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Movimentos extremistas nas escolas e a educação contra a barbárie

Extremist movements in schools and education against barbarism

Movimientos extremistas en las escuelas y educación contra la barbarie



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Resumo: Ultimamente, com o fortalecimento da extrema-direita no Brasil, frequentes manifestações antidemocráticas de jovens estudantes das escolas privadas têm preocupado educadores. Tendo em vista as condições objetivas favoráveis ao agravamento do “clima autoritário”, na sociedade, perguntamos: até que ponto as escolas, que deveriam prezar pela formação e resistência dos sujeitos contra a barbárie, ao se calcarem em um modelo de educação que prima pela competição, força e frieza, não estariam promovendo o seu contrário com o concomitante esvaziamento de espaços formativos emancipatórios? O objetivo é discutir os elementos envolvidos nestes fenômenos sociais irracionais _ as regressões psíquicas presentes nestes atos _, com base nos escritos de Adorno, Horkheimer e Marcuse acerca da sociedade administrada em suas dimensões psicossociais. Tais contradições têm incidências nas relações escolares e nas agendas educacionais pautadas na lógica da racionalidade tecnocrática que incentivam o autoritarismo.

Palavras-chave: Sociedade administrada. Racionalidade tecnológica. Tendências antidemocráticas. Educação e barbárie.

Abstract: With the recent strengthening of right-wing extremism in Brazil, the frequent appearance of antidemocratic manifestations by young students in private schools has worried teachers and educationists. Considering the objective and favorable conditions to the worsening of society's 'authoritarian atmosphere', one may ask: to what extent schools, which should value the formation and resistance of subjects to barbarism by basing themselves on an educational model that fosters competition, strength, and coldness, would be promoting its very opposite by the concurrent depletion of emancipatory formative spaces? The purpose here is to discuss the elements involved in these irrational phenomena – the psychic regressions in this way of acting – based on the writings of Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse about the administered society in its psychosocial dimensions. Such contradictions fall upon school relations and educational agendas tabled by the logic of technocratic rationality, which encourages authoritarianism.

Keywords: Administered society. Technological rationality. Antidemocratic tendencies. Education and barbarism.

Resumen: Recientemente, con el fortalecimiento de la extrema derecha en Brasil, las frecuentes manifestaciones antidemocráticas de jóvenes estudiantes en las escuelas públicas han preocupado a los educadores. En vista de las condiciones objetivas favorables al agravamiento del "clima autoritario" en la sociedad, preguntamos: ¿hasta qué punto la escuela, que debería valorar la formación y la resistencia de los sujetos a la barbarie, al basarse en un modelo de educación que destaca por la competencia, la fuerza y la frialdad, no estaría promoviendo su contrario con el

concomitante vaciamiento de espacios formativos emancipadores? El objetivo acá es discutir los elementos implicados en estos fenómenos irracionales – las regresiones psíquicas presentes en estos actos – basándose en los escritos de Adorno, Horkheimer y Marcuse sobre la sociedad administrada en sus dimensiones psicosociales. Tales contradicciones inciden en las relaciones escolares y en las agendas educativas basadas en la lógica del rendimiento y en la racionalidad tecnocrática, que fomentan el autoritarismo.

Palabras clave: Sociedad administrada. Racionalidad tecnológica. Tendencias antidemocráticas. Educación y barbarie.

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Recently, Brazilian researchers organized the document **“Report. Ultra conservatism and Far-Right Extremism Among Adolescents and Youth in Brazil: Attacks on Educational Institutions and Alternatives for Governmental Action”** (Cara, 2022, our translation). The report aims to collect data on violent attacks organized by students with fascist motivations in schools in the last few years. The objective is to elaborate effective prevention and combat policies for such violence types. Along with the attacks, there is a record of anti-democratic activities from private school teenagers who glorify nazist symbols and ideas of xenophobic, sexist, and racist nature against minorities. In addition to disclosing extremist activities in schools in several Brazilian States, the research aims to propose subsidies to tackle regressive movements through specific governmental initiatives.

