



The impact of the vocational training offered, through the Pronatec program, for the occupation of job vacancies between 2011 and 2015

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ABSTRACT. Between 2011 and 2015, the Pronatec mobilized about of 9,4 million enrollment and more than 15 trillion, characterizing the program as public policy professional education of greater grandeur, whereas, in addition to the above numbers; the sub programs for it covered and the ministries and departments involved. However, although your balance present large numbers, low was the impact of vocational training offered through Pronatec, for the occupation of positions of formal posts in same period. The study looked at the available slots on the agency worker in the city of Cascavel, Paraná state, and intertwined with the offers of Pronatec courses, in the same region. This analysis found that although more than 7000 professionals have been trained by Pronatec in that municipality, there was no drop in the number of vacancies which remained open on the labor Agency.

Keywords: Pronatec; professional qualification; salaried work; professional education; vacancy.

O impacto da formação profissional ofertada, por meio do programa Pronatec, para a ocupação de vagas de postos formais de trabalho, entre 2011 e 2015

RESUMO. Entre os anos de 2011 e 2015, o Pronatec mobilizou cerca de 9,4 milhões de matrículas e mais de 13 bilhões de reais, o que caracterizou o programa como a Política Pública de Educação Profissional de maior grandiosidade, considerando, além dos números citados, os subprogramas por ele abarcados e os ministérios e secretarias mobilizados. Entretanto, embora seu saldo apresente números vultosos, pouco foi o impacto da formação profissional ofertada, por meio do Pronatec, para a ocupação de vagas de postos formais de trabalho no mesmo período. O estudo analisou as vagas disponíveis na Agência do Trabalhador, no município de Cascavel, estado do Paraná, e as entrelaçou com as ofertas dos cursos do Pronatec na mesma região. Essa análise constatou que, embora mais de sete mil profissionais tenham sido capacitados no referido município, não houve queda no número de vagas em aberto na Agência do Trabalhador.

Palavras-chave: Pronatec; qualificação profissional; trabalho assalariado; educação profissional; vagas.

El impacto de la formación profesional ofrecida, a través del programa Pronatec, para la ocupación de puestos de puestos formales de trabajo, entre 2011 y 2015

RESUMEN. Entre los años 2011 y 2015, el Pronatec movilizó cerca de 9,4 millones de matrículas y más de 13 mil millones de reales, lo que caracterizó el programa como la Política Pública de Educación Profesional de mayor grandiosidad, considerando, además de los números los subprogramas por él abarcados y los ministerios y secretarías movilizados. Sin embargo, aunque su saldo presenta números voluminosos, poco fue el impacto de la formación profesional ofrecida, a través del Pronatec, para la ocupación de puestos de puestos formales de trabajo en el mismo período. El estudio analizó las vacantes disponibles en la Agencia del Trabajador, en el municipio de Cascavel, 'Estado del' Paraná, y las entrelazó con las ofertas de los cursos del Pronatec en la misma región. Este análisis constató que, aunque más de siete mil profesionales fueron capacitados en el referido municipio, no hubo caída en el número de vacantes en abierto en la Agencia del Trabajador.

Palabras-clave: Pronatec. Calificación profesional. Trabajo asalariado. Educación profesional. Las vacantes.

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Introduction

Created by Law 12,513, of October 26, 2011, Pronatec – Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego (National Program of Access to Technical Education and Employment) was designed to offer free professional courses, promoting the expansion, internalization and democratization of the offer of professional and technological education in the country, encouraging the expansion of educational opportunities and professional training of a public in need of these offers (Ministry of Education and Culture [MEC], 2016).

However, few analyzes were carried out in order to interweave the large numbers related to the investment in the program with the effective impact of the vocational training offered for the occupation of formal posts in the same period.

We are aware that the implementation of this program acts to materialize actions that meet the 'desires' present in governmental discourses and of the representatives of the economic sectors, in which the relation between the shortage of skilled labor in Brazil and the negative implications of this lack for the country's economic and technological development.

In this context, the present study is the result of a research that was proposed to analyze the supply of Pronatec courses, in the period from 2011 to 2015, considering the argument (the justification) for an existing deficiency of skilled labor to meet the requirements of the economic productive sectors, especially in the municipality of Cascavel, Paraná state.

