities (governor and state Secretary of Education) and videos or other posts with explanatory content, about the transformations that occurred in secondary education.

The study of Resolutions no. 83 and no. 84 of 2021 of the CEE/AM showed that neither youth protagonism nor school autonomy served as a basis for the implementation of the NEM, since in both resolutions schools and the network are subject to only immediately operationalizing what it has already been previously defined by the state education council.

Regarding the implementation of the New High School, the data collection process through Instagram had the potential to approach and contact users of different age groups and their perceptions about the implementation of the NEM, including the target audience of this process, who, through their interactions on the Department of Education's page, demonstrated their lack of knowledge about the duration of the new high school format, who would be the subjects affected by this change, as well as school entry and exit times. However, its forms of expression through visual communication such as the usual emoticons, are, for future research on netnography on a social network like Instagram, a new field to be interpreted since there is communication between peers, which, however, proves to be an obstacle to interpretation through Iramuteq R.

The lack of knowledge about how the NEM is configured by high school students themselves, which was perceived by their doubts, demonstrates that the youth protagonism that the reform would supposedly bring does not reach the materiality of the facts. The autonomy of the student and the school comes, since MP no. 746/2016, which gave rise to the NEM, decreasing, as the legislation continues to act in an authoritarian manner and suppress spaces for debate on the networks, see the example of Resolutions nº. 83 and 84/2021 of the CEE/AM, which came into force through an ad referendum session.

It is considered, despite the facts, that there is still the possibility of resisting the NEM, and these pockets of resistance are within schools and can be legally welcomed through the construction of PPPs with school projects and programs that aim at human emancipation,
training of critical men and women, active in community life and with class consciousness, capable of demanding improvements in living conditions, whether at school or in other areas of social life.

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**CReditAuthorStatement**

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