



SOCIO-EMOTIONAL COMPETENCIES IN THE NEW HIGH SCHOOL: DIALOGUE WITH OECD RECOMMENDATIONS

COMPETÊNCIAS SOCIOEMOCIONAIS NO NOVO ENSINO MÉDIO: INTERLOCUÇÃO COM AS RECOMENDAÇÕES DA OCDE

COMPETENCIAS SOCIOEMOCIONALES EN LA NUEVA ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA: INTERLOCUCIÓN CON LAS RECOMENDACIONES DE LA OCDE

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ABSTRACT: This text aims to situate the strategy of formation of socio-emotional competencies as part of the education of the productive worker for contemporary society. We systematize the theoretical elements for the interpretation of the world of work, considering as categories the Toyostist productive restructuring, financialization and its consequences for the expansion of the precariat (HARVEY, 1992; 2018; ASSAD, 2014; MÉSZÁROS, 2002; ALVES, 2007). Our methodology consists of studying documents from the OECD and Brazil (OECD, 2014; 2015; 2017; 2022; BRASIL, 2018) to demonstrate that there is an international attempt to promote governance in educational policies so that they institutionalize the teaching of socio-emotional competencies in school. By comparing international documents with the National Common Curricular Base of High School (BNCCEM) and the legislation of the reform of High School, we conclude that Brazil has aligned itself with this perspective, making evident a trend of school formation of adaptability to adverse situations, accountability of individuals when they do not fit into formal employment ties and the stimulus to undertake to seek income.

KEYWORDS: High School Reform. Social-emotional skills. BNCCEM. OECD.

RESUMO: Este texto objetiva situar a estratégia de formação de competências socioemocionais como parte da educação do trabalhador produtivo para a sociedade contemporânea. Sistematizamos os elementos teóricos para interpretação do mundo do trabalho, considerando como categorias a reestruturação produtiva toyostista, a financeirização e suas consequências para ampliação do precariado (HARVEY, 1992; 2018; ASSAD, 2014; MÉSZÁROS, 2002; ALVES, 2007). Nossa metodologia consiste no estudo de documentos da OCDE e do Brasil (OCDE, 2014; 2015; 2017; 2022; BRASIL, 2018) para demonstrar que existe uma tentativa internacional de promover uma governança nas políticas educacionais de modo que institucionalizem o ensino de competências socioemocionais na escola. Ao cotejar documentos internacionais com a Base Nacional Curricular Comum do Ensino Médio (BNCCEM) e a legislação da reforma do Ensino Médio, concluímos que o Brasil tem se alinhado a esta perspectiva, ficando evidente uma tendência de formação escolar das capacidades de adaptação às situações adversas, responsabilização dos indivíduos quando estes não se encaixarem em vínculos empregatícios formais e o estímulo a empreender para buscar renda.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Reforma do Ensino Médio. Competências socioemocionais. BNCCEM. OCDE.

RESUMEN: Este texto tiene como objetivo situar la estrategia de formación de habilidades socioemocionales como parte de la formación del trabajador productivo para la sociedad contemporánea. Sistematizamos los elementos teóricos para la interpretación del mundo del trabajo, considerando como categorías la reestructuración productiva toyostista, la financiarización y sus consecuencias para la expansión del precariado (HARVEY, 1992; 2018; ASSAD, 2014; MÉSZÁROS, 2002; ALVES, 2007). Nuestra metodología consiste en estudiar documentos de la OCDE y Brasil (OCDE, 2014; 2015; 2017; 2022; BRASIL, 2018) para demostrar que existe un intento internacional de promover la gobernanza en las políticas educativas para que institucionalicen la enseñanza de competencias socioemocionales en la escuela. Al comparar documentos internacionales con la Base Curricular Nacional Común de la Enseñanza Media (BNCCEM) y la legislación de la reforma de la enseñanza secundaria, concluimos que Brasil se ha alineado con esta perspectiva, evidenciando una tendencia de formación escolar de adaptabilidad a situaciones adversas, responsabilidad de los individuos cuando no encajan en los vínculos laborales formales y el estímulo a emprender para buscar renta.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Reforma de la Enseñanza Secundaria. Competencias socioemocionales. BNCCEM. OCDE.