In order to support this reflection, the data related to the courses offered and the needs identified by the economic and demand sectors, expressed by the data of MTE, CAGED, IBGE, IPARDS, RAIS, CNI, FIEP, SEED and the Workers' Agency. This analysis supported the construction of an overview of the offer of Vocational Education, in which the representation of demand for Pronatec courses and offered jobs was constructed. In this scenario, it was possible to verify if the courses meet the requirements of the productive sectors, and if there was a significant increase in the occupancy rates of the formal posts through the referrals made by the Workers' Agency in the municipality of Cascavel, Paraná state.

Although it was launched in 2011, Pronatec is a public policy resulting from a series of actions initiated in the previous decade, at the time of the launch of the PNE, Plano Nacional de Educação (National Education Plan), for the period 2001-2010. These actions are aimed at the 'negotiations' concerning the discourse of skilled labor shortages in Brazil, given by representatives of the economic sectors and endorsed by the rulers, who, historically, point to this condition as one of the main obstacles to economic development of the country.

Feres (2015) considers that the PNE aimed to consolidate a systemic vision of education, verified in the setting of goals and directions for public policies in the area of education that converged to the link of professional education to the Sistema Educacional Nacional (National Education System), in opposition to the fragmentation observed in the Leis de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (National Education Guidelines and Framework Law) of 1996.

In 2007, the Federal Government presented the Plano de Metas Compromisso Todos pela Educação (Target Plan All for Education Commitment), in which the Union's technical and financial assistance actions were linked to states and municipalities that fulfilled the quality goals stipulated in the Plano de Ações Articuladas – PAR (Joint Action Plan).

Sequentially, in 2008, the Law establishing the Institutos Federais de Educação Tecnológica – IFETS (Federal Institutes of Technology Education), was approved, allowing the formation of a network that includes, in addition to the Federal Institutes, other institutions offering vocational education at all levels. This subsidized the creation of the Programa Brasil Profissionalizado (Brazil Professionalized Program); Rede e-Tec Brasil (e-Tec Brazil Network) for distance learning; of the Acordo de Gratuidade com o Sistema S (Gratuity Agreement with the S System); and the creation of the Sistema Nacional de Informações da Educação Profissional e Tecnológica – Sistec (National Information System for Vocational and Technological Education).

In the analysis of Feres (2015), while Brazil Professionalized Program aimed at structuring and expanding the physical structure of state professional and technological education networks, the e-Tec Network sought to strengthen the offer of professional distance learning. With respect to the Gratuity Agreement, S System has undertaken to apply, as of 2014, two thirds of the resources coming from the compulsory to offer technical courses of medium level, professional qualification or continued initial training, to the low-income public.

This was the structuring that preceded the launch of Pronatec, which through its own initiatives or interconnected with other programs, encompasses a series of subprograms, projects and actions of technical and financial assistance.

The Bolsa Formação¹ is the program's greatest impact initiative because it promotes the payment of scholarships to both public and private schools, so that they could defray the cost of the courses (payment of teachers, supplies, teaching materials and school kit), and student assistance to students (food and transportation costs). In addition to the financial contribution, its breadth also refers to the role of offering partners - Federal Institutes, Federal and State University, state and district networks of professional education, S System and public foundations of schools that offer technical courses, and applicants - of 15 Ministries and all State and District Departments of Education, mobilizers of Centros de Referência em Assistência Social - Cras (Centers of Reference in Social Assistance) Municipal Department of Tourism, Culture, Employment, among others.

The courses offered by this educational network provided, as a priority, to the: high school students and the education of young and adults of the public network; workers; beneficiaries, holders and dependents of federal income transfer programs; disabled people; ethnic communities; adolescents and young people in compliance with socio-educational measures; high school graduates from the public network or from private institutions, provided that they have studied as a full scholarship holder.

Between 2011 and 2014, the program registered more than 6 million enrollments in the country (Table 1). The analysis of data from the Secretaria de Educação Profissional e Tecnológica do Ministério da Educação - SETEC/MEC (2013) (Department of Professional and Technological Education of the Ministry of Education), regarding enrollments in each of the initiatives grouped by Pronatec, demonstrates the expressiveness of the numbers present in the Formação Inicial Continuada (Initial and Continuing Training), a modality of the scholarships offered by the S System.

While the State Networks registered 5% enrollments and the Federal Network 15%, the S System Agreement initiative remained with 80%, divided into 43% SENAI, 30% SENAC, SENAT 4% and SENAR 3%. The most benefited public was the Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome - MDS (Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger), with 40.9% of enrollments, followed by the Secretaria de Educação e Cultura - SEDUC (Ministry of Education and Culture), with 20.2%. Online enrollments, without specific applicant, accounted for 23.6% of enrollments. The Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego - MTE (Ministry of Labor and Employment) 5.1%, and the sum of other applicants recorded a 10.6% enrollment in the period (SETEC/MEC, 2013).

