

**SECONDARY SCHOOL AND FORMATION FOR WORK IN ARGENTINA:
POLICIES AND KNOWLEDGE IN DISPUTE**

**ESCOLA SECUNDÁRIA E FORMAÇÃO PARA O TRABALHO NA ARGENTINA:
POLÍTICAS E SABERES EM DISPUTA**

**ESCUELA SECUNDARIA Y FORMACIÓN PARA EL TRABAJO EN ARGENTINA:
POLÍTICAS Y SABERES EN DISPUTA**

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to analyze the relations between educational policies and formation for work in secondary schools in Neuquén (Argentina), connecting regulations and didactic-pedagogical devices that are implemented in educational institutions. In order to do this, we consider policies as a dispute field, in its definition, as well as in its implementation in schools. To achieve our goal, we review regulations focalized in formation for work and analyze, using qualitative methodologies, their implementation in secondary schools. After analysis, we propose that linkages between practices and regulations are diverse (sometimes educational practices anticipate regulations and other times schools give partial answers to them), and the ways of implementation may or may not contribute the democratization of student participation (and consequently an equitable distribution of knowledge), as well as conceptions about the world of work, society and subject.

KEYWORDS: Secondary school. Formation for Work. Knowledge. Educational policy.

RESUMO: Este artigo tem como objetivo analisar as relações entre políticas educativas e propostas de formação para o trabalho em escolas secundárias de Neuquén (Argentina), colocando em diálogo normativas e dispositivos didático-pedagógicos que implementam as instituições, desde uma perspectiva que considera as políticas como um campo de disputas tanto em sua definição, como em sua colocação em ato nas escolas. Para isso, relevamos normativas sobre propostas pedagógicas situadas em contextos de trabalho e analisamos, desde metodologias qualitativas, sua colocação em ato em escolas secundárias centradas na formação para o trabalho. Logo da análise, propomos que as vinculações com as normativas

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são diversas (às vezes as práticas educativas as antecipam e outras as escolas dão respostas parciais a elas), e as formas de implementação podem favorecer ou não a democratização da participação de estudantes (e com isso a distribuição equitativa de saberes), assim como concepções sobre mundo do trabalho, sociedade e sujeito.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Escola secundária. Formação para o trabalho. Saberes. Política educativa.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar las relaciones entre políticas educativas y propuestas de formación para el trabajo en escuelas secundarias de Neuquén (Argentina), poniendo en diálogo normativas y dispositivos didáctico-pedagógicos que implementan las instituciones, desde una perspectiva que considera las políticas como un campo de disputas tanto en su definición, como en su puesta en acto en las escuelas. Para ello, relevamos normativas sobre propuestas pedagógicas situadas en contextos de trabajo y analizamos, desde metodologías cualitativas, su puesta en acto en escuelas secundarias centradas en la formación para el trabajo. Luego del análisis, planteamos que las vinculaciones con las normativas son diversas (a veces las prácticas educativas las anticipan y otras las escuelas dan respuestas parciales a ellas), y las formas de implementación pueden favorecer o no la democratización de la participación de estudiantes (y con ello la distribución equitativa de saberes), así como concepciones sobre mundo del trabajo, sociedad y sujeto.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Escuela secundaria. Formación para el trabajo. Saberes. Política educativa.*

Introduction

In Latin America, societies have undergone profound changes in the world of work and education in recent decades. It is observed that in Latin American societies the processes of inclusion in the labor field are limited, precarious work and unemployment (especially for young people) deepens. However, in the educational field there is an expansion of coverage at different levels of the education system. In other words, we are facing a decline in the labor market and an expansion of education, processes according to which young people are offered few work options to enable them to sustain themselves within the educational system (even if mediated by dimensions such as class, gender and race, many are able to at least attend and / or finish secondary school⁴, unthinkable situation 50 years ago).

We were interested in this scenario to think about the place of secondary school in general and its relation with the world of work in particular. We focus on Argentina, where, at the beginning of the new century, two important laws in the educational field were sanctioned:

⁴ For example, the increase in the enrollment rate of young people aged 15-17 in Latin America between 2005 and 2013 increased from 72.5% to 76.6%, exceeding in 2013 the 78% threshold of school-age youth in secondary school in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay (MONTES, 2018).

the National Education Law no. 26,206 (LEN), which proposes the mandatory secondary school and proposes that this level prepares for continue studying, for work and citizenship; and the Vocational Technical Education Law no. 26,058 (LETP), which specifically legislates on vocational technical education, specifying specificities about the links with the working world, among other aspects.

Therefore, these 2006 and 2005 laws, respectively, regulate a national education system, fragmented into a federal state. Thus, the importance of studying particular cases is demanded that does not reflect the panorama of the country, but gives an account of the ways in which institutions resolve the school-world relationship of work.

We focus on this text to analyze the articulations on education and work that take place in a province in the Argentine Norpatagonia: Neuquén. This province has levels of autonomy in relation to national legislation, an example of which is the failure to apply the Federal Education Law of 1993, based on provincial legislation. With respect to the 2006 LEN, which proposes a reform of the secondary school, it is currently in full construction and implementation of an innovative curriculum, elaborated from the foundations of all secondary schools and their different modalities (bachelor, commercial and technical).