Introduction

High School in Brazil has been the subject of disputes and reforms that involve proposals to change its organization, workload and curriculum. These changes must be understood as an unfolding of the struggle between the dominant and dominated classes in the capitalist mode of production. The manifestation of these divergent interests was, roughly speaking, in the duality established between propaedeutic training – studies that allow entry into higher education – and professional training – studies for entry into productive activities. Currently, there is a tendency for students to "choose" an area of knowledge to delve deeper into or a technical course, to the detriment of other areas (KUENZER, 2017). Inequalities in education are often accentuated, guaranteeing access to knowledge for the wealthier classes and fragmented qualifications for the less favored.

It is in this context that we highlight the reform of Secondary Education, materialized by Law n°. 13,415, of February 16, 2017, and the National Common Curricular Base for Secondary Education - BNCCEM (BRASIL, 2018). Both were formulated with the participation of several organizations, such as: Itaú (Unibanco), Bradesco, Santander, Gerdau, Natura, Volkswagen, Fundação Victor Civita, Fundação Roberto Marinho, Fundação Lemann, Todos pela Educação, and reinforced the structuring elements of the socio-emotional competencies defended by the OECD and other international organizations. These institutes and government members argue that the curricular organization structure directs pedagogical work towards the formation of socio-emotional skills that are aligned with the job market.

In this text, we aim to situate the strategy for training socio-emotional skills as part of the education of productive workers for contemporary society, studying the dialogue between international documents and the BNCCEM. To this end, the methodology used consists of the documentary analysis of texts produced by the OECD (OECD 2014; 2015; 2017; 2022) and their comparison with the reform of Secondary Education (BRASIL, 2017) and BNCCEM (BRASIL, 2018).

In view of the above, the aspects that we discuss in this article are located in the context of the capital crisis, in the reconfiguration of the productive base, in the forms of work organization and formation of the working class (HARVEY, 1992; 2018; ANTUNES, 2020; ALVES *et al.*, 2021). We present theoretical reflections that place the reform of Secondary Education within the scope of the demands of capital, highlighting the role of socio-emotional skills in the propositions made by the OECD and their repercussions in national documents. In the conclusion, we summarize the main issues addressed throughout the text, whose

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inferences led us to evidence that the High School reform and the appeal to socio-emotional skills aim to meet the changes imposed by productive restructuring, with curricular proposals that follow guidelines required by capital, in order to maintain the conditions for its reproduction.

The Pedagogy of Skills in the Context of Productive Restructuring

The capitalist mode of production impacts the economic organization and the way in which work processes are (re)structured. According to Mészàros (2002), four characteristics are current expressions of this society and its crises: universal character (not restricted to a particular sphere - financial or commercial); global reach (not limited to a set of countries); extensive time scale (continuous and permanent); and the crawling way of unfolding (which advances relentlessly amidst contradictions in a long process of restructuring). In view of this crisis situation and favored by technological-industrial development, from the end of 1970 onwards, productive restructuring intensified, with capital appreciation strategies based on: 1. financialization; and 2. in the transition from the Taylorist-Fordist model to the so-called flexible production or Toyotism (HARVEY, 1992).

With financialization, crises were engendered, although the system was able to minimize its risks by diversifying and transferring funds from declining sectors to more profitable ones. The financial sphere is nourished by the wealth that comes from investment and the mobilization of the workforce, in addition to the rent-seeking originating from capital loaned to workers for consumption or payments⁴. Capital does not create anything by itself, even though the ability of money to generate more money has been raised to a high degree.

Flexible production is characterized by: a reduction in production time; increase in capital turnover; optimization of the work process through on-demand production, reducing inventories; islands of production, in which the worker operates technological resources; involvement of "employees" in the work process through Total Quality strategies, in which the employee cooperates to implement strategies to increase productivity; introduction of other forms of work organization, with quality control circles, participatory administration and management by "ninjustu" (art of invisibility). These techniques propagated or merged

⁴In this regard, Marx, in the text *Income and its Sources*, clarifies the following: When borrowed money serves only to pay debts, without accelerating the process of reproduction, preventing or perhaps narrowing it, it consists only of a mere means of payment, so -only money, for those who borrow and for those who lend capital. In this case, interest, as well as profit, consists of a fact independent of capitalist production as such - of the production of surplus value. See: MARX, K. Philosophical economic manuscripts and other chosen texts . São Paulo: Nova Cultural, 1991 (os Pensadores) p. 209-272.

with the rigidity of work organization in the Taylorist-Fordist paradigm, with the aim of improving work productivity through the intensification of routines and the super-exploitation of workers.