Also in July 2014, then President Dilma Rousseff launched Pronatec 2.0 with the promise of offering 12 million places in 220 technical courses and in 646 qualification courses starting in 2015 (Brasil Sorridente and Pronatec, 2014). However, even with the announcement that Pronatec would become effective as a State Program in 2015, cuts in the government budget - 9.5 billion in the Ministry of Education alone - caused a sharp drop in the number of vacancies announced. From three million, the forecast came to one million, with only 288,000 being effected, that is, a reduction of more than 60% of vacancies. Even so, in total, enrollment and investment numbers were expressive, as shown in Table 2.

Table 1. Pronatec enrollment between the years 2011 and 2014, by program initiatives.

Technical courses		2011	2012	2013	2014*	Total
Bolsa Formação (scholarship)	Foreseen	9415	99.149	151.313	151.313	411.190
	Executed	0	101.541	304.966	28.823	435.330
Brazil Professionalized	Foreseen	33.295	90.563	172.321	233.781	529.960
	Executed	82.823	79.770	70.355	0	232.948
E-TEC	Foreseen	74.000	150.000	200.000	250.000	674.000
	Executed	75.364	134.341	137.012	0	346.717
Agreement with the S System	Foreseen	56.416	76.119	110.545	161.389	404.469
	Executed	85.357	102.807	132.289	0	320.453
Federal Network EPCT	Foreseen	72.000	79.560	90.360	101.160	343.080
	Executed	117.621	119.274	121.958	7.788	366.641
FIC courses		2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Bolsa Formação (scholarship)	Foreseen	226.421	590.397	743.717	1.013.027	2.574.102
	Executed	22.876	531.101	1.243.047	356.746	2.153.770
Agreement with the S System	Foreseen	421.723	570.020	821.965	1.194.266	3.007.974
	Executed	582.931	733.223	844.561	2.160.735	4.321.450
Total amount FIC + Technical		967.772	1.802.057	2.854.208	393.357	6.016.594

* Until 3/3/2014. Source: Centro de Gestão e Estudos Estratégicos [CGEE] (2015), and SETEC/MEC (2013).

¹ Regulated by MEC's 185 decree of 2012 and, later, replaced by MEC's 168 decree of 2013 (Decree n. 168, 2013).

Table 2. Investment Statement in Pronatec between 2011 and 2015, by initiative in Brazil.

Initiative	Investment in the period
Bolsa Formação (scholarship)	8.284.725.453,81
Expansion and restructuring of the Federal Network	5.199.892.371,84
Network e-Tec Brazil	556.567.615,83
Brazil Professionalized	1.049.931.687,80
Total	15.091.117.129,28

Source: CGEE (2015a) Siafi Gerencial. Prepared by Setec/MEC (2013).

In short, between 2011 and 2015, the Federal Government implemented a series of actions aimed at 'expanding' the offer of professional education through 'Pronatec' to 'cure the shortage of skilled labor', investing more than 15 billion in the Program, which generated around 6,304,594 enrollments.

However, have such investments had a relative impact on the employment of formal jobs, which, according to the economic sector discourses, are not filled by lack of skilled labor? How is the follow up of the graduates of these courses to map their insertion in the job market?

Although there is no official or unofficial data that Pronatec's offer, in the breadth of its articulations, did or did not provide the public's access to it in the formal job market, increasing employability and improving quality of life in care the first objectives of the program, some measures were initiated in 2013 by the MEC. These measures included the elaboration of the Professional Education Map developed by the Centro de Gestão e Estudos Estratégicos – CGEE (Center for Management and Strategic Studies); the development of a system of evaluation of technical courses developed by the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Anísio Teixeira – INPE (National Institute of Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira and another system, for the evaluation of graduates of technical courses and FIC, prepared by the Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas Aplicadas – IPEA (Institute of Applied Economic Research). In 2015, the CGEE presented the Mapa da Educação Profissional e Tecnológica do Brasil (Map of Professional and Technological Education of Brazil), exposing data for subsidies of the EPT offer in the country. However, the proposals of the evaluation systems, so far, did not materialize (SETEC/MEC, 2013).