This article is part of the framework of investigations that address the relation between education and work in secondary school (BARROS; COSTA-RENDERS, 2020; ANDRADE MARTINS, 2018; JACINTO, 2018; CORROCHANO, 2014; GOROSTIAGA, 2012). We focus on Professional Practices (PP), privileged devices that national and provincial legislation proposes for the relation between education and work, and in the ways in which institutions propose them. We focus specifically on PP and its regulation through current normatives, its implementation in selected schools, as well as the conception of the world of work and the knowledge they promote.

How will work be done the ways to implement the PP are diverse, and it supposes the introduction of knowledge from the world of work in the implementation of pedagogical projects that are usually valued by students:

Empirical evidence from research in Argentina and other countries shows that the introduction of pedagogical projects linked to the knowledge of work generates greater motivation and interest in young people. The learning processes that start from practical knowledge to propose theoretical knowledge from there, or what is known as the pedagogical value of oriented formation and situated learning (JACINTO, 2018, p. 87).⁵

⁵ A evidência empírica de investigação na Argentina e outros países mostra que a introdução projetos pedagógicos vinculados aos saberes do trabalho geram maior motivação e interesse nos jovens. Os processos de aprendizagem

In Argentina, internships in the workplace (as a current form of PP) were the device that historically made the relationship between theory and practice visible. However, the norms sanctioned since the beginning of this century expanded the conception of these practices, installing the figure of PP. In this sense, internships were previously thought of as a practical aggregate of theoretical formation, on the contrary, PP is proposed as a strategy for teaching theories, formal techniques and skills in a contextualized way (DURSI, 2016), both in companies and in other civil society institutions, the state and within the schools themselves.

In addition, PP are a fundamental part of the formative trajectory of students from technical secondary schools and are proposed as a synthesis of the articulation between theory and practice based on formative experiences in real work situations, which can have different formats: micro enterprises, productive projects, articulation with community demands, internships, etc.

It should be noted that PP is mandatory for all students in technical schools, and optional for students in ordinary schools, in such a way that in recent years it has gone from a formation device to selective work, to a type of practice that must guarantee the participation of all, so that this change in their conception and legislation appears as a democratization of them. It is clear, as we will develop in the continuation, that the implementation of the PP presupposes putting into practice the normative that regulate them, and the way in which they are carried out presents specificities according to the institutions, which in some cases exceed what is proposed by the legislation, in others not they reach to cover their budgets, but always tension and dispute norms.

The aim of this study is to address the pedagogical practices that articulate education and work in three secondary schools with different characteristics. Our analysis focuses on the implementation of these formative devices for work and the relation with national regulations, their conception of the world of work and the types of knowledge they promote. In this way, we register in the debates that analyze the meanings of secondary school in general, looking at the cultural transmission that is proposed in the devices linked to work, at the same time as the meanings that this school experience proposes when it is articulated through work.

The article is structured in six sections, in the first, we develop the theoretical and methodological framework that frames the analyzes developed; in the second, we address the regulations that govern the implementation of PP at national and provincial level; in the third, we describe the implementation of PP in three secondary schools in the province of Neuquén;

que partem de saberes práticos para desde ali propor saberes teóricos, ou que se conhece como o valor pedagógico da formação orientada e da aprendizagem situada (JACINTO, 2018, p. 87).

in the fourth, we compare the implementation of PP in the three institutions; finally, we present the final considerations of the article.

Theoretical-methodological framework

Theoretical aspects

We approach this study in two dimensions, therefore, we will take theoretical frameworks that are articulated and allowing specific approaches. On the one hand, the political-normative dimension, which includes national and provincial regulations, that is, public policies created from the State. On the other hand, the pedagogical-didactic dimension, which considers the implementation of formative devices for work in secondary schools from the voices of teachers and directors involved. It is worth clarifying that we understand the devices mentioned above as promoters of pedagogical-didactic experiences, framed or not in public policies, which seek to bring young people closer to the world of work.

Regarding the **political-normative dimension**, we start from considering that social relations are articulated in the State. The results of the power relations between the actors are institutionalized in public policies, rules, programs and lines of action (AGUILAR VILLANUEVA, 1993). Thus, power struggles are at the basis of public policies and lead to the definition of guidelines for action.

On the other hand, we recognize the distance that exists between the scope of circulation of discourse (national, local) through the political text (normative, legislation) with that of practice; where they are re-signified and re-contextualized by institutional actors (BALL *et al.*, 2012). Putting it into practice constitutes a field in which these intentions and interests are defined and the agreements materialize in a concrete way (BALL *et al.*, 2012). These agreements are always transitory, but they enable the unfolding of practices that leave marks on the subjects that transit in these realities.

