

DOSSIER

Internationalization of educational policies within the framework of human rights

Youth and Adult Education Inc.: impacts from the global agenda in Espírito Santo, Brazil***Educação de Jovens e Adultos S/A: impactos da agenda global no Estado do Espírito Santo, Brasil***

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ABSTRACT

This text analyzes Youth and Adult Education (YAE) in the state of Espírito Santo (ES), from 2015 to 2018, within the context of a state that reworked its mandate (goals for education), redirected its capacity (financial and human resources) and reshaped its governance, including actors from both Civil and Political Society, interconnected to consolidate educational objectives within a global agenda (Dale, 2000, 2008). Methodologically, the study employed Documentary Research and Network Ethnography. The documents indicate changes in educational policy related to provision, financing and governance, and these changes have affected the offering and provision of YAE. Thus, we conclude that the mandate for the YAE aligns with hegemonic consensus, largely based on entrepreneurship and the policy of opportunity, while capacity development follows unclear paths and the new governance brings the YAE in ES closer to the global economic dynamics, impacting the right to education.

Keywords: Global Agenda. Youth and Adult Education. State. New Governance.

RESUMO

Este texto analisa a Educação de Jovens e Adultos (EJA) no Espírito Santo (ES), de 2015 a 2018, no contexto de um Estado que refaz seu mandato (objetivos para a educação), reconduz sua capacidade (os recursos financeiros e humanos) e reconfigura sua governança, composta por sujeitos da Sociedade Civil e da Sociedade Política, que se interconectam para consolidar os objetivos educacionais no contexto de uma agenda global (Dale, 2000, 2008). Metodologicamente, caminha-se pelas Pesquisa Documental e Etnografia de Redes. Os dados indicam mudanças na política educacional relacionadas com a provisão, o financiamento, a governabilidade, e que essas mudanças têm modificado a oferta e a provisão da EJA. Nesse sentido, as conclusões indicam que o mandato para a EJA se articula com consensos hegemônicos, pautados, a rigor, no empreendedorismo e na política da oportunidade, enquanto a capacidade caminha por vias nebulosas e a nova governança aproxima a EJA da dinâmica econômica global, causando impactos no direito à educação.

Palavras-chave: Agenda Global. EJA. Estado. Nova Governança.

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Introduction

This article, the result of a master's research¹, analyzes Youth and Adult Education (YAE) in the state of Espírito Santo (ES), Brazil, from 2015 to 2018. For this, the objectives for education (mandate), the resources to fulfill them (capacity) and the subjects involved in YAE (governance) were considered, as well as some implications that this new management might create towards the right to education.

We begin from the notion that, in the globalized world, Brazilian educational policies, despite local influences, follow the world capitalist economy, the driving force of globalization (Dale, 2004; Robertson; Dale, 2008). In this sense, an agenda is established to guide programs that change the models of provision, financing and governability (Bonal; Verger, 2016; Robertson; Verger, 2012), stimulating competition, accountability and opportunity, to the detriment of the guarantee of rights.

Right and opportunity (to education) are frequent concepts in the documents of international organizations (IOs) which, since the World Conference on Education for All, in Jomtien, Thailand have been established as policy influencers. Although they are not nation-states, these institutions are financial and, at the same time, political, since they act as banks and deal directly with government representatives, guiding changes for education in the world (Sassen, 2006).

However, such guidelines by themselves do not guarantee the success of policies. Cooperation with states is necessary, which has resulted in historical agreements between political and civil society in Brazil (Cunha, 2014). In the present, however, such agreements become so complex that, if they do not undo the public-private dichotomy, they obscure it to such an extent that it is difficult to identify who makes the decisions: the state or the institutions.

Such decisions refer, among other aspects, to changes in modes of production and consumption, the rollback of established rights and the construction of a state based on the culture of entrepreneurship. These changes affect school spaces, that is, the spaces of formation and legitimization of culture (Dale, 1994). Thus, we asked as Freire (2006; 2001) and Dale (2008; 2004) once did: which people learn which content? How, by whom, and for what purpose? Under which circumstances?

In the dialogue with these questions, we found the centerpiece of this article: how has YAE been conducted, considering the mandate, financial capacity and governance for education, and how does this impact the right to education? To debate this, the study was limited to the quadrennium 2015-2018, and the data produced and analyzed under a critical-analytical viewpoint, that is, the dialectical perspective with a focus on critical discourse analysis (Tello; Mainardes, 2015).

Thus, the text is organized into four parts. In the first, we present the basic concepts (globalization, structured agenda, mandate, capacity and governance) and the methodological path taken. In the second part, we describe how the YAE mandate in ES reconfigures governance by aligning with IOs. In the third, we analyze the governance of YAE in ES, focusing on the Center for Science and Distance Education of Rio de Janeiro (CECERJ), *Telefônica – Inspirare – Educadigital*, the

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Sedu Scholarship Program, and the implications for the right to education. Finally in the fourth part we address how such changes affect the right to education.