In the Final Report of the Map developed by CGEE (2015b), the expansion of vocational education offered by Pronatec occurred in the proportion of 29% of vacancies for technical courses and 71% for FIC courses, evidencing a professional education policy that favors short courses. The study considers that this is a point of attention, since this offer is, as a priority, to a low education population, with difficulty of returning to the school banks, relegating, in the background, the medium-level vocational training.

In order to verify the extent to which Pronatec has contributed as a public policy to expand the offer of vocational education, and if this offer has met the requirements of the economic sectors, it is necessary to read about the job market and the perspectives of vacancies offered in the various professional areas, in the short and medium term, as pointed out by Feres (2015).

For this analysis, the data related to job supply in Cascavel - PR, collected in indicators of CAGED, IPARDS, IBGE and MTE, were compared with the courses offered by Pronatec. The relationship between the offer of vocational training and the vacancies offered by the Workers' Agency in the municipality shows if there is coherence in this process, that is, if the offer of courses is in keeping with the demand signaled.

The Labor Agency data were taken as a starting point for this analysis, considering that, in addition to being candidates for the Pronatec courses, mobilizing and directing the beneficiaries of the program, they also manage the recruitment, selection and placement of workers in the job market, under the aegis of the Divisão de Intermediação de Mão de Obra – DIM (Labor Intermediation Division). The services offered by the Workers' Agency are free and are intended to inform and guide workers and employers, making the mediation between both (Secretaria da Justiça, Trabalho e Direitos Humanos [SEJU], 2015).

For the study, the vacancy profile described in the announcements of the Workers' Agency in Cascavel was analyzed, with the profile of the candidates registered and placed. The data are related to the year 2011 and were extracted from the electronic portal of the Secretaria da Justiça, Trabalho e Direitos humanos – SEJU (Department of Justice, Labor and Human Rights), covering the segments of intermediation by economic activity, combined profile of the employees, combined profile of the candidates and combined profile of requirement of vacancies.

The stratification of the evolution of referrals to jobs carried out by the Agency between 2011 and 2015 shows an oscillation in vacancies, with significant decreases accompanying the national movement in the

same period (Table 3).

The data show that the greatest demand for vacancies is concentrated in the sectors of trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles, manufacturing industry, construction, administrative activities, accommodation/food, transportation and storage (Table 4).

The main point of attention is that the number of employees is always below the job vacancies, and even more discrepant if we consider the referrals to fill the occupations, as evidenced in Table 5. This permanence of open positions, even though there is a large number of people referred to the offers, is also noticed in the national data.

Table 3. Evolution of referrals to jobs - Cascavel Workers' Agency, between the years 2011 and 2015.

Year	Enrolled	Vacancies	Forwarded	Placed	Occupancy rate of vacancies %
2010	24.310	10.775	33.251	3.351	31,10 %
2011	22.199	11.154	35.695	3.537	31,71 %
2012	15.605	8.888	34.497	4.617	51,95 %
2013	13.330	10.148	29.194	3.689	36,35 %
2014	13.061	12.567	32.463	3.598	28,63 %
2015	10.878	9.693	33.399	3.290	33,94 %
Total	99.383	63.225	198.499	22.082	35%

Source: Base GAP - Accountability, Secretaria do Trabalho e Desenvolvimento Social (2015). Table prepared by the Author.

Table 4. Comparative of Intermediation by economic activity, carried out by the Worker's Agency in Cascavel, in the period from 1/1/2011 to 31/1/2011.

Economic activity	Vacancies	Forwarded	Placed
Trade; Automotive and Motorcycle Repair	2940	9640	995
Manufacturing Industries	1667	4243	446
Construction	853	1166	155
Administrative and Complementary Services	579	1817	183
Accommodation and Food	447	1749	86
Transport, Storage and Mail	438	1340	109
Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities	324	1115	189
Not Defined/Not Registered	258	579	68
Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fisheries and Aquaculture	203	473	104
Information and Communication	194	373	31
Arts, Culture, Sport and Recreation	130	487	45
Financial Activities, Insurance and Services	112	286	26
Human Health and Social Services	68	243	24
Real Estate Activities	41	67	5
Water, Sewage, Waste Management and Decontamination	24	63	8
Electricity and Gas	8	15	0
Extractive Industries	4	1	0
Public Administration, Defense and Social Security	1	2	0
Total amount	8291	23659	2474

Source: Base SIMO Internet (SEJU, 2015). Table prepared by the Author.

Table 5. Data on service provided by the SINE - Total Brasil network, of labor intermediation in Brazil, from 2000 to 2015*.