Moreover, the intense social relapse concerning the previous Brazilian government's educational program aligns with other obscurantist policies that contributed to diminishing school relationships of emancipatory nature, promoting persecution among society and supporting barbarism in Brazilian education - the *Escola Sem Partido* proposition [Non-Partisan School], the militarization of schools, the reactionary discourse of ‘gender ideology’ and the reduction of Humanities subjects from the curriculum are examples. The authoritarian social scenery was favorable to acts of violence and minority persecution, whose social rights are entrenched in the Democratic State

and became endangered due to reactionary policies. The propositions come from the far-right parliamentary group to satisfy the demands of financial elites and the business sector, inflaming hatred against the poor and marginalized among the Brazilian middle classes.

We also observed in the report a concern over social media networks that aim to recruit teenagers in schools. These networks' purpose is the dissemination of neo-Nazi ideals, considering that, with continuous exposure to extremist content, the teenagers themselves could contribute to recruiting friends and colleagues, becoming active agents in the process (Cara, 2022, p. 18, our translation)

While significant, the influence of extremist audiovisual content on adolescents embracing fascist ideals does not address the issue from the broader picture, which includes the authoritarian tendencies of our social structure and culture. The structural conditions impact the prevailing mindset aligned with the spirit of the time and characterized by totalitarian features, namely: a mindset that reproduces stereotypes and clichés of what our hierarchical and unequal society demands of subjects for social adjustment, without critique, the structure of current social relationships founded on extreme competitiveness and fragmentation of individuals, fragilized by the threat of unemployment and economic pressure.

In that sense, the research analysis lacks addressing the persistent violence in schools, a reflection of the social

system and its contradictions. We highlight the authoritarian and destructive features of the educational model, currently glorified in schools, disguised by the pedagogical rhetoric of “competencies” based on the discourses about new technologies and academic counseling, sold as synonyms of “quality education” (Catini, 2019, our translation).

Academic relationships centered on competition (continuously more intense in contemporary capitalism) reproduce social violence while adopting pedagogical projects that fulfill ultraliberal reforms, thus, damaging democratic educational principles and perpetuating an exclusionary environment. Therefore, educational institutions become favorable to resentment between their peers when founded on propositions aligned with the market’s economic logic and the emphasis on education for work. These concepts take part in the business logic transported to the educational scenery: classes on entrepreneurship, financial education, and the socio-emotional program - when taking curriculum space, these subjects highlight the individual responsibility for academic success.

In this scenario, we emphasize the authoritarianism spread throughout society as the backdrop for extremist student movements nowadays. The growth of the far-right in Brazil enabled hate speech and terrorist mobilization from groups motivated by digital militias in Jair Bolsonaro’s government.

Adorno (2020) warned that the survival of fascist elements in democracy was more alarming than the continuity of fascist tendencies against democracy. He added that objective fascist tendencies still exist within culture: “Barbarism will continue to exist as long as the fundamental conditions that generate this regression persist” (Adorno, 2020, p. 129, our translation). The fundamental conditions discussed by Adorno are related to the analysis made by authors of Critical Theory about the transformations of liberal capitalism in the face of monopolies and their totalitarian and administrative expansion, which use multiple control mechanisms in the private sphere domain. It acts through technological development with an irrational purpose (reproduction of society's inequality) and directly employs violence against the oppressed to guarantee their particular class interests.

The industrial elites and entrepreneurs most benefited from totalitarian regimes. In our social context, that is, the affinity of Brazilian society with authoritarianism. The Military Dictatorship left residues in our democracy with their method of practicing politics, still controlled by the elite and groups who were privileged during such regime; they still rule our country: those from agribusiness, the banking system, and international capital.

Even with historical disparities, Horkheimer's (2012) diagnosis of the connection of capitalism to authoritarian features of the state apparatus is pertinent. The developments of the 20th century enabled the emergence of

national socialism, which aimed to amplify the social power of dominant groups through more violent and direct mechanisms of domination over the masses: “Whoever doesn’t want to discuss capitalism should also remain silent about fascism” (Horkheimer, 2012, p. 4, our translation).