Global agenda: mandate, capacity and governance

In this part, we explore the following concepts: globalization, the globally structured agenda for education, mandate, capacity and governance, as developed by Dale (2004; 2008) and Robertson and Dale (2011; 2013). In addition, we explain our methodological path.

Globalization is a phenomenon with multiple meanings, greatly driven by the economic perspective of the central countries (Dale, 2008; Robertson; Dale, 2013). Although it also possesses cultural and political facets, it is “[...] a set of political-economic arrangements for the organization of the global economy, driven by the need to maintain the capitalist system rather than by any set of values” (Dale, 2004, p. 436), which, according to the authors, suggests the existence of a global agenda.

This agenda “is directed toward establishing more clearly the links between changes in the global economy and changes in educational policy and practice” (Dale, 2004, p. 441). In it, the central problems, which frame all components of the state, follow capitalist interests: “supporting the regime of accumulation, ensuring a context that does not inhibit its continuing expansion, and providing a basis of legitimation for the system as a whole” (Dale, 2004, p. 437). Thus, the global agenda implies the operation of supranational and transnational forces, that guide, induce and influence policymaking, so that global and national companies tune themselves to fulfill the structured dimension of the agenda in order to consolidate and maintain capitalism.

In this context, it is important to understand the concepts: mandate, capacity and governance. The mandate refers to policy objectives for education. Such objectives relate to the capacity of the state, that is, the feasibility of human and financial resources necessary to fulfill the mandate. They also relate to governance, that is, to the way the state organizes itself, in terms of educational policy (Dale; Robertson, 2012; Robertson; Dale, 2008). As such, mandate, capacity and governance have aligned with the agenda of market interests, so that global interests are recalibrated and redistributed in different geographic scales and proportions (Robertson; Dale, 2006).

Methodology

We conducted a thorough document review in order to articulate YAE in ES with all of these concepts. Shiroma, Campos and Garcia (2005) state that educational policy requires scrutinizing the documents referring to it in an attempt to find the said and the unsaid, compare the information, observe the lines, seek intertextualities, consider the purpose of the text and the context of production.

Considering this, the documents explored here come from official sources: publications in the Official Journal of the ES (DIO-ES), as well as plans for development, government and education (Espírito Santo, 2006; 2013; 2015). Unofficial sources were also used to produce the data, which

is why we also dialogue with network ethnography. Based on Ball (2014, p. 28), this methodology involves:

(...) extensive and exhaustive internet searches around particular edu-businesses, corporate and family philanthropies, philanthropists and philanthropically funded programmes – material ‘captured’ in this way includes web pages and documents, but also videos, *powerpoints*, *facebook pages and blogs and tweets*; interviews with some key edu-business people (...)

The participants of governance are seen as subjects, in the relational model of Marx (2004), since the articulations between the state and civil society intersect in interests. The State, on one hand, decentralized by the number of actors from the private sector, on the other, appears stronger and less democratic as it changes its way of acting and attacks rights.

The global agenda: the mandate for education and YAE

The logic of international proposals is instrumental to understand the mandate for education in Espírito Santo and its relationship with the global agenda. Therefore, this item describes brief international guidelines for educational policies in Brazil that are related to some programs developed in different departments of the state of ES, including education.

In general, the main stakeholders in education are the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and UNESCO. For the OECD, states must ensure the necessary resources for students to have equal opportunities to learn and succeed (OECD, 2018). For the World Bank, it is necessary to expand opportunities to raise the level of teachers and the quality of education over the next decade (Banco Mundial, 2014), a guideline reaffirmed in 2022 in the report: *Opportunities for All: Brazil Policy Notes* (Banco Mundial, 2022). The report from the World Conference on Education for All, in Jomtien, Thailand, led by the IOs, instruct that institutions should prepare people to be in positions to take advantage of educational opportunities, as well as for the construction of opportunities through productivity-led growth (UNESCO, 1990).

In all these orientations, the logic of opportunity is reaffirmed, which, intertwined with that of entrepreneurship, influences policies in the state of ES. In 2016, the governor met with the mayors to discuss “the importance of entrepreneurship and the use of new technologies” (Espírito Santo, 2016g, p. 3, own translation). That same year, the Social Occupation Program took action in vulnerable neighborhoods, offering “programs of art, sports, culture, leisure, professional training, entrepreneurship and education (Espírito Santo, 2016c, p. 3, own translation); the State Secretariat for Development trained recyclers through projects, fostering “the culture of entrepreneurship, both individual and collective, and also the defense of the environment [...]” (Espírito Santo, 2016d, p. 4, own translation); the Secretariats of Culture and Human Rights, appropriating the concepts of the creative economy, promoted entrepreneurship in programs for the socioeconomic and cultural inclusion of young people living in peripheral regions. (Espírito Santo, 2016e, p. 7). In addition, the Innovation Management Scholarship Program was launched, in order to “strongly stimulate

entrepreneurship in the *capixaba* public service” (Espírito Santo, 2017d, p. 100, own translation; *capixaba* is a demonym for the state of Espírito Santo).