Year	Subscribed Workers	Vacancies taken with employers	Referrals for interviews	Workers colocados	% of vacancies
2000	4.805.733	1.281.220	2.559.597	581.618	45,40%
2001	4.687.001	1.435.173	2.884.805	742.880	51,76%
2002	5.118.563	1.648.542	3.445.531	869.585	52,75%
2003	5.443.121	1.560.502	3.428.546	844.572	54,12%
2004	4.872.769	1.670.751	3.553.823	886.483	53,06%
2005	4.977.550	3.869.769	1.718.736	893.728	23,10%
2006	5.148.720	4.031.713	1.772.282	878.394	21,79%
2007	5.428.622	4.866.693	2.060.917	980.997	20,16%
2008	5.990.907	5.781.814	2.526.628	1.068.114	18,47%
2009	5.894.722	6.019.575	2.538.081	1.018.807	16,92%
2010	5.497.650	3.660.711	7.729.292	1.246.201	34,04%
2011	4.708.101	2.569.720	5.883.262	933.613	36,33%
2012	6.144.893	2.642.970	5.490.055	658.862	24,93%
2013	5.802.948	2.901.446	6.192.575	749.115	25,82%
2014	5.185.085	2.600.860	5.571.657	676.032	25,99%
2015	2.885.405	1.143.410	3.060.051	324.412	28,37%
Total	81.902.250	47.441.551	59.735.744	13.271.159	27,97%

* Data as of 8/11/2015. Source: Base de Gestão da Intermediação de Mão de Obra BGIMO (MTE, 2016).

The reasons for not occupying these vacancies remain obscure, since the relationship between the profile required for the occupation of the vacancy and the profile of the candidates referred, in the great majority, are compatible in levels of schooling. According to SEJU (2015) data, 74.79% of the vacancies did not require proof of experience in the work portfolio (Table 6).

It is worrying that job vacancies remain idle, even with a significant number of candidates presenting the minimum requirements for filling it. It should also be pointed out that, if almost 80% of the companies do not indicate the need for professional experience registered in the portfolio, what characterizes the labor force so scarce in the job market? If there is a need for vocational training, possibly the short courses, the focus of investment of Pronatec, may not meet the expectations of professional training desired by the productive sectors. However, it should be noted that courses of 160 hours form a professional able to start the activities in the trade. It would be up to the companies to take part in the training of these workers, since waiting for the 'ready' professional, with the complete competency package, does not seem to exist.

Araujo and Borges (2000) analyze that the structural difficulties of the job market are masked by the imposition of qualification as a condition of employability. This concept exempts the government from responsibility for the development and adoption of public policies for this purpose, exempts companies from responsibility in the formation of the worker and relegates to the individual any burden for their insertion in the job market.

This political bias of action in the educational sphere is in line with the principles of international organizations. In the perception of World Bank (2010), education acts in a compensatory way on the poverty situation caused by economic adjustments. It is also pointed out as a fundamental mechanism in promoting a new pattern of capital accumulation, considering that, according to the official discourses, it is through education that social development is promoted, increased social cohesion and better opportunities for the population that, capable, you can enjoy 'right' policies (Deitos, & Lara, 2016).

The provision of qualification in the scope of Pronatec, regardless of the structural needs of the labor market, is highly praised by the World Bank. In the document, *Achieving World Class Education in Brazil: The Next Agenda*, published in 2010, the organization praises educational policies and reforms implemented by the governments of the last 15 years, among they, Pronatec, and continue to dictate the perspectives and paths of the educational policies of its hegemonic model of education, society and State.

This World Bank neoliberal discourse, in Cruz's perspective (2003), recovers and reformulates Human Capital Theory² by pointing out a supposed dependence relationship between education and economic and social development, in which individual performance is overvalued as a determinant of the condition of each in society. From this point of view, it transposes the logic of the market into education, and elects free competition as fundamental for guaranteeing the efficiency and quality of the educational services provided.

Table 6. Comparison between required schooling and average salary offered in the intermediations carried out by the Cascavel Worker Agency in 2011.

Schooling	Job Profile	Candidate Profile	Profile of the Placed	Average Salary with highest % of offer
Illiterate	4,49%	0,22%	0,11%	<1 to 3
Literate	9,18%	0,28%	0,08%	<1 to 3
Incomplete Primary	6,56%	2,78%	0,64%	<1 to 3
Complete Primary	14,92%	6,0%	3,21%	<1 to 3
Incomplete Elementary School	10,87%	13,73%	11,82%	<3 to 5
Complete Elementary School	9,89%	9,9%	8,08%	<3 to 5
Incomplete High School	7,80%	16,13%	15,60%	<3 to 5
Complete High School	21,93%	35%	43,01%	<3 to 5
Incomplete Higher Education	0,69%	9,0%	9,18%	<3 to 5
Complete Higher Education	2,78%	7,06%	7,3%	<3 to 5
Indifferent	9,75%	-	-	-

Source: Base SIMO Internet, SEJU (2015). Table prepared by the Author.