In this sense, in Brazil, Alves (2007) asserts that the economically active population, considering employed and unemployed salaried workers, has taken on different forms. It is noteworthy that technological changes have engendered changes in the productive world, so that information and communication technologies have cooperated to consolidate the infoproletariat or cyberproletariat, in the words of Antunes (2020), as expressions of outsourcing, informality and flexibility. All of these aspects are signs of the precariousness of work in the contemporary capitalist mode of production.

In this regard, Krei and Biavaschi (2015) indicate that the precariousness of work is disguised in different ways, and the internship, by relegating the execution of work activities to the intern by replacing permanent employees, can be interpreted as one of the strategies of precariousness and exploitation of labor during its training period. Outsourcing has also deepened in Brazil since 1990 and has been a strategy used by companies to reduce costs and make use of the workforce according to their accumulation needs. This is one of the most visible forms of flexibility, which expands the employer's freedom to manage the use of the workforce, configuring what the authors have been defining as "precariat".

For Assad (2014), the precariat is a layer of the proletariat devoid of social guarantees related to employment, such as job stability, income and political representation. For Alves (2013), the precariat is the middle layer of the precarious urban proletariat, made up of educated young adults with precarious insertion in work relations, therefore, it is defined as "a young proletariat, [...] educated, frustrated in their expectations of professional advancement and dreams, desires and consumer expectations" (ALVES, 2013, p. 2, our translation). Some of these people participate in labor relationships permeated by technological platforms, outsourced work relationships, work as interns, or even act as "micro-entrepreneurs" who provide services to third parties.

In this sense, the schooling processes of the working class have been given new meanings based on training based on skills and abilities, inspired by French business discourse. According to Hirata (1996), it was assimilated by European businesspeople who used the notion of competence to defend and implement changes in the organization of work. This notion was incorporated into the educational discourse to justify curricular reforms, as schooling began to be required to forge, in working youth, the capacity for collaboration,

engagement and mobility in jobs. Such capabilities did not imply salary compensation and improved working conditions, but the acquisition of behaviors, values and attitudes that favored adaptability and insertion into the labor market in the context of flexible accumulation and financialization.

This thought has been defended by International Organizations (IO) – International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Inter-American Association for International Development (IDA), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Commission Economic Policy for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), etc. – who started to develop research that emphasizes: cost/benefit ratio, rates of return for capital and labor and relationship between qualification/education and salary; development of skills and abilities that enable employability and entrepreneurship.

According to the OECD, skills encompass cognitive and socio-emotional abilities necessary for a prosperous, healthy and happy life. These skills would play an important role in enabling people to pursue goals, work in groups and know how to manage their emotions in adverse situations (OECD, 2015).

The studies of these international organizations focus on international statistical projects, such as *Indicators of Educational Systems* (INES), from *the Center for Educational Research and Innovation* (CERI), from the OECD. Based on INES, the OECD developed mechanisms for international comparison of education systems and the projection of educational models in accordance with the economic imperatives and interests of hegemonic groups of capital. Based on indicators, global agendas for education are established, which tend to have an impact on the education policies of member countries and peripheral countries.

Focusing on the quality of teaching, the OECD carries out assessments such as *Third / Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study*, published in 1995 under the name *THIRD*, which, from 1999 onwards, was called *TRENDS*. Conducted by *International Association for the Evaluation of the Educational Achievement* (IEA), the 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 editions have been held so far. Also noteworthy is the *Program for International Student Assessment* (PISA), released in 1997, which took place in 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2015 and 2018, with assessment of domains in the areas of scientific reading, mathematics and science. According to Sjoberg (2016, p. 110, our translation), "[...] the Pisa project should be seen as part of a current trend in public policies at an international

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level, where ideas and conceptualizations from the market economy are transplanted to the sector educational" (our translation).