In 2017, the governor stated: “the state is making investments in innovative public policies to improve people’s lives, (...) such as *Escola Viva* and *Pacto pela Aprendizagem* (...), which stimulate the culture of entrepreneurship and seek to take young people away from violence” (Espírito Santo, 2017a, p. 4, own translation). Similarly, the Secretary of Education stated: “students in the state public network will develop entrepreneurship in schools” (Espírito Santo, 2016h, p. 3, own translation). For this, the state has implemented the project *Educação Empreendedora* (or Entrepreneurial Education), for which more than 900 students would input their entrepreneurial life projects on the digital platform *Dreamshaper*, with the support of teachers (Espírito Santo, 2016h). Not even the students selected for the Student Exchange Program were exempt. They were instructed to share the experiences of their trip, developing “a project related to citizenship, sociocultural differences and similarities, the environment, innovation, globalization, entrepreneurship with social responsibility” (Espírito Santo, 2016f, p. 35, own translation).

Such policies reaffirm the mandate for education: to train citizens able to maintain themselves in the midst of technological advances, employability and changes in the law, considered too rigid for the needs of the century. But what has this logic triggered in YAE? Several modifications that, to be understood, make it necessary to resume the history of the modality in the state of ES.

In this context, the proposals for the YAE have changed over the years. In 2003, the program *Alfabetização é um Direito* (“Literacy is a Right”), whose objective was to reduce the illiteracy rate by 30% between 2004 and 2008, put the state and civil society in dialogue with research groups from the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES). At that time, the intention was to expand YAE, offering it in different places, through non-governmental institutions (Oliveira, 2004).

With the understanding that the state is responsible for YAE, the idea of supply by informal institutions was overcome, but this understanding was not enough to win the historical struggles around the modality, and the public-private relationship became complex, changing the role of the state. Fraga (2017) identifies this change, especially in relation to policy making strongly influenced by the IOs and the hegemonic civil society. As a result, new governance relationships emerge that involve the participation of various subjects in planning and strategies for education, evidencing the reconfiguration of state institutions to the detriment of the educational right to be guaranteed through YAE.

In the ES 2025 Development Plan (Espírito Santo, 2006), for example, the goal for YAE is “to expand the offer of adult education, aimed at people over 18 years of age, in situations of social vulnerability, who wish to complete elementary or secondary education” (Espírito Santo, 2006, p. 93, own translation). In the 2030 Development Plan, however, the goal is to “foster the expansion of YAE integrated into the continuing education process that enables the new realities of the professional world, in continuous change” (Espírito Santo, 2013, p. 159, own translation).

This change in direction, from broadening to fostering, should be analyzed considering the text’s context of production, which is shortly after the validation of the National Education Plan, PNE 2014-2024. In this sense, the state document alludes to the strategy of “institutionalizing programs

and developing technologies for flow correction, for individualized pedagogical accompaniment and for partial recovery and progression [...]” (Brasil, 2015, own translation).

Such a reference is also seen in the ESP strategy 9.16, which proposes to: “[...] qualify youth and adult education centers, with the use of innovative pedagogical methodologies, modernization of the technological structure and guarantee of accessibility” (Espírito Santo, 2015, p. 7, own translation). In this goal, although the terms for “digital learning” and “blended learning” do not appear, the use of new methodologies was consolidated in two ways in the state of ES: by the blended learning model, implemented throughout the network in 2017 (Baptista, 2022), and by nucleated YAE, a substitute for night teaching in several schools. In other words, the semantic shift, from broadening to fostering, represented the change in mandate for YAE. With this, the state, through blended YAE and nucleation, becomes a promoter of expansion, as the blended model promotes unlimited access of students, from various communities, without expanding the number of shifts, classes and schools.