In a different context, we extracted connections between the particular features of authoritarian populist politics and other shapes of authoritarianism from Horkheimer’s analysis of ‘concessions to barbarism’. Capital has the increasing tendency to weaken individuals’ force of resistance and exacerbate the sense of powerlessness in the dissolution of more critical and challenging formative prospects. The anonymous force of the productive system continuously invades the cultural formation and education areas.

Within the proposed theme, the concentration of economic power by a few in Brazil is responsible for guaranteeing institutional and judiciary conditions for free interference in destructing the Welfare State. Not only does the growth of far-right parties explain the spread of anti-democracy acts (in fact, worldwide), intensifying authoritarian culture, but we should also consider the protagonism of the recurring technocratic entrepreneurship discourse in educational propositions and curricula. This situation satisfies the goal of submitting education to the capital, an ambition of the entrepreneur elite engaged in educational reforms. These ultraliberal educational models, connected to ultra-conservatism on different levels, need

problematization and examination in the face of their contributions to a social environment favorable to fascist movements and the ideologic aspects of the widely spread idea of 'individual worth'.

We accentuate that in the last few years, since the protests of July 2013, the far-right advanced in Brazil supported by the collusion between wealth-hoarding oligopolies (in ideologic defense of neoliberal politics) and religious conservative groups, in addition to low-ranking military in politics (Rocha, 2021, our translation). The project of expanding education privatization, and other sectors, escalated the empowerment of Jair Messias Bolsonaro, fulfilling the interest of the financial elite in Brazil. Thus, the anti-intellectual movements, scientific denialism, historical revisionism, defense of traditional family values, censorship of educators, and corporate-backed educational projects are aligned with the same authoritarian societal perspective, considering they join the new right-wing to guarantee privileges for economic elites (Catini, 2019, our translation).

The particularities and similarities between such phenomena supported the construction of Brazilian neofascism. Ultrareactionary worldviews and reform propositions constitute far-right manipulation propaganda toward the masses, with the latter reflecting business rationality as an administrative practice in state sectors. Within a violent logic of politics, they outline and encourage the sentiment of social catastrophe.

Furthermore, the psychological traits of students predisposed to engage in such forms of aggression, aligned with Nazi invectives (peaking in cruelty and acts of destruction towards discrimination victims), evidently require examination; its connection to family relationships and unconscious psychic conflicts also needs careful consideration.

The Institute of Social Research held studies on the authoritarian personality and anti-semitic mentality in Europe and the United States from the 1930s until the post-war period. These studies expose pertinent data and analysis to understand such issues, supported by connections between psychoanalysis and social theory. *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al., 2019), through socially oriented psychology, studies personalities propelled to adopt totalitarianism and thoughtlessly adapt to authoritarian collectivism. These personalities clarify the characteristics of the “manipulative character” (Adorno, 2020, our translation), people susceptible to stereotyped mindsets, incapable of ‘spontaneous human connections’ or closed to new experiences when in contact with diverse cultural ranges.

The research’s psychological moment is relevant. Thus, the personality structure indicates the “fascist type” of manipulative character. However, Adorno (2020) called the misjudgment of considering such a structure immutable, overlooking the impacts of upbringing within a societal model throughout civilization. As per Adorno, the

sustenance of totalitarian regimes depends on suitable psychological aspects, even with objective causes. Our analysis requires verifying to what extent persecution and hostility toward the most vulnerable within schools reflect social violence. In addition to indicating fantasies and psychological conflicts of the subjects involved, we must consider other factors that contribute to the complexity of teenagers' anti-democratic manifestations.