It is also noteworthy that the OECD created a Board of Directors for the Pisa program, aiming to produce its own criteria for collecting standardized educational data, understood as quality parameters. As a result of the council, the Education and Skills Directorate was created in 2002, whose purpose is to collaborate in the identification and development of skills and abilities that promote better jobs, generate prosperity and promote social inclusion, empowering people to develop their skills and strengthen education systems and political dialogue through peer learning [*peer learning*] (OECD, 2017).

Another OECD action is the International Program for the Assessment of Adult Skills (PIAAC). Its results were published under the title "Skills Outlook – OECD". The evaluation was carried out in 2013 with the aim of presenting the results of the first stage of the adult skills study. The study is a source of data on the proficiency of adults in literacy, numeracy and problem solving in technological environments – the main skills for processing information and which are valued for 21st century economies – and in several "generic" skills, such as cooperation, communication and time organization (OECD, 2014). The results of these evaluations and their comparisons have been transformed into reports, programs and studies that do not take into account the contexts of the participants, despite "providing the evidence" and, based on this, presenting suggestions for the educational policies of the member countries.

In this way, it can be said that the OECD "has put into practice a global educational governance project, constituting three mechanisms [...] the production of ideas, the evaluation of policies and the generation of data" (RODRIGUES, 2015, p. 2, our translation), to this end, it presents itself as having technical knowledge and promoting a transgovernmental network through which alternatives and solutions to educational problems are sought.

One of the problems identified in the OECD reports is the high rate of unemployment among young people, for which the analysis undertaken does not problematize the forms of organization of capitalist society, but proposes as a solution that schooling develops skills required by the job market.

The correlations between education and training for the job market presuppose that students develop the socio-emotional capabilities that enable their insertion and adaptability to the market. This market is permeated by precarious labor relations that strongly require the

capacity for resignation (and a culture of peace), even in the midst of adverse situations and without guarantees of social protection.

In the publications Social and Emotional Skills: Well-being, connectedness and success (n/d) and Beyond Academic Learning: first results from the survey of social and emotional skills (2021) studies are systematized that attempt to prove that: the school can be responsible for the formation of socio-emotional skills; and that this work generates impacts on people's school life and work life. Six axes of socio-emotional skills are listed, from which other related skills derive: 1. Performance in tasks (achieving guidelines; responsibility; self-control; persistence); 2. Emotional regulation (resistance to stress; optimism; emotional control); 3. Collaboration (empathy; trust; cooperation); 4. Open mind to experiences (curiosity; tolerance; creativity); 5. Extroversion or engagement with others (sociability; assertiveness; energy); 6. Composite skills – may involve more than one of the previous areas (self-efficacy; independent critical thinking; metacognition). According to OECD texts, the five dimensions of socio-emotional skills are a prerequisite for academic and professional success in formal employment or entrepreneurial activity.

The indication that socio-emotional skills should be an object of study at school, however, has not only been made by the OECD. Magalhães (2021) states that throughout the 2010s there were meetings involving: government sectors – MEC; UNDIME; CONSED etc., sectors of organized civil society, representative of the business community – such as the Ayrton Senna Institute – and International Organizations – among which, the OECD, which was the organizer of a summary of conclusions and recommendations arising from the International Public Policy Forum "Educating for 21st Century Skills", held in 2014 in Brazil. The meetings held, including this international forum, were marked by the inclusion of socioemotional skills – inspired by the "trial balloon" implementation ⁵– to expand experiences on the relevance of including socio-emotional skills in the school curriculum (MAGALHÃES, 2021, p. 70).

It is evident that Brazilian society has maintained characteristics that are convenient for business sectors, favoring the permanence of a portion of the population in a situation of continuous productivity and, at the same time, deprived of access to scientific knowledge. This characteristic favors the dominant sectors and expresses two characteristics listed by

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⁵ The author uses this term to refer to projects implemented in the state of Rio de Janeiro in partnership with the Ayrton Senna Institute, called PROEMI and Programa Dupla Escola, which tested changes in curricular proposals in some schools. A program based on socio-emotional skills that was implemented in this context is called Educational Solution.