In this article, we focus on PP from a look at public policies and the multiple mediations that are manifested in their implementation, as a strategy to analyze, from a **pedagogical-didactic dimension**, the link between secondary education and the world of work. The development of these practices supposes the articulation of actors from the world of education, the world of work and civil society (from the education system, schools, the business world, NGOs, state actors and, certainly, young people), who dispute the construction of meanings and the way in which these practices are implemented. Given that these actors have action

objectives and are governed by specific logics, the relationships between actors that are established are usually crossed by tensions, (JACINTO, 2016).

In other words, we take these PPs as devices that articulate a set of pedagogical activities that integrate and intentionally combine to facilitate learning (CAMILLIONI, 2014). We are interested both in understanding the configuration of these devices and the type of educational experiences they promote. The study proposes itself from a theoretical perspective that has as object the devices of formation of the investigation, while these allow to analyze the modes of complex articulation that are established between the speeches, the norms, the temporal and spatial distributions (among others), that shape a way of existence in a given time and historical space. To analyze the didactic dimension, we return to epistemic relations with knowledge since Charlot (2008).

In these devices, we focus on the relation between the subject and knowledge, that is, the sense of learning they promote. First, we identify a link between the subject and the knowledge objects, referring to technical, disciplinary knowledge. Second, we highlight that relationship that promotes knowledge through action, that is, the domain of an activity. Third, we refer to situations that promote socio-relational learning (CHARLOT, 2008).

The importance of this proposal establishes that these connections are due to the identity construction with knowledge, since learning makes sense in terms of the subject's history, his background, his expectations, his idea of life, his ways of relating, etc.

We focus, then, on the study of this relationship: norms and formation devices proposed as PP, which in practical spaces take concrete forms, in which circulate discourses, modes of subjectification are promoted and particular experiences are generated, which enable meanings and ways of specific existence.

At the same time, we distinguish work from employment: the latter assumes a paid relation, on the contrary, work is taken as a human condition from a social, anthropological and philosophical perspective, and may or may not imply remuneration (NEFFA, 2003). This, considered as the human activity directed to the satisfaction of needs, entails in itself a productive dimension (in the sense of transforming nature and the object in general) and a formative dimension (insofar as every action reverts to the subject of it, transforming him). We think of work as handicrafts: “it designates a lasting and basic human impulse, the desire to perform a task well, without further ado”⁶ (SENNETT, 2009, p. 20), where the relation between mind and body are inseparable. We take Sennett (2009) when he proposes, from a pragmatic

⁶ “designa um impulso humano duradouro e básico, o desejo de realizar bem uma tarefa, sem mais”

conception, the relation between mind and body, arguing that what we are arises from what our body can do. He continues to argue about the impact of this characteristic on social relations.

In other words, we focus the analysis on formation devices for work (PP), their articulations with the policies and the type of knowledge they promote (what and how of the same), from a didactic perspective. In turn, we seek to locate the processes of contextualization and recontextualization of knowledge in relation to the world of work, since we understand that these formative spaces express the broader debates around the definition of secondary school formation, the relation with the world of work and society in general.

Methodological aspects

We propose to capture the complexity of the object of study from an interpretive perspective: we propose to describe and analyze the relation between norms and formation devices for work that take place in three schools in the province of Neuquén, in Argentina.

We selected these institutions based on a qualitative sampling of cases chosen according to theoretical criteria relevant to the research problem. We focus on the articulation with the world of work proposed by these schools, based on formation devices for work, both in connection with the outside of the institutions and with respect to the educational objective it proposes. **School N** is a common secondary school with a focus on social economics and the practice of micro-enterprises, which proposes innovative articulation projects with professional formation; **School A** is an agricultural technique that proposes an innovative project of relationship with the agricultural world of the region; and **School I** is the first industrial technical school in the region and is related to the most important productive activity in the province (oil and gas production).

From a qualitative methodology, several techniques for collecting information were used ⁷: a) Survey of secondary sources (national and provincial regulations referring to

⁷ The data in this article are part of three doctoral theses and the research project C127 of the Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación - UNCo (2016-2020):

Martínez, Silvia (2016) “Dispositivos de formación para el trabajo y la experiencia escolar en la escuela secundaria técnica. Estudio de casos”. Doctoral Thesis in Education, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Garino, Delfina (2017) “Escuela secundaria y trabajo: incidencias de los dispositivos de formación para el trabajo en las trayectorias laborales de jóvenes en la ciudad de Neuquén”, Doctoral Thesis in Social Sciences, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Fernández, Natalia (in evaluation) “La puesta en acto de las políticas educativas referidas a la educación y al trabajo en el nivel secundario técnico: el papel de los actores involucrados (Estado, sector empresarial y comunidad educativa) en la Provincia de Neuquén”. Thesis (Doctorate in Education) - Universidad Nacional del Comahue, s/d.

articulation devices such as the world of work; Curricular and institutional projects); b) Semi-structured interviews (to teachers and school management teams); and c) Observations (of spaces for implementing PP and different moments of school life).