Mota Junior and Maués (2014) bring to the fore the economist perspective of education when considering that the educational system must play three primary roles, being: the development of workforce skills to

² The idea of Human Capital is a quantity or degree of education and qualification, taken as indicative of a certain volume of knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired, which function as potentials of work capacity and production.

sustain economic growth; the contribution to the reduction of poverty and inequality, seeking the offer of educational opportunity for all; and turn to the transformation of spending in education into educational outcomes. This conception is imbued with the Human Capital Theory by arguing that international research shows that Human Capital, when considered as the average schooling of the labor force, acts as a critical element for economic growth.

Frigotto (2009) warns against the false character of the legacy of economism, when it places education as a (human) capital engine of development and overcoming inequality between nations and between classes or social groups, without, however, modifying power relations and class (the circumstances) that produce inequality.

It is perceived that it is not a policy for education for all, but a social policy aimed at the immediate formation of labor in the perspective of employability³, without discussing the issue of employment, emphasizing the neoliberal practices based on the non-intervener State, encouraging the individuality and discourse of equal opportunities.

Lima (2012) warns us that the launch of Pronatec promoted the continuity of the policy of precariousness and adaptation of secondary technical training to the interests of capital, because, as analyzed,

PRONATEC is much more than the adaptation of PROUNI (University for All Program, which transfers public resources to private institutions through scholarships) for technical education. Law 12,513 / 2011 changed the settings of the FAT (Worker Support Fund), unemployment insurance, FIES (Higher Education Student Fund) and income transfer programs. Pronatec is the embodiment of UNESCO's recommendations that Latin American governments should use the 'S' System model for vocational training (Own translation)⁴.

One of the objectives of professional education, at all levels, refers to the development of a professional ability for the individual to act as a citizen within a socioeconomic context, generating income. However, even after being qualified, it faces a selective labor market, which demands more and more knowledge, skills and competences, which adds productivity gains to the company, without necessarily reflecting better wages for workers.

The technological leap, with a new stage of industrial development envisaged for Brazil, will only be possible with the change of the current model rooted in low-skilled work that generates high profits for the companies. It would be more pertinent a project that saw the importance of investment in skilled labor, with less greedy and more distributed profits, enabling equity and social insertion, without the need for compensatory policies of almost no return (CGEE, 2015b).

Conclusion

The data analyzed show that the offer of vocational education in the sphere of Pronatec had no impact on the supply of the formal jobs offered. In the period of analysis, vacancies remained open even with a large demand for (qualified) candidates submitted.

In Brazil, there were 9.4 million enrollments. In Cascavel, only between 2011 and 2015, 7 thousand people were trained. In the same period, 8 to 12 thousand jobs were offered by the Workers' Agency, and only an average of 3,680 of these were actually occupied. That is, more than 50% remained open, although 74% of them did not require professional experience.

This leads us to the understanding that the Program is characterized as a social policy for employability, with immediate training of labor, without discussing the issue of employment, strengthening the neoliberal precepts that encourage individuality and the discourse of equal opportunities.

Although advertised as a major investment in Vocational Education, as a lever of the country's economic and social development, most of the resources were invested in initial and continuing training courses, which serves the sectors of low quality, low technological content, and low wages, running counter to emerging production models on the world stage, contributing to long-term unemployment.

³ Here understood as Alberto's concept (2005), how to dequalify, requalify, update and reprofessionalize, so as to always be 'ready' to the new demands of production.

⁴ PRONATEC é muito mais do que a adaptação do PROUNI (Programa Universidade Para Todos, que transfere recursos públicos para instituições privadas, através de Bolsas) para o ensino técnico. A Lei 12.513/2011 alterou configurações do FAT (fundo de Amparo ao Trabalhador), do seguro desemprego, do FIES (Fundo de Financiamento do Estudante de Ensino Superior) e dos programas de transferências de renda. O Pronatec é a materialização das recomendações da UNESCO de que os governos da América Latina deveriam utilizar o modelo do Sistema 'S' para a formação profissional (Lima, 2012, p. 10).

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