In this fostering package, the culture of entrepreneurship is added, indicated in the YAE guidelines:

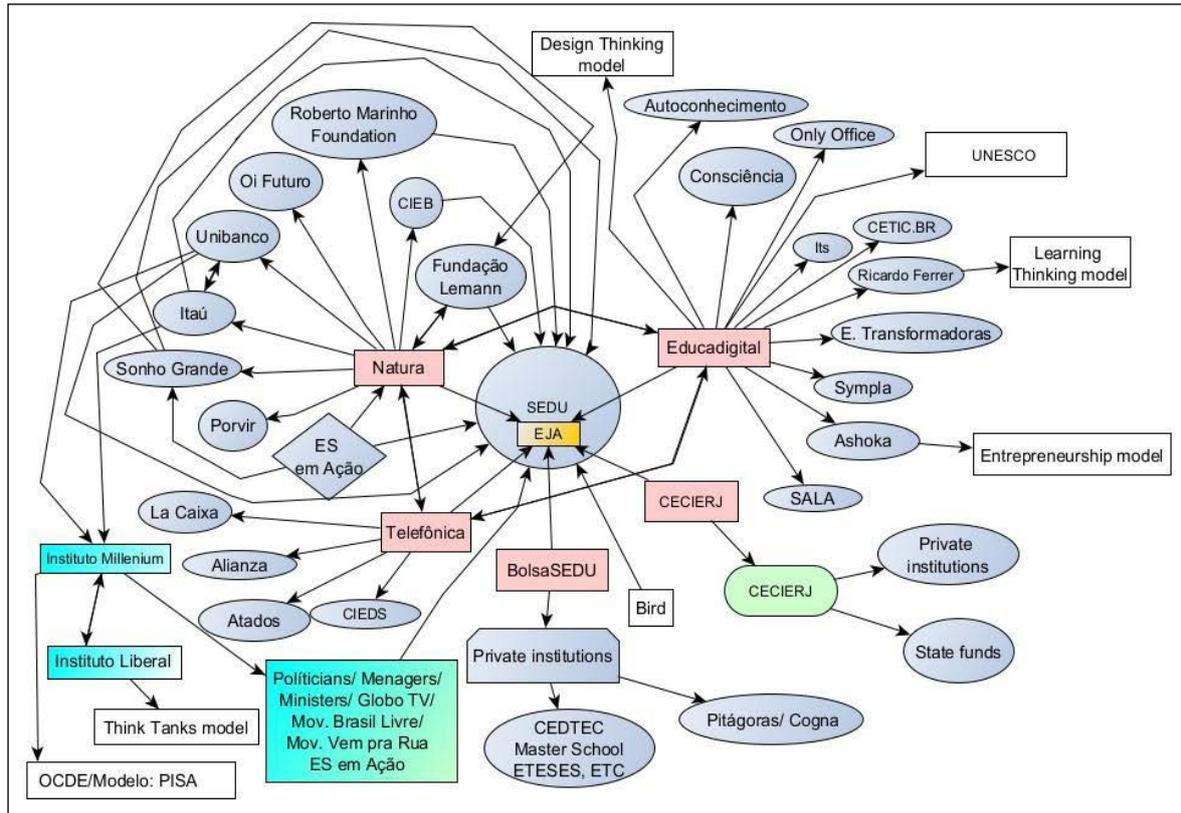
To achieve these educational purposes, and meet the training needs of students, [the program seeks to prepare them] to be entrepreneurs in the face of social and economic challenges including the labor market, [...] considering the difficulties of young and adult students [...] (Espírito Santo, 2016a, p. 3-4, own translation).

This fragment, in dialogue with the aforementioned texts, confirms the mandate to form entrepreneurial citizens who survive the social and economic challenges imposed on the 21st century, aligning it with international guidelines. What, then, was demanded to fulfill the mandate? The reconfiguration of governance, according to the interests that redirect the capacity of resources, human and financial.

Espírito Santo Inc.: new governance and capacity for education

The documents found confirm the new educational governance. In it, diverse subjects, but with concomitant interests, are intertwined in a complex way, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Governance of education in the ES



Source: Espírito Santo (2015-2018e)

This governance seeks to fulfill the educational mandate to concretize, in a political and sociocultural way, capitalism and its needs. In this sense, globalization occurs not only as an external phenomenon, but in the sphere of subnational units, (Dale, 2004; 2008). One example is the Natura Institute *Inspirare*, which has partnerships with Unibanco, Roberto Marinho Foundation and Lemann Foundation, four institutions that are related to the ES educational policy, acting, especially, in full-time schools.

In general, they act in the direction-execution of policies because education remains public, but internally it becomes private. In other words, the public-private dichotomy becomes too limited to express the complex conjuncture of the reconfigured State (Dale, 1994), since it is not about the private sector acting only in the direction of public policies, nor does it mean that they act in execution; it is about the intertwining of the typologies direction and execution, aiming to fulfill the international agenda and the interests of globalization (Peroni, 2020).