Table 01 - Field work done. 2011-2018

	School N	School A	School I
Field work temporality	2011-2016	2013-2018	2016-2018
Institutional projects/programs	PEI Programs 3	PEI PIC Programs 3	Internship agreement
Interviews with directors	2	2	2
Interviews with PP teachers	5	4	2
Observations	2	2	2

Source: Devised by the authors

Political-normative dimension: the legal framework of PP

The educational policies formulated in the middle of the first decade of the 21st century postulate a new way of thinking about the articulation between education and work in Argentina, based on a new model of the State-society-productive system relation (GALLART, 2006).

In fact, during the '90s, a series of educational reforms were promoted, in which the vision of the world of work was tied to a logic of employability. At this time, the link between the school and the company (business organizations) was made explicit to assume the commitment of formation in these spaces, and the internships were considered as “job bags” under the national decree 340 of 1992.

In 2003, a process of ‘*legal reordering*’ begins (VIOR; MAS ROCHA, 2009), in which an important set of national laws is sanctioned, with respect to educational policy, of which we highlight the Law of Technical Professional Education (LETP) (2005) and the National Education Law (LEN) (2006).

With regard to education and work, LETP promotes labor practices through the development of PP. The PPs⁸ are one of the four formative fields of Technical Professional Education (the remaining three are: general, scientific-technological and specific technical formation), where each field has a specific workload. Thus, the incorporation of PP shows that labor practices have become a requirement of technical education (FIGARI, 2017).

In addition to the incorporation of PP in technical education, the importance of work practices, such as internships in secondary education, common through Decree 1374 (2011)⁹, is extensive. The sanction of the decree allowed those provinces that did not have their own legislation to be able to adhere to the decree or to elaborate norms in correlation with the national legislation. This also made it possible to encourage companies developing agreements with jurisdictions or educational institutions to articulate a system of internships (MATURO, 2018).

In addition, PP as a teaching and learning device allows the incorporation of habits and knowledge that can only be acquired in a work environment (GALLART, 2004), can guide young people regarding their interests and allow them to enter a segment of the market work, which could be difficult to enter (JACINTO; DURSI, 2010).

With respect to the political-normative framework of the province of Neuquén, it has an Organic Law on Provincial Education no. 2945 (2014) that regulates the entire educational system. It establishes pedagogical intentions, purposes and objectives similar to LEN: integral education with equal opportunities, the guarantee of educational inclusion, the establishment of the State as a guarantee for access, permanence and egress of students, the integration of the educational community. As regards the PP space, at the end of 2018, a specific provincial regulation was passed that regulates¹⁰ them in public and private schools, common and technical schools.

The mandatory nature of PP in technical schools allows us to ask how the implementation processes are carried out at the jurisdictional level to guarantee these formative paths that can take different formats (internships, micro-enterprises, projects within the institutions, etc.). The concept of PP is thus explicit, as a formative field within the ETP, which

⁸ In resolution 261/06 of the Federal Council of Education (Ministry of National Education), which aims at the homologation of degrees, their practice is fundamentally stated and they are understood as a synthesis of the articulation between theory and practice from of formative experiences in real work situations.

⁹ General Internship Regime that governs the entire scope of the Secondary Education Level of the National Educational System, where they are not mandatory for the common secondary.

¹⁰ Resolution no. 1862 sanctioned by the Provincial Council of Education of the province of Neuquén.

leads to the restructuring of study plans or curricular designs in the provinces, in search of guaranteeing them.

Some transversal issues that we understand can affect the “putting into action” of the PP are identified (MATURO; FERNÁNDEZ; GANEM; SAEZ, 2018): the youth of the provincial normative frameworks in relation to the nationals, the importance of institutional mediation and the encouragement and monitoring the generation of agreements at the local level.

In the jurisdiction of Neuquén, there is an instituting movement that seems to draw from the technical school institutions to the norm and from the norm to the institutions, and we highlight that, among the main challenges of putting the PP space into practice, figure how is the generation of agreements with companies, civil organizations (in the public as well as private), as is the institutional mediation in participation and the execution of agreements by government agencies in the management of links with productive, community organizations, etc.

As Rodrigo (2017) states, the application of regulatory frameworks often rests and is based on the unequal management capacities of jurisdictions and institutions. In this sense, it is important to continue with the analysis of how educational institutions are specifically linked to formation for work within the framework of the current demands of the new norms of the productive sector and society.

Pedagogical-didactic dimension: the implementation of PP

In this article, we analyzed 3 secondary schools in the province of Neuquén, of which two are in the city of Neuquén (provincial capital), and the third in a neighboring town. It is worth noting that this region of the Province brings together 66% of the population. Below, we describe each institution, focusing on their formation for work devices.

School N: general characterization of the institution

The first case that we will present is **School N**, a public secondary school of private management (depends on the diocese of Neuquén), of 5 years duration, which grants the title of specialized Bachelor in Social Economy and Business Practices that articulates with workshops of professional formation in constructive drawings, informatics, agriculture or gastronomy. Created in 2005, it has an enrollment of approximately 250 students, half men and half women, from homes with low material resources. It is located in a semi-rural region of the

city of Neuquén, composed of neighborhoods that started as informal settlements, with deficient services, precarious land tenures and little frequency in the circulation of public transport.