Florestan Fernandes about Brazilian society: 1. dependent capitalism, that is, the insertion of Brazil in a subordinate way to the agenda of international capital, regardless of the conditions of the national working population; 2. The autocratic way in which political relations are conducted, that is, privileging the interests of the dominant classes – who choose to remain in a situation of association and dependence in relation to central capitalist countries – to the detriment of a large portion of the people in a situation of super-exploitation (FERNANDES, 1975). This means that the national bourgeoisie has supported, through its actions within the State or through its representatives in civil society, the maintenance of situations of inequality in dependent capitalism and the deepening of educational dilemmas in Brazilian society.

In this sense, below, we demonstrate how the reform of secondary education and the inclusion of socio-emotional skills as one of the elements of the curriculum signals the preparation of qualified people for the job market in the context of flexible accumulation.

The "New High School" and socio-emotional skills

The reform of secondary education materialized actions encouraged by sectors of civil society, especially the business community, and guidelines set by international organizations. The need for the reform to occur was justified based on different arguments.

The concept of skills, in addition to cognitive skills, was expanded to include emotional aspects, being defined as characteristics of individual well-being and increased productivity. Individuals would need various skills to achieve their goals in life, to work in groups and manage emotions (OECD, 2015), enabling life to become "prosperous, healthy and happy". In this sense, socio-emotional skills can be acquired through investments in learning (OECD, 2015) carried out even within the school – as previously mentioned.

Mészáros (2002) states that the hegemonic rhetoric of capital indicates the centrality of education as an antidote to the problem of growing unemployment, aiming at the insertion of young people in the world of work, even if, in practice, work is precarious or aimed at making people are subject to the condition of superfluous workforce.

The justification for the reform of Secondary Education, in the language of the reformers, would be to meet the desires of young people and corroborate with training suited to the demands of the contemporary world. These arguments that guide the reformers' arguments are supported by the unsatisfactory results of external assessments, especially PISA and the low IDEB indicators. Therefore, it would be necessary to try to reach the indices of

the countries that make up the OECD ⁶ and meet the premises of the World Bank and UNICEF. Data from the OECD report confirm this justification by demonstrating that:

Student performance in Brazil is below the average of students in OECD countries in science (401 points, compared to the average of 493 points), in reading (407 points, compared to the average of 493 points) and in mathematics (377 points, compared to the average of 490 points) (OECD, 2016, p. 1, our translation).

The data reveal the reformers' concern with preparing students to take assessments, with a view to improving the country's indicators. Recently, the measurement of socioemotional skills has been incorporated into external assessments.

Law no. 13,415/2017 materialized changes in the organization of High School in Brazil in order to modify its workload and curricular organization. Based on the abstract justification of making students' trajectories in High School more flexible and making the school more attractive to students, it is recommended that the maximum duration of Basic General Training subjects be limited to 1800 hours distributed over the three grades, and respecting the condition that only Portuguese, Mathematics and English are subjects offered in the three grades.

Paragraph 2, of article 35-A of the LDB, defines that "[...] the National Common Curricular Base for Secondary Education will necessarily include studies and practices in physical education, art, sociology and philosophy" (BRASIL, 2017, our translation). Although the law mentions that these studies will be included, obligatorily, in High School, it does not mention that they will be as subjects, it only refers to "studies and practices, modules or transversal themes". Therefore, they can be incorporated into the four areas of knowledge defined by BNCCEM, including as an appendix to other disciplines, worsening the emptying of content.

Furthermore, at least 1,200 hours are intended to be used in the "flexible part" of the curriculum, where activities linked to an area of knowledge provided for in the BNCC can be applied (I - languages and their technologies; II - mathematics and their technologies; III - natural sciences and their technologies; IV - applied human and social sciences) or that are intended for professional training activities.

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⁶The member countries are: Germany, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Korea, Costa Rica, Denmark, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, United States, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. Non-member countries constitute the Organization's so-called group of key partners: South Africa, Brazil, China, India and Indonesia.

This basic structure of workload distribution – Basic General Training plus the diversified part – generates a **multiplicity of curricular arrangements** between schools or even between networks. It is highlighted in article 35-A, § 1 - that "The diverse part of the curricula referred to in the caput of art. 26, defined in each education system, must be harmonized with the National Common Curricular Base and be articulated based on the historical, economic, social, environmental and cultural context.". And, it adds in the same article, paragraph 7, that "High school curricula must consider the student's comprehensive training, in order to adopt work aimed at building their **life project** and training them in the physical, cognitive and **socio-emotional**." (BRASIL, 2017, emphasis added, our translation).