The context of administered society results from the prioritization of competition in the educational environment, demand for unmeasured sacrifices for high performance, the Brazilian political context with extreme right-wing in the spotlight, and Neo-nazi networks spreading through social media. In this context, youth could identify with such ideas to express their anguish and protect themselves from subjective and objective powerlessness, adhering to the promoted ideals of 'virile,' 'strong,' and 'transgressive' individuals. The connection with these ideals impacts the narcissistic register of the youth, creating an illusionary sentiment of omnipotence.

Moreover, in an increasingly unequal and irrational society, the perspective of knowledge as mere "exchange value" or "private good" is purposed by educational policies that condition education to market-driven perceptions. This perspective corroborates the destruction of consciousness among developing individuals, submitting them to unbearable suffering and pressure, which schools incorporate within their relationships, educational plans,

and goals - aligned with the business logic used by the administrative and productive rhetoric of high-ranking school administrators.

The ethical aspect connected to educational goals enables subjects to appropriate humanity's production of content and cultural materials. Thus, they can differentiate themselves and practice self-reflection as historical subjects. However, the process is affected by schools reduced to economic imperatives, the ideals of 'formation of a new man' adapted to capitalism's flexible work stage (Laval, 2004, our translation). In addition, the irrationality of such goals and the intrinsic violence of the new 'educational ideology' - supported by the promotion of reality adaptation under the signs of competition and individualism - enhances illness and destructive relationships between peers.

At the current stage, the development of technological and scientific forces, their features, and wealth distribution could prevent misery and hunger and exempt humanity from alienated work (Marcuse, 1999, our translation). Nevertheless, corporate ideas that accentuate education for work and the development of "cognitive competencies" adequate to the "new human capital" bring about the fallacy of these discourses in contrast with reality, in addition to exposing anachronism with the current situation of capitalism, increasingly supported by the workforce, automatization of production processes, and the growth of the service sector and labor precarity due to neoliberal policies (Laval, 2004, our translation).

Nowadays, we testify to some educators' diffusion of corporate discourse at all educational levels. This discourse, common within corporate organizations, has been transferred to educational institutions and pedagogical environments. It results in superficial criteria and theorization to define the values of effective and reformist education, focused on enhancing students' preparation for the demands of the contemporary world. Such conceptions also enter academic relationships and educational models as the foundation of official educational policies, connected to the logic of capital and favorable to financial business.

Thus, the owners of monopolies establish partnerships with multiple programs for public education. We highlight *Fundação Lemann's* participation - Jorge Paulo Lemann founded the organization that cooperates with public education initiatives in Brazil - in building the new *Base Nacional Comum Curricular* (BNCC) [National Common Curricular Base]. The Foundation influenced various distortions on the document's elaboration, favoring the undermining of teachers' training and work precarity, resulting in critique and mobilization of educators and researchers. BNCC also affected the foundation of the *Nova Reforma do Ensino Médio* [New High School Reform], reducing the course load of general subjects (Philosophy, Sociology, Arts, and others). Their content is diluted into 'knowledge areas' while only Portuguese and Mathematics are mandatory.

By the observations mentioned, in light of the Critical Theory, we highlight the fallacy and distortion in educational goals that reduce students' education to social conformation and societal reproduction. It excludes the opposite tension related to critical thinking and amplification of social formation recognition where educational planning originates. From our perspective, the situation enables domination, undermines the ethical content of formative processes, and schools lose their place to offer the possibility of affective and intellectual experiences that rupture standards.

Something else worth mentioning is the perpetuation of social inequality, reaffirmed by schools in the different social origins of students, teenagers in private schools, and periphery teenagers in public schools. Such social contradictions are lessened or concealed in the face of an educational model that relies on the "equal opportunity" fallacy, in which the individual effort and cognitive abilities developments are enough to "succeed in life" - professionalizing high school education for periphery students remains a prominent idea.

Accordingly, the disparities between academic-scientific education, prioritized by private schools, and technical-professional education, proposed for public schools educational reforms, reproduces the hierarchical and unfair social structure, in which only a selected group of students has access to integral education and enrollment in public universities (Soares, 2019, our translation).