In the curricular plan, it proposes that during the 1st and 2nd year all students alternate through the four workshops throughout the year and, in the 3rd, choose one of them, in which they specialize until the 5th year. In addition, from the 3rd year, they offer subjects from the school's orientation (Social Economy, Accounting, Microentrepreneur Theory, Microentrepreneur Practice).

Formation for work at School N: autonomy and construction of a vital project as the axis of the proposal

Formation for work is at the heart of the educational proposal and implies capacitation both in general knowledge for the world of work (economic models, labor law, labor market conditions), as well as in specific devices of formation for work (JACINTO, 2018).

One of these devices are the productive undertakings that take place in the four workshops, they are thought of as formation spaces and as real work practices, framed in activities driven from the institution itself, which provides contextualized formation, linking the school with the outside world.

For catering we have everything, dishes, tablecloths, caps, aprons, the attire is good, we set up an entire facility at the school to do it, and the boys [...] 15 years birthdays, weddings, do everything with the teacher. [...] This implies a whole movement in the school, [...] a whole interlacing, but it gives good results (Teacher 1, School N).¹¹

For this, in the 3rd year, all students write a micro-enterprise project in groups, which they execute during the 4th and 5th years. In addition, each end of the year the institution holds an exhibition open to the community where the products made in the projects are shown and commercialized.

Another device refers to job guidance and the implementation of internships: during the 5th year, teachers interview young people to project their trajectories (educational and/or work) after graduating. As a result of this process, internships are implemented for all students, which are planned and assigned according to their vocational interests.

¹¹ *Para catering temos tudo, a louça, toalhas de mesa, toucas, aventais, o traje é bom, montamos toda uma instalação na escola para fazê-lo, e os meninos [...] aniversários de 15, casamentos, de tudo fazem com a professora. [...] Isso implica todo um movimento na escola, [...] todo um entrelaçamento, mas dá bons resultados (Professor 1, Escola N)*

There is a guided interview that is done with the boys. And, as a result, [...] they seek out the acquaintances we have, with previous experiences. [...] It is the measure, according to the interests of each boy, one thinks about what possibilities we have to do, what, where and what we have... (Management Team, School N).¹²

It aims, in addition to knowing spaces of insertion in fields of interest, to be accompanied dependency experiences, as well as to expand the social capital of young people. In this sense, situated experiences are promoted that allow learning in action (CHARLOT, 2008). A teacher is appointed in charge of planning and accompanying them. However, the position is *ad honorem*, which implies a precariousness of the task that, in addition to the fact that many of the contacts with organizations, companies and institutions that receive interns depend on personal (non-institutional) bonds, generates a low institutionalization of some aspects of this practice.

Finally, another device is the dictation of special courses oriented to the world of work, which seeks to expand the formation with the contribution of specialists in different areas, framed in the school's guidelines. They are developed during three weeks located at the end of each quarter, during which the daily academic activity is suspended and the 4th and 5th year students carry out capacitation workshops for work. The offer of courses varies from year to year, depending on the specialists that are contacted, and the availability of funds to finance the activities (which, in turn, depends on obtaining special resources through projects financed by public agencies).

In addition, the school's orientation in social economics favors the formation of critical subjects with respect to the conditions of the labor market, effectively formation and developing forms of social and labor organization that are alternative to the hegemonic ones linked to capitalism.

School A: general characterization of the institution

The second institution selected is **School A**. It is a 6-year agrotechnical school with a 26-hectare building where it develops its activities. In its origins (1987), it sought to articulate with the agricultural sector (the temporality of the school accompanied by that of the agro, the children of farmers, etc., had priority), but then the school was included within the formal

¹² *Há uma entrevista pautada que se faz com os meninos. E, em função disso, [...] vão se buscando com os conhecidos que temos, com experiências anteriores. [...] É a medida, em função dos interesses de cada menino, se pensa em que possibilidades temos de fazer, que, onde e com o que contamos... (Equipe Diretiva, Escola N).*

educational system, adapting to the norms current (1996). It has 400 students (50% men; 50% women), heterogeneous both in their socio-cultural characteristics and in their origin.

The curriculum is structured in four areas: disciplinary, animal/plant production and institutional spaces¹³. The disciplinary spaces are present throughout the formation, from the 1st to the 4th year, students learn about animal and vegetable production and practice and, in the 5th year, the students choose one of the two orientations (vegetable or animal). In both orientations, in the 6th year, they attend Seminars and the subjects Productive Didactic Project and Internship or Extension.

Formation for work at School A: articulated teaching from production

This school proposes to learn from producing. Their devices of formation for work build a network of senses and meanings that allow different types of learning.

The first device is the Productive Didactic Project. In the 5th year, all students in groups formulate a production plan (research, make predictions), articulating different subjects (Language, Project Methodology, Productive Didactic Project, English) and, during the 6th year, they execute it. It should be noted that the students choose the theme of their projects and suppose a pedagogical work.