This new governance also affects YAE, as shown in the table below:

Table 1: institutions linked to the YAE of the ES

INSTITUTION	PRACTICE	GOALS
CECIERJ	Digital YAE	To conduct online enrollment, organize school documentation, didactic material, videos, online classrooms, online and face-to-face care, teacher publications and evaluation results.
1- Instituto Natura <i>Inspirare</i> ; 2 - Fundação Telefônica/Vivo; 3 - Instituto <i>Educadigital</i>	Digital Interactive Curriculum (CID)	To support students in the reinforcement of their studies, assist teachers in the planning and enrichment of classes and, also, to make themselves available to parents who wish to accompany their children's education.
Fundação Telefônica/Vivo	Teacher training	To train teachers through virtual courses.
Private institutions of the ES	Bolsa SEDU Program	To provide access to health and industry courses for public school students.
<i>Spreading</i>	Volunteer work in education	To strengthen the bond of the school with the family and the community, qualifying the learning processes, focusing on improving learning and reducing dropout and school evasion.
Google for Education	Teaching by virtual means	Make Google tools available to teachers and students.

Source: Diários Oficiais do ES; Secretaria da Educação do ES. Prepared by the authors, 2021.

Some of the institutions presented in the table deserve to be highlighted.

The CECIERJ Foundation

The first of these is the Center for Science and Distance Higher Education of the state of Rio de Janeiro (CECIERJ). With operations in distance education, social pre-entrance exams, extension courses, continuing education and distance education in Rio de Janeiro, the Foundation signed an agreement with the state of ES in 2016, contributing to the mandate of innovating YAE. The innovations included “a virtual environment customized for the YAE audience, with dialogical language and adapted to autonomous study” (Espírito Santo, 2016i, p. 3, own translation).

Such an environment still serves the Centers and Nuclei of YAE that, even with distinct nomenclatures, work with similar methodologies. From the enrollment, the student accesses the didactic material in a virtual environment or receives a paper handbook in the center or in the nucleus. With the handbook, the student can study by itself, but still seek the teacher for questions before taking the exams, in person.

The agreement with CECIERJ stands out for its peculiarity. The foundation is public because it is linked to the State Secretariat of Science, Technology and Innovation of Rio de Janeiro (SECTI). However, since it became regulated by complementary Law No. 103/2002, its revenues, as shown in the Rio de Janeiro document (2002, p. 3), come from:

- I – allocations and revenues designated in the budgets of the Union, the State, and the Municipalities;
- II – allocations from special program funds;
- III – aid or subsidies from Powers, agencies, public or private entities, regardless of their nationality;
- IV – income earned from the provision of services and other productive activities;
- V – fees and charges;
- VI – other income intended for the achievement of its purposes, as well as from intellectual property.

Its financial capacity, therefore, comes from public power and private institutions, which, in turn, are interested in deducting taxes. Among the funders are: the *Universidade Aberta do Brasil*, the BNDES and the Carlos Chagas Filho Foundation for research support of the state of Rio de Janeiro (FAPERJ), which works to raise funds through national and international agreements, as pointed out by Freire, D. (2013, p. 65, own translation):

CECERJ is responsible for financial management. The budget of the Government of the state of Rio de Janeiro is destined to the institution, to put into operation the various processes necessary for the operationalization of CEDERJ, in addition to the Foundation's own processes. Among them are the payment of scholarships to teachers at the participating universities who work with the distance courses, the payment of some of the tutors, the equipment, operationalization of the regional poles in spaces provided by the prefectures, the assembly of didactic material prepared by teachers from the participating universities.

Implementing educational platforms generally requires substantial expenditures. For example, data from a 2014 procurement session for purchasing computers and printers for CECERJ in Rio de Janeiro estimated a total cost of BRL103,290.93 (Rio de Janeiro, 2015). Additionally, in 2015, the licensing costs for Windows 8 and Office 2010 software for the foundation amounted to BRL 169,000 (Rio de Janeiro, 2015).

This amount does not provide insight into capacity, but while not excessive, it highlights the substantial resources allocated to education, often involving diverted public funds. In 2017, the Public Prosecutor's Office of Rio de Janeiro exposed a corruption scheme involving Rio de Janeiro politicians and state-affiliated companies, including those associated with CECERJ. This complicates the study of capacity significantly.

In the state of ES, the partnership with the Center generally did not affect the State Treasury, but it did occur exceptionally when the mandate for YAE included "the universalization of access to Information Technology and the expansion of the educational offer for young people and adults in conditions of high vulnerability that will reinforce the fight against the causes of poverty" (Espírito Santo, 2006, p. 52, own translation). Thus, such an agreement took place when technology was already advancing over educational policies, often used to correct the flow and accelerate the access of underperforming students to certification, as explained by strategy 8.1 of the 2015-2025 State Education Plan (PEE), which was directed at YAE and consisted of:

Offering programs and technologies for flow correction, for individualized pedagogical accompaniment and for partial recovery and progression, as well as to privilege students with lagging school performance, [considering] the specificities of the population segments considered (Espírito Santo, 2015, p. 7, own translation):

For the correction, the individualized pedagogical process was emphasized, which was subverted according to the mandate of the Entrepreneurial State. This method differs from personalized follow-up, which should occur with technological help and production of material according to the student's reality, respecting knowledge and learning time. Rather, such accompaniment holds students accountable, as if they were "self-made".