Even though the intention of "integral training of the student" is stated, the same sentence states the commitment to work focused on the subject's individual life project and the choice of a specific training itinerary. For Kuenzer (2017, p. 353, our translation), high school completion certificates will enable the continuation of studies in higher education, however, the itinerary may reduce "the chances of success in selection processes for areas other than those studied, which will lead to students to attend preparatory courses, which end up being encouraged by the new proposal", especially if the student chooses technical and professional training. Furthermore, it must be considered that schools are not obliged to offer all training paths: they are conditioned to offer at least one of them. This fact, in itself, casts doubt on the foreshadowed possibility of the student choosing the area of knowledge in which they intend to delve deeper.

The "option" for professional training as defined by Law 13,415/2017, article 4 (BRASIL, 2017) – inclusion of practical work experiences; possibility of granting intermediate qualification certificates for work; offering professional training in partnerships with other institutions, recognition of skills with distance education institutions – It could reduce the quality of technical-professional training, as well as end the experiences of integrated high school, strengthening private institutions. When analyzing this proposal, Kuenzer (2017, p. 341, our translation) highlights that we must be careful, as

[...] the discourse on the need to raise levels of knowledge and the ability to work intellectually, when properly analyzed from the logic of flexible accumulation, shows its concrete character: the need to have available for consumption, in production chains, workforce with unequal and differentiated qualifications that, combined into cells, teams, or even lines, taking into account different forms of hiring, subcontracting and other precarious agreements, ensure the desired levels of productivity, through processes of extracting added value [...].

Another element of this reform corroborated by BNCCEM is the development of socio-emotional skills, defined as non-cognitive individual characteristics. Part of the skills suggested by BNCCEM reflects the ideas of the International Public Policy Forum – *Educating for 21st century skills*. According to the IAS, the socio-emotional skills proposed by BNCCEM come from the document suggested by *Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning* (CASEL), a North American institution that aims to develop the socio-emotional skills of Basic Education students. This organization suggests five skills for basic education: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills and responsible decision-making. Table 1 allows us to comparatively visualize how some of these competencies are described by CASEL and BNCCEM (BRASIL, 2018).

Table 1 - Comparison of socio-emotional skills - CASEL and BNCCEM-2018

CASEL	BNCCEM 2018
Self-awareness work with children and young people involves getting them to know themselves deeply , identifying their strengths and limitations, and always seeking to maintain an optimistic attitude focused on personal growth. Social awareness is also one of the socio-emotional skills and, here, children and young people must work on exercising empathy, the action of putting themselves in someone else's shoes and respecting	Knowing yourself, appreciating yourself and taking care of your physical and emotional health, understanding human diversity and recognizing your emotions and those of others, with self-criticism and the ability to deal with them. Exercise empathy, dialogue, conflict resolution and cooperation, ensuring respect and promoting respect for others and human rights, welcoming and valuing the diversity of individuals and social groups, their
diversity.	knowledge, identities, cultures and potential, without
	prejudice of any kind.
The socio-emotional self-management competence concerns the management that we should all have over our stress . Working on this with children and teenagers involves teaching them to control their impulses and set goals for themselves.	Act personally and collectively with autonomy, responsibility, flexibility, resilience and determination, making decisions based on ethical, democratic, inclusive, sustainable and supportive principles.
Responsible decision-making is a socio-emotional competence that involves personal choices and social interactions that follow socially developed norms, ethical and moral standards and general security measures.	Value the diversity of knowledge and cultural experiences and appropriate knowledge and experiences that enable you to understand the relationships specific to the world of work and make choices aligned with the exercise of citizenship and your life project, with freedom, autonomy, critical awareness and responsibility.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on "Socio-emotional skills for crises" from IAS and BNCCEM (BRASIL, 2018)

The documents Social and Emotional Skills: Well-being, connectedness and success (n/d) and Beyond Academic Learning: first results from the survey of social and emotional skills (2021), now cited previously, appear reiterated by CASEL and BNCCEM. The central axes of socio-emotional skills are made explicit in the table: self-knowledge, self-control,

respect and appreciation of the diversity of social groups - and the structural inequalities between social classes that are still present today are omitted.