From this perspective, multiple extremist activities come from elite and private school students toward poorer students, who are targets of racial prejudice and deprived of their right to education. Thus, we infer that our cultural elements reproduced in school sustain the bigotry against those considered losers while socially recognizing the winners and well-adapted. What type of rationality is a priority for current education, and how does it impact antidemocratic actions and discourse in the school environment? Subjects are characterized by weakness when in the spotlight as autonomous individuals. In the current economic stage, the individuals are superfluous while social coercion and large monopolies smash and transform them into administered entities.

To understand this complex situation, we highlight that technological rationality permeates the educational field, reducing the learning process to performance and efficiency development. The latter corresponds to the values of the current society, where administered rationale prevails and organizes it in every aspect, from production sectors and work organization methods to the cultural sphere and subjects' private lives. The ideology of technological rationality promotes the illusion of resolving all social issues by technic reasoning and organizational principles. The development of productive forces is promoted by fast technical development, managed by monopolies groups that control the economy, politics, and media, resulting in a

specific societal functioning and individual model (Marcuse, 1999, our translation). Thus,

Technology is a mode of production, of the totality of tools, devices, and inventions that characterize the age of machines, and, at the same time, a way of structuring and perpetuating (or modifying) social relations, an expression of prevailing thoughts and behavior patterns, an apparatus of control and domination. (Marcuse, 1999, p. 73, our translation).¹

Marcuse accentuates the dispersion of a new type of rationale and behavior patterns connected to technological progress, controlled by industrial monopolies and powerful groups that command society's fate. The progress of technical rationale perpetuates scarcity instead of overcoming unequal living conditions. This advancement of capitalism, with the process of concentration becoming increasingly restricted to large trusts, undermined other concepts of reason inherited from the Age of Enlightenment, suitable for historical periods before monopolistic capitalism, in which lifestyles, although oppressive, appeared to be more conducive to the "total development of human faculties and abilities [...] capable of finding these

¹ Original citation: A tecnologia, como modo de produção, como a totalidade dos instrumentos, dispositivos e invenções que caracterizam a era da máquina, é assim, ao mesmo tempo, uma forma de organizar e perpetuar (ou modificar) as relações sociais, uma manifestação do pensamento e dos padrões de comportamento dominantes, um instrumento de controle e dominação (Marcuse, 1999, p. 73).

styles through reasoning," so that the individual, acquiring freedom of thought, could "act to make it a reality" (Marcuse, 1999, p. 75, our translation).

Therefore, the progress of technology is at the service of hoarding and capital's social reproduction. Individual rationale, used to promote the autonomy of thought, becomes the technical rationale. The latter is within how workers perform to satisfy the demands of companies and applied consumable goods and structured as a disseminated way of thinking, predisposing subjects to accept and internalize the apparatus' directives. Individuals change under the massified society, going from a 'resistant and autonomous' unity to another of adaptation and flexibility.

The ways of rationalizing based on facts and rationale of cost-benefit applied to all actions, choices, and modes of understanding objects and relationships, seized power and transformed reason into a force of adjustment and convenience to reality, a 'subject standardized in self-preservation (Marcuse, 1999, p. 89, our translation). All desire is absorbed to feed the apparatus in which living beings are less important than the things to be acquired. Consumable goods, when concealing social contradictions and propagating the fallacy of the need for competition, promise comfort and an illusion of harmony between subjects and society.

However, another facade of generalized conformity is hatred and violence explosion of massified subjects against

'weaker competitors', which are symptoms of coercion and intense individual powerlessness in the face of suffocating social entirety. The appearance of 'harmony', freedom, and standardization of consciousness contradicts the progress of instruments able to free them of oppression and conquer emancipation:

In the crowd, the social constraints that generally suppress the competitive pursuit of self-interest tend to lose effect, and aggressive impulses unleash without difficulty. The release of these impulses, nurtured under the strain of scarcity and frustration, further accentuates the "preexisting state of mind." It is true that the crowd "unites." Still, it unites individuals atomized by their instinct for self-preservation, disconnected from anything that transcends their self-centered interests and egotistical impulses. (Marcuse, 1999, p. 89, our translation)²

As societal pressure provokes tensions between 'equals', we refer to Freud's (1996) studies on modern mass phenomena. According to Freud, so that conflict does not occur within the mass, the feelings of hostility are directed toward 'different' mass members. Social minorities, therefore, become objects of prejudice and/or aggression.