Despite this, the state of ES was awarded for innovations in 2018. The expansion of YAE nuclei showed that investment in blended YAE was the chosen path to fulfill the mandate and educational agenda. The characteristics of this agenda, when embodied through the encouragement of entrepreneurship, individualization, accountability and supposed flexibility, changed the ethos of YAE as well as the role of the state, which followed supranational directions to fulfill the mandate for education, since it considers the school as a place of cultural legitimation. With this change, the forms of appropriation of knowledge have also changed. Teachers did not have daily contact with students or peers. Thus, other subjects strengthened themselves as spreaders of science, bolstered by virtual routes.

A study by Robertson (2007) on technology in the classroom showed that new technologies challenge the teacher, alter the dynamics of the classroom, redistribute knowledge, reorganize learning spaces and insert a new pedagogical logic, as other subjects enter the scene.

In the case of YAE in ES, information technology has also changed other issues, in addition to those pointed out by Robertson. The classroom, previously merely a receiver of technology, has been modified into a private space, and this topographic change favored the total loss of control of access by students who, to filter information from the internet, ought to have digital education in the curriculum.

Finally, the promotion of blended learning, mediated by CECIERJ, remade the dialogical processes between state and citizen, between students and their peers and between students and the world. The state turned the teacher into a tutor. With this, teaching was re-signified, as teachers do not participate in the selection and production of didactic material nor can they evaluate students progressively, but only by tests, while the student remakes the relationship with the school and with learning.

In this process, education has not disappeared, as it is permanent, unfinished and each person builds knowledge according to the time and the environment in which it is inserted, as Freire (2006) and Paiva (2012) remind us. What has changed is the way we carry it out. In this context, the ongoing changes that affect the relationships between individuals and the educational environment (such as between students and teachers, and students and knowledge) necessitate revisiting Freire's and Dale's fundamental questions: Who is being taught what? How is teaching conducted? By whom, and for what purpose?

The responses indicate that YAE students are taught in a distanced way, through a state aligned with the private sector, which holds the subjects responsible for learning. This state changes the functions previously exclusive to the public sector, such as the provision and financing of education. In short, the Sedu-CECIERJ relationship is summarized as follows: the state provides local and teachers, and CECIERJ participates in enrollment and methodology, providing didactic material.

The foundation, however, is not the only governance member for the YAE. Other subjects are interconnected to the modality, such as Natura and Telefônica, which work in the digital interactive curriculum (CID).

The digital interactive curriculum (CID)

The digital interactive curriculum (CID) is a free, public domain platform offered by the state of ES since 2016. With its digital resources, the platform seeks to help students in their studies and assist teachers in planning, thus enriching classes. It is also available to parents and family members who want to monitor their children's school performance and has the collaboration of Google for Education, Mecflix, the Geogebra platform, the Futura broadcaster, Hora do ENEM and TV Escola Sedu Digit@l.

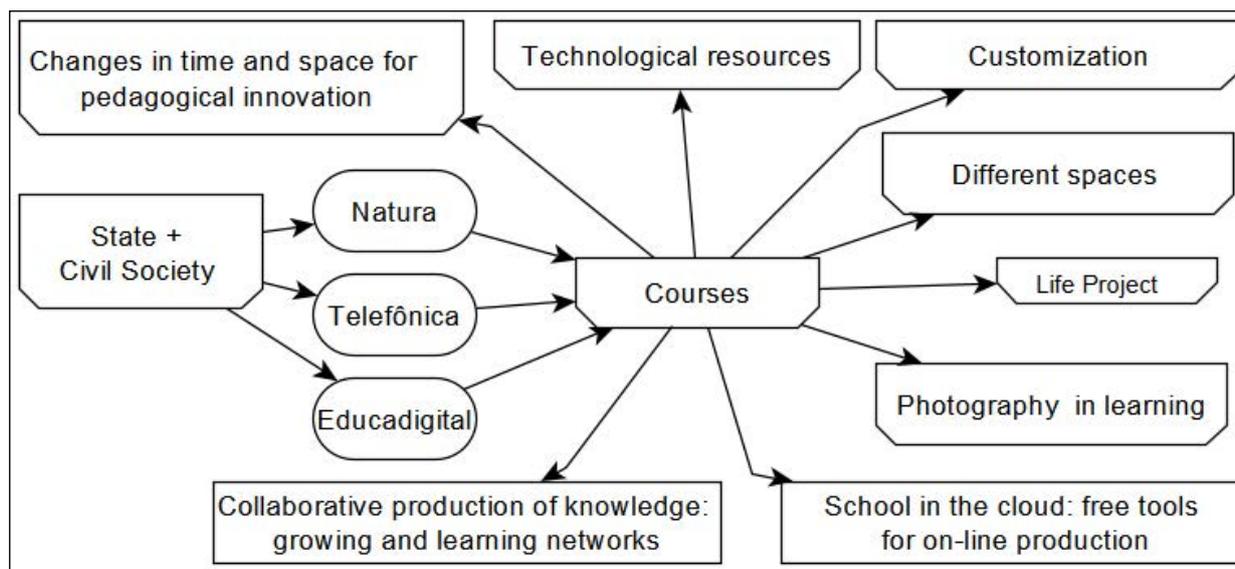
The creation of the platform involved the following private institutions: the *Inspirare* institution, *Educadigital* and the Vivo Telefônica Foundation, in addition to subjects interconnected with other institutions. The *Inspirare*, from Natura Cosméticos, partnered with the Federal Government in 2013 for the development of the Escola Digital website, which contains more than 1,200 pedagogical tools. As it was redesigned in 2015, Telefônica Vivo, Instituto Natura and Instituto *Inspirare* took over the platform.