The definition of socio-emotional skills as an axis of the curriculum is justified by the one-dimensional approach of the market, by instrumental training aimed at adapting individuals to the precepts of capital, whose valorization of autonomy and self-management is placed at the level of competitiveness and the accountability of students to individually outline their life projects, in the sense of employability and entrepreneurship, aiming at "[...] the greatest possible self-valorization of capital, that is, the greatest possible production of surplus value, therefore, the greatest possible exploitation of strength of work by the capitalist" (MARX, 1985, p. 263, our translation).

These socio-emotional skills are explained in the BNCCEM ⁷within the work by area of knowledge, but they are even more evident in the work proposal by life projects and training itineraries. The life project comes to be defined as a projection of the future based on the construction of personal identity and the construction of the possibility of dreaming. In this sense, "It can be said that carrying out activities aimed at creating a life project proportionally affects the feeling of happiness" 8, and this project can count on continuous evaluations that identify the index of cooperation, communication, sharing and sharing, listening, pleasure, interaction, happiness and projection into the world of work.

The socio-emotional skills applied to the school curriculum show evidence that the school's training activities contribute to the consolidation of work capabilities and adaptability to adverse conditions that arise due to changes in the labor market, including the precariousness of production conditions. In the reproduction of the logic of capital, the discourse of entrepreneurship emerges as an alternative to those who are unemployed and to the context of flexible work relations:

> Today, the entrepreneur has become a model of ubiquitous subjectivity in contemporary societies. The individual is called to act on themselves to

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⁷ Socio-emotional development strategies are provided for in the various stages of basic education. The MEC makes available the School implementation manual: socio-emotional development strategy, which presents how skills work is carried out in the Brasil Escola program. In this document, it states that socio-emotional skills are a necessity in the world market, stating that "In 2020, the World Economic Forum listed the skills that the world market will demand in the next decade: creativity, originality, initiative, critical thinking, persuasion, negotiation , attention to detail, resilience, flexibility and complex problem solving.". With this, it is clear that socioemotional skills relate to an alignment between the training of workers and the interests of capital.

⁸Available at: http://basenacionalcomum.mec.gov.br/implementacao/praticas/caderno-depraticas/aprofundamentos/200-projeto-de-vida-ser-ou-

existir?highlight=WyJzb2NpZWRhZGUiLCJjdWx0dXJhIl0=#:~:text

⁼Can%2Dse%20say%20that%20a,of%20project%20of%20life%20conscious. Accessed on: 10 Jan. 2023.

improve, adapt and continually transform, acquiring the skills and abilities that will allow them to value themselves as human capital and realize their dreams and desires (ALVES; KLAUS; LOUREIRO, 2021, p 12, our translation).

There is a reinforcement of an entrepreneurial-innovative culture that, at the individual level, must develop skills to adapt to capitalism. And this implies the formation of subjects who participate in competitive logic. "Capitalist rationality presupposes a subjective selfeducating and self-disciplining process, through which the individual learns to conduct himself' (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016, p. 140, our translation) through the harsh conditions of the market. The school curriculum was elected as essential to disseminate entrepreneurial culture and meet the imperatives of the 21st century economy. Individuals must strive for selfeducation represented in the motto of "learning to learn": "this is a motto that summarizes the concept of education aimed at forming, in individuals, the willingness to constantly and tirelessly adapt to the society governed by capital" (DUARTE, 2003, p. 11, our translation).

In this way, the Human Capital Theory is reinvigorated, as the student is led to "define their life project, both with regard to study and work as well as with regard to healthy, sustainable lifestyle and ethical choices" (BRASIL, 2018, p. 263, our emphasis, our translation). Thus, for one of the heralds of entrepreneurial pedagogy, entrepreneurship constitutes a process of proactive learning, "in which the individual cyclically builds and reconstructs his representation of the world, modifying himself and his dream of selfrealization in the process permanent self-evaluation and self-creation (DOLABELA, 2003, p. 32). This stance disregards the different educational opportunities that students have to acquire "knowledge, skills and values necessary for their academic or professional training" (GUSMÃO; SILVEIRA AMORIM, 2022, p. 22, our translation).