Finishing the 4th, they choose a project for a particular production. Per group of three to five people. (...) In the 5th they formulate it, do all the research. Because they are asked for all the scientific method, everything to formulate the productive project of this production (...). In socio-economics they learn all the economics, which has to do with investments. In the 6th year, with school funds, according to the approval of the 5th year project, it takes place here at the school. So, we have to buy chickens, wire, all this to set up the project (Management Team, School A).¹⁴

This situation occurs within the framework of a regulated and guided teaching activity; simultaneously, it could be said that it is a simulated situation, since it takes place inside the school, unlike what would be a real enterprise.

The proposal that supports the curricular plan in relation to the Productive Didactic Project and the ways in which the different subjects cross it, build this device as a synthesis of

¹³ In this curriculum, throughout the 6 years they have mandatory spaces for participation and accompaniment to schooling, as spaces for school coexistence.

¹⁴ *Finalizando o 4º, escolhem um projeto de uma produção em particular. Por grupo de três a cinco pessoas. (...) No 5º formulam, fazem toda a investigação. Porque lhes pedem todo o método científico, tudo para formular o projeto produtivo dessa produção (...). Em socio-economia aprendem todo o econômico, que tem a ver com investimentos. No 6º ano, com fundos da escola, conforme a aprovação do projeto do 5º, se executa aqui na escola. Então temos que comprar galinhas, arame, tudo isso para armar o projeto (Equipe Diretiva, Escola A).*

the institutional project. The values of responsibility, work, organization and team work stand out, and many highlight this space as transcendent in the construction of learning with meaning for students, which implies participation in all stages of a productive project: planning, execution, evaluation, requiring innovations in proposals.

Here we have everything that comes from project formulation, which is not based simply on setting up the draft, writing it, but that it should be executed, followed up, evaluate the results, arrive at a final product ... and well, in this whole process a lot of tools and very significant learning are incorporated, which later are used for technical work (Teacher 13, School A).¹⁵

The second device is the rural extension project, which is part of the curriculum and when all students participate. It proposes different moments of work that include awareness, diagnosis, proposal and, if possible, joint work, from the perspective of an extension technician, in which it is promoted to interpret a technical reality in a specific socio-historical context and that students get involved in problems in the region, such as the construction of greenhouses in community gardens in marginal neighborhoods in the city of Neuquén.

The third device is the internships, which in this institution are also curricular, all young people participate and take place throughout the year. In a first stage, they are internal internships, in which students move through the different productive sectors of the school and then perform external internships in companies and enterprises in the region. In the event that they are unable to articulate with agents external to the institution, they continue with internal internships, in which students act as helpers in different sectors.

In summary, the educational intention in all devices of formation for work is the collection of meaning for students, in doing, in the real context. An innovation in the students' real curricular path is the fact that from the beginning they are offered an articulation of theoretical and practical knowledge. Thus, relations with disciplinary knowledge, in action and with others are promoted (CHARLOT, 2008).

School I: general characterization of the institution

The third institution selected is **School I**, 6 years of duration of traditional industrial technical school, located in the center of the city of Neuquén and offering three modalities:

¹⁵ *Aqui temos tudo o que é da parte de formulação de projetos, que não se baseia simplesmente em armar o anteprojeto, escrevê-lo, mas sim que se deve executá-lo, lhe dar um seguimento, avaliar os resultados, chegar a um produto final... e bom, em todo esse processo se incorpora um monte de ferramentas e aprendizagens muito significativas, que depois servem para o trabalho técnico (Professor 13, Escola A).*

mechanics, electromechanics and constructions. It has more than 1200 students, mostly men. Created in 1943, it has a vast historical tradition.

From the 1st to the 3rd year, students take the Basic Cycle, common to all technical schools, and in the Higher Cycle (5th and 6th) they specialize in one of the three orientations, in which they study specific subjects and workshops for each one.

Formation for work at School I: the traditional industrial model

Formation for work cuts across the school's formative proposal and is articulated especially in theoretical subjects and workshops. In addition, the institution implements internships as a device of formation for work.

This project has been in force for over ten years, mainly in private companies whose activities are linked to the school's guidelines, in the hydrocarbon, automotive, etc., sectors. In these practices, students apply, develop and deepen knowledge of the specialties they study. For this, a teacher monitors the students who are in the companies, occupying an *ad honorem* position, since the school does not have specific hours to finance the work that this project supposes, therefore, it is under the teacher's "will" to keep space.

What happens is that, well, there is something particular here. If I don't do it, it falls, if nobody wants to do it because it isn't paid, and I can further commit to doing it, that is, I am a teacher, part of my civil responsibility in teaching is this too (Teacher 1, School I).¹⁶

In addition, this project is not intended for all students and is not mandatory, but a limited number of students enter depending on the number of agreements reached and the number of vacancies in each company.