Until its spread to more than 15 Brazilian states, the CID had various participants, including educational technicians from the secretariats. Some partners were the Innovation Center for Brazilian Education (CIEB) and the Porvir Foundation, both managed by Natura and education partners at ES; the Aprender Foundation; Lemann and Faz Sentido (this resulting from the partnership between Natura, Unibanco and the Tellus Agency). Tellus acts as a technology support agency, as well as a school and an institute for innovation in public services. In 2017, Aprender was incorporated, through the Porvir Foundation, standing out in the market among entrepreneurs and educators and, later, *Educadigital* joined the team of collaborators (Instituto Natura, 2016).

Despite this diversity of subjects working to offer content to all students and teachers, the CID should be analyzed in the context in which it was implemented in the ES and in the light of the epistemology of this work. The aforementioned curriculum began when the state, in its mandate, sought to stimulate autonomous study and innovate the pedagogical process. Therefore, the platform and, more specifically, the previously mentioned subjects are part of the new governance designated to fulfill the mandate for education in the ES.

But how did the three main subjects of the CID, Natura, Telefônica and Educadigital corroborate the mandate, in addition to this curriculum? The Sedu Digit@l-2018 Activity Bulletin gives us some clues. According to the document, the state offered 43 courses to teachers in the range from 2016 to 2018. The courses were related to temporal-spatial changes, entrepreneurial culture, technological innovation, differentiated spaces and the life project, leaving pertinent issues such as critical education and digital education in the background, as shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2: Courses offered by the state



Source: Prepared by the authors (2021) from Action Bulletin, Espírito Santo (2018c).

Continuous education, in this sense, turned to training offered by the third sector. Some of them were promoted by the *Escolas Conectadas* program in partnership with *Profuture*, an institute led by Telefônica Vivo in partnership with Fundação La Caixa, both active in distance education (Fundação La Caixa, 2024). In all, 26,083 professionals participated in the courses, with the Pedro Antônio Vitalli YAE Center, in Colatina, ES, being one of the schools with more participation.

There is a significant change in the perspective of education and training. Defended by subjects who, together with the state, contributed to the configuration of a new management, this perspective is evidenced in the speech of the representative of one of the subjects linked to the training program: “when computers arrived in schools, our intention was to educate for the use of technologies; today, we use technologies to educate” (Espírito Santo, 2017c, p. 7, own translation).

In summary, the courses in Figure 2 represent changes in state in relation to strength and consensus. In other words, the State reconfigured the way teacher training is conducted, shifting from in-person to virtual, and gradually, the opinion that training sessions should be held on-line grew stronger. While teachers appreciate the convenience of virtual courses, they also find their free time increasingly consumed by the overwhelming amount of training.

With this, two possibilities arise: there was a risk that face-to-face formative meetings would disappear, or return in full force, if overexposure to the virtual caused the opposite effect and people demanded that all meetings be face-to-face. For the time being, the semi-presential model of meetings found the interests of the large capitalist corporations and the new way of doing politics. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the reference company in mobile telephony, ultra-speed broadband and pay TV promotes the model that demands the devices they sell.

The question, therefore, is more complex than it seems.

The Bolsa SEDU Program

Moving from large corporations to institutions that operate at the subnational level, we analyze the Bolsa SEDU Program, whose objective was “to expand the offer of professional education in technological axes in the area of Industry and Health, in a joint action with private schools [...]” (Espírito Santo, 2017e, p. 44, own translation).