In fact, what is involved with the organization of socio-emotional skills is the preparation for employability in the job market or even for entrepreneurship and the construction of happy individuals who are adaptable to the eventualities of the capitalist market. Thus, individuals are held responsible for the successes or failures of their insertion in the production system – for their commitment to constantly updating their skills for employability; for assuming that the worker is co-responsible for the company; or, in case of not entering formal employment, due to the creative ability to undertake.

These socio-emotional skills and education devoid of scientific knowledge are necessary for the entrepreneurial society, without bosses, without rights, without employment, whose organization of the "New Secondary Education" has cooperated to promote a training

model in which students conceive of themselves as companies, accepting the risks of the job market and feeling responsible for their training, as well as for the success or failure of their entrepreneurial project. Skills pedagogy, then, sells the idea of employability in a context of increasing precariousness of work.

In the words of Harvey (2018, p. 193, our translation), the utopian discourses of new technological configurations are taking us "to the threshold of a brave new world of emancipatory consumerism and free time for everyone who completely ignores the dehumanizing alienation of work processes". That said, the role of socio-emotional skills recommended by the OECD and other international organizations is evident, the alignment with the reforms put in place in the BNCCEM and the reform of Secondary Education are strategies for preparing workers in the flexible labor market.

Final remarks

Throughout the text, we demonstrate that capital recovery strategies through financialization, changes in the production model and restructuring of work processes based on more flexible and "participatory" forms have generated significant consequences in the composition of formal and informal jobs. and precarious, imposing adverse conditions on the working class. In a way, the precariousness of working conditions has been engendered by multiple demands within and outside working hours, by outsourcing, by entrepreneurship, by subjection to work on digital platforms and other processes – substantiating the composition of the precariat.

In this sense, it was made clear that education absorbs into its legislation the recommendations of the productive sector to train the workforce according to the demands of capital. In the current context, with technological advances and the demands of flexible production, international and business organizations have defended the idea that the world of work needs workers who are flexible and adaptable to the vagaries of the job market, with emotional skills that enable them to deal with adverse situations and create, through self-management, opportunities to supplement income and employment. To this end, the school must develop socio-emotional skills, that is, form resilient, happy, respectful of diversity and productive people. It is interesting to note that this training model values diverse experiences from multiple social groups without necessarily reflecting on the deep structural inequalities of capitalist society.

Thus, we articulate the provisions of the High School reform (Law 13,415/2017), the BNCCEM and the recommendations of interactional bodies, especially the OECD, which try to associate the education of young people with strategies for valuing capital, through the reconfiguration of relations of work. This reform reinvigorates the competence model presented in the curricular guidelines of the 1990s, focusing on the socio-emotional dimension, shifting the focus away from professional qualification and indicating that the acquisition of socio-emotional skills is important to remain in employment and to become a as a multitasking worker, capable of creating your own occupation strategies through employability and entrepreneurship.

The expected socio-emotional control seeks to adapt individuals to the precariousness of work, as the tendency of capitalism is to release work to create a reserve workforce: this contingent in the current stage of flexible accumulation tends to be motivated to create their employment strategies and income to guarantee their subsistence and the circulation of goods. This perspective acts on the subjectivity of young people, because as the High School Reform replaces subjects such as Philosophy, Sociology, History and Geography with Life Project, Entrepreneurship and "Training Itinerary Choices", it aims to train workers who are adaptable and conform to the way they are inserted into the job market. Thus, the formation of socioemotional skills transfers responsibility for their own employment status to the individual sphere and has not provided theoretical and practical instruments for these people to challenge the order and reflect on contemporary sociability.

In summary, we consider that the Secondary Education Reform (Law 13,415/2017) and the BNCCEM ratify social inequality through unequal curricula, depending on the economic and social conditions of the students. That is, they reinforce the differences between public and private schools, deny common training and construct distinct trajectories between the children of the working classes and the children of the economic elites in the name of an alleged freedom of "choice" of training itineraries, whose state networks They offer according to their interests and possibilities, without taking into account the real needs of the students they serve. It is the official institutionalization of a curriculum that perpetuates the structural duality of High School, according to the division of society into classes in capitalist production.

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