We focus on the content, the boy's attitude, aptitude and the willingness to work, how to perform, how to interact with the rest, what it is like to work in groups (Teacher 1, School I).¹⁷

Indeed, the scarcity of receiving institutions stems from the fact that students must meet certain conditions to enter and remain in the place, which includes certain skills and abilities linked to the requirements of the world of work: the importance of acquiring certain technical

¹⁶ *O que passa é que, bom, aqui existe algo particular. Se eu não faço, isto cai, se ninguém quer fazer porque não é pago, e eu posso mais o compromisso que tenho com isso de fazer, ou seja, sou professora, parte da minha responsabilidade civil em ensinar é isto também (Professora 1, Escola I).*

¹⁷ *Nos focamos nos conteúdos, na atitude do menino, aptidão também e na vontade com que se trabalha, como se desempenha, como interatua com o resto, como é para trabalhar em grupo (Professora 1, Escola I).*

knowledge for “apply them” in practice, as well as the need for certain skills and abilities linked to attitudinal (responsibility, punctuality, teamwork). It is proposed that these requirements are synthesized in the qualifications of young people in the subjects, so that trainees are selected according to meritocratic criteria. Furthermore, specific guidelines proposed by the companies operate in the selection (for example, aspects related to gender). In this way, the meritocratic and individualizing perspective governs the proposal for access to internships.

Finally, at school there is a formation project in cyclomechanics that implies the repair of disused bicycles, as a strategy for the social containment and empowerment of young people, from a community, collective and cooperative perspective, which includes the idea of free access to knowledge. In this case, technical knowledge conveys a social commitment. It is driven by civil society actors, and students who so wish participate.

They are the meeting spaces where knowledge begins to collectivize and the tools are divided and, in reality, ends up being a kind of means for other things. [...] [The idea is] that it is a space where they understand that they can build bonds with other people, from technical knowledge to a social commitment. [...] We encourage the horizontalization of knowledge and after that this knowledge be given freely. This is part of the objective, to enhance people's empowerment, through knowledge and through generating spaces where the person is (Referent NGO, School I).¹⁸

It should be noted that, while articulating with the community and involving formation for work, from the current legislation, it could be considered a PP, but it is not read as such by institutional actors, who only recognize PP as an internship format. This accounts for a world view of work anchored in labor insertion in a dependency relation. Thinking from the relations with the knowledge that are promoted, they are linked with actions in context, at the same time that they are oriented to know work spaces and the knowledge about the society that this enables.

In view of regulations, institutionalization and desires: the democratization of knowledge in PP

¹⁸ São os espaços de encontro onde o conhecimento começa a se coletivizar e as ferramentas se dividem e, na realidade, termina sendo uma espécie de meio para outras coisas. [...] [A ideia é] que seja um espaço onde eles entendam que podem construir laços com outras pessoas desde o conhecimento técnico para um compromisso social. [...] Fomentamos a horizontalização do conhecimento e depois que este conhecimento se dê de uma maneira livre. Esse é um pouco do objetivo, potenciar o empoderamento das pessoas, por meio do conhecimento e através de gerar espaços onde a pessoa se encontre (Referente ONG, Escola I).

Based on the work done in each institution, we propose to compare the proposals for implementing PP in the selected schools, taking as a criterion the idea of democratizing experiences, which allows different types of knowledge to be reached (Table 02).

Table 02 - Implementation characteristics in selected schools

School/PP	PP	Recipients	Type of knowledge that promotes
School N	Internship	All	Technical, social, disciplinary
	Entrepreneurship	All	
	Courses	All	
	Vocational orientation	All	
School A	PDP	All	Technical, disciplinary, social
	Extension	All	
	Internship	All (inside school or outside)	
School I	Internship	Selective according to selection criteria	Technical Social Disciplinary
	Cyclomechanical design	Optional as interested	

Source: Devised by the authors

With respect to the implementation of PP in the schools analyzed, from School N can be summarized, first, that the institution promotes a variety of devices of formation for work (special courses, internships, entrepreneurship, vocational guidance) that, in our opinion, can be classified as PP. However, the levels of institutionalization of these proposals vary from case to case. Of those listed, only the realization of ventures is a curricular project, while the rest are institutional projects that even in several cases are not formalized in written text; some of them are maintained by teachers *ad honorem*, others depend on external financing for their realization. Despite this, they are maintained year by year, so that an informal institutionalization can be proposed, but crystallized in time.

On the other hand, it should be noted that all students participate in these devices of formation for work, producing a democratization of practices that suppose that the opportunity for participation and training is for everyone. Thus, all students are capacitated in technical knowledge of specialties, in generic knowledge related to the realization of undertakings and in concrete content according to the proposals they carry out and in personal dispositions, at the same time that all of them they acquire work experiences (autonomous in the undertakings and

in a dependency relationship in the internships), so that, in addition to the richness of the formation, they generate work antecedents. In terms of Charlot (2008) we are talking about technical, social and personal knowledge.

This supposes, in turn, compliance with current regulations regarding the implementation of professional practices for all students, worked on in the third section. However, it is necessary to clarify that the implementation of these practices is foreseen to the sanction of the provincial legislation, and then results a school that, in practice, advanced in the rules that, *a posteriori*, regulated activation. In addition, the planning of some devices according to the vocational interests of the young people, positively affects their post-graduate trajectories and the construction of the vital projects of the students. Finally, the educational delimitation in the perspective of the Social Economy proposes a link with the world of work that goes beyond the adjustment of formation for insertion in a job, as well as being linked to a perspective of work in a philosophical sense, which, in turn, enables other possible worlds (SENNETT, 2009).