Offered in 2016 and 2018, the program was characterized by the purchase of places in private institutions based in the state of ES. In 2016, the state bought 440 places for technical courses. They were awarded to students by a selective process considering “the grades of the annual result in the subjects Portuguese Language, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology, referring to the 2015 school year, or to the last year attended by the candidate” (Espírito Santo, 2016j, p. 3, own translation). All high school graduates, as well as those in Integrated Professional Education, YAE, and all Enem graduates (a standardized national exam for high school students) could compete for places in six municipalities in Espírito Santo, in 2016, and in eight, in the year 2018.

While the program facilitated the student’s entry into the labor market, it also integrated various civil society actors into the new educational governance during two distinct economic periods: growth (2007 to 2010) and crisis (2015 to 2018). The most fruitful of these periods for the program was the second; that is, while economic crisis ravaged the country, the state strengthened private institutions, leveraging private school enrollment. During this period, for example, the state paid the Eireli Educational Center, the Premier Aracruz Ltda Technical School., and to the Eteses, the total value of BRL 14,065,228.80 BRL 15,598,982.40 and BRL 6,950,016.00, respectively, in 2018 (Peterle; Lima, 2017).

These payments, in addition to guaranteeing tuition fees, show how complex the state’s financial capacity is, which raises at least three questions: Why were such amounts not invested in teachers and vocational education provided by the state itself? How much did the benefited companies profit and how much of that profit returned to the state to apply in public policy? Are the state or companies benefiting most from these agreements?

These questions, although answerless, provoke us to reflect on the politics of opportunity, aligned with the issue of gratuitousness. While the student benefits from seemingly free courses, but with limited spots, the opportunity policy is reinforced, and those who do not seize the given opportunity are held accountable, as they either did not deserve it or did not put an effort to obtain it.

A reflection of this logic is the closure of YAE units in the ES. While the purchase of places increased during the Bolsa Sedu Program, the supply of high schools, vocational education, YAE and rural education decreased due to class closures and defunding in education. (Lima, Peterle, 2021). In full-time schools, for example, YAE has practically disappeared, following the national movement to defund the modality.

In this meritocratic policy, the school remakes, at the subnational level, the more competitive global scenario of the labor market. The program, seen under this logic, can create a desperate

workforce, rather than a reserve army of labor, as competition increases. As a result, increased competition can lead to lower wages, making working conditions precarious.

The program, in this sense, represents the logic of the state that is aligned with the package of international guidelines, and the documents of the Court of Auditors of Espírito Santo prove this. The program appears as a strategy for education in the Audit and Monitoring Report (2018d) and the Management Manual (2017b), which praise the International Student Assessment Program (PISA) and highlight Brazil's disappointing 53rd position in the world ranking in education. Some improvements worth mentioning are:

Curricular restructuring; reading, writing and counting; expansion of elementary education from 8 to 9 years; correction of grade age distortion; good practices in education award; financing of learning projects; digital classroom; more time in school; expansion of the offer of professional education in all modalities – SEDU professional education scholarship (Espírito Santo, 2010, n.p, own translation).

However, meeting these targets aligned with external guidelines has directly impacted the right to education, which we highlight alongside the considerations of this article.

Considerations on changes in the YAE and implications for the right to education in the period 2015-2018

During the study period, the analyzed data confirm the alignment of the YAE with international objectives, and that this approximation does not occur unilaterally, only due to external orientations. It occurs through complex connections between transnational, national and subnational forces. However, the point of convergence is that of hegemonic consensus, which makes globalization an internal phenomenon, by stimulating the culture of opportunity, in non-compliance with the guarantee of the right.

In this sense, the mandate for YAE in the ES has its meaning changed to promote blended learning. Through this model, the number of students can be increased, reducing the number of teachers and the number of schools. This represents changes in relation to the right to education, in that the right is supposedly guaranteed, since the offer of blended YAE is now concentrated in urban regions. As such, these changes hold individuals responsible for failure, when in fact failure is caused by diverse elements and often created by the state itself. In this way, the state modifies its policymaking without solving chronic issues.

Addressing this issue is not straightforward, but it undoubtedly involves building counter-hegemonic consensus to ensure the right to education and support the critical development of students. The YAE teacher can think about such positions when evaluating and asking questions. While technology is not a problem by itself, its resources should be used as a means for the digital education of students. In relation to the Bolsa Sedu, the teacher must create the culture of consistent education, leading students to reflect on how fast certification is insufficient. Although they introduce students to the world of work, such scholarships should propel them to in-depth studies, ensuring the right to study.

We find it significant that the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES) is absent from state governance, as its involvement could enhance opportunities without compromising the right to education. Given that many of the education technicians in Espírito Santo's secretariats are from UFES, we question why this partnership is not more actively pursued. Are these intellectuals truly advancing the right to education, or are they constrained by larger interests? Is there a broader issue with intellectual engagement that needs to be addressed?

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