From School A, in turn, we highlight that, since the 1st year, the educational proposal is based on the articulation between theory and practice, and we analyzed three devices of formation for work: the Didactic-Productive project, the rural extension project and the internship project. The three are curricular spaces, in such a way that the school presents a high degree of institutionalization of the educational proposal, which assumes its continuity, but further than the economic and human resources it has at a specific moment. Furthermore, this deviates from the historical ways in which the education-work articulation was implemented in Argentine secondary schools, proposing important variations with respect to traditional technical schools, which are characterized by delimited and selective devices. This institutionalization implies that all students participate in the three projects, for this reason they become democratic instances of the knowledge that are promoted and circulated there. In turn, this obligation presupposes that the school complies with the current legislation that regulates PP. It is worth clarifying that this formative proposal precedes the current regulations that *a posteriori* frame it. Effectively, school actors “make” policies by meaning and reframing with their professional biographies in a situated context (BALL *et al.*, 2012).

Finally, School I carries out internships within the framework of professional practices. Although they developed several years ago, the lack of formal recognition and remuneration for the position of the teacher who is responsible for carrying it out generates a low institutionality of the practice. In addition, as we have highlighted, only a few students participate, selected by meritocratic criteria and company requirements.

Therefore, this device is selective and meritocratic and is configured as an option, where equal opportunities are not similar to all students. Practices constitute unequal and therefore differentiating experiences, building different opportunities and ways of approaching the world of work in student trajectories.

In addition, we highlight the lack of recognition as a PP of the cyclomechanics project developed by civil society actors, which proposes a link with the world of work alternative to capitalism, anchored in the community. This shows that the conception of work that predominates in this school is that of employment (NEFFA, 2003), linked to job insertion in private companies in a relation of dependency.

It is worth mentioning that, at the time of conducting the field at this institution (2017), the current regulation did not rule that all students should perform PP (a situation that was regulated in 2018), so that the school offered internships due to the vacancies in the receiving companies, limited in comparison to the number of students able to do them.

Final considerations

This analysis reveals that there are multiple ways to resolve the articulation between the secondary school and the world of work proposed by the normative, which is resolved by the schools according to their institutional histories, resources, conceptions about work and the articulation theory-practice that they maintain and that, in turn, build through the implementation of PP.

The democratization of practices implies promoting the possibility that all students have experiences located in areas of work that allow them to learn different types of knowledge (CHARLOT, 2008), such as technical issues, labor relationships, soft skills, entrepreneurship, etc. Democratization that implies rethinking the devices that are developed and their recipients. In the cases presented, although the three develop different devices, they are not always for all students. That is, we analyze what the experiences promote, at the same time as the scope that is proposed as an inclusion of all or a meritocratic selection.

On the other hand, different ideas from the world of work are developed in the three schools. School N includes formation on social economy, proposing to all students the development of productive enterprises within the school as the main PP, and offering internships outside the institution to all. School A also generates proposals within the institution for all young people, especially from the PDP, but in keeping with market conditions, as students carry out productive ventures within the school, and the emphasis is on social and

technical, which implies the realization of a group project. Finally, School I offers internships to only a few students so that they can circulate in real work spaces, and these PPs are restricted and meritocratic.

In other words, even though the three schools promote the realization of PP, the experiences they generate are different, the knowledge that is at stake and the meanings of the world of work that they transmit. Thus, we emphasize that in School I, a look at work as a job is prioritized, on the contrary, in the others, work could be proposed as a transformative productive activity, that is, in the sense that we take up from Neffa (2003) and Sennett (2009). So, we postulate that there are several ways of articulating with the community (School N and School A), as educational proposals linked to the demands of the world of work (School I). In this we find that the laws and resolutions generate a framework from which institutions dispute the meanings of both the world of work that they provide, and democratic experiences oriented to inclusion. These situated practices also occur sometimes in real work contexts and others within educational institutions, which shows that what the legislation enables is occupied by institutional proposals with creativity, new scope and limitations.

Finally, we understand that institutions generate proposals in addition to the laws that regulate them. In this sense, when put into action, politics supposes the translation of the texts of the policy into situated actions and practices (BALL, 2012), in which meanings about the school, its formation and its connection with the world of work are disputed. In these analyzed practices, different types of knowledge (CHARLOT, 2008) and formation are used, which supposes and enables constructions from different worlds that strain views from self-management-agency-community to employment-mercantilism-labor world. If we place ourselves in the idea of building democracy from the police and in this specific case, from the formative devices for work in these schools, we can say that the contributions of each one is different, acquiring greater relevance in this construction, the educational practices that allow the possibility of choose and participate to all students who conceive work from a broad perspective, from their role in the construction and social transformation, of those who maintain meritocratic practices or train for specific jobs.

We believe that secondary schools face challenges in political terms, since the teaching proposals they generate can promote the construction of a more just and democratic world or deepen social inequalities. In this range of possibilities of the schools, the State regulates through its norms and the educational proposals constitute a field of disputes of meanings.

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