² Original citation: Na multidão, a restrição feita pela sociedade à busca competitiva do interesse próprio tende a tornar-se inócua e os impulsos agressivos são facilmente liberados. Estes impulsos se desenvolveram sob as exigências da escassez e da frustração e sua libertação acentua então o "estado de espírito anterior". Sim, é verdade que a multidão "une", mas une os sujeitos atomizados da autopreservação de tudo que estão desligados, de tudo que transcende seus interesses e impulsos egoístas (MARCUSE, 1999, p. 89).

Freud exposes this phenomenon in the concept of “narcissism of minor differences”.

Regarding violence against minorities, Adorno and Horkheimer (1985) clarify that social order produces it when expecting the maintenance of minorities (for example, Black people and the working class) to occupy their ‘rightful places’ and establish ‘roles’ in a hierarchical society, as criteria to sustain restricted social order. The diffusion of technical rationale e its reproduction in schools conceives the world as ‘arranged’, functional, and hierarchical. Thus, considering the transmission to students, they tend to reproduce it without consciousness of being a product of such a society, and violence is justified in the name of survival and self-preservation, in the name of performance.

The pedagogical tendencies evidently reflect social demands and originate from historical technical, scientific, and economic development. However, schools are institutions that, in contradiction, comprise spaces and experiences for emancipation, offer (or should offer) content and objects beyond the social work logic, fostering unique forms of subjectivity through an educational environment that enables unexplored ways of reflective and creative apprehension of the world’s cultural entities. In short, schools should break away from the logic of technical control over facts. Yet, Marcuse (1999) states that this technical rationale ideology dominates schools while constituting ‘mechanisms of conformity’.

Without developing critical abilities or reflection about contradictions of totality and underlying values of reified education ideology, the fierce competition in schools prevents the possibility of identification between peers, reinforcing contest, where the 'weak' and different have no chance. Such conditions are open to the progression of aggressive and hostile actions against those considered 'fragile' in these educational models, facilitating the attacks at schools, as recently witnessed in Brazil in 2023.

Thus, to which point do schools reproduce the authoritarian social ambiance favorable to prejudice and minorities persecution - based on the current educational model, which is distant from its goals directed at human purposes (knowledge appropriation and development of sensibility toward suffering produced by humanity)? How much does formation for competition contributes to students' anti-democratic initiatives, a manifestation that reflects what our culture values - the hatred and persecution of the 'weak'? The consideration of different aspects enables comprehension of violent acts, the Nazi apology, and attacks at schools - in addition to a history of violence of teenagers involved in such attacks or bullying victims, with the care of not generalizing or reducing the theme.

It is also vital to reflect on the reasons for the augmentation and multiplication of destructive acts in schools and why they became a target for slaughter because this signals resentment from the educational environment. Instead of achieving its formative goals of individual

differentiation, the school environment incites fear, authoritarianism in aggressive competition, and erasure of individual distinctiveness. It is not a matter of education against barbarism - which should be imperative, according to Adorno (2020), but also of providing the necessary atmosphere for the youth's reflection and comprehension about violence originating in society's structure that schools cannot conceal.

The current practices of violence disseminated in educational institutions have not become objects of reflection and discussion between educational agents and students. The indifference or even denial and silence regarding these phenomena have damaging outcomes. Alongside this, we recover Adorno's (2020) discussion about the impacts of silence in the face of fear and the impossibility of expressing uneasiness toward the reality that provokes it, considering its criteria for 'good social adjustment' e its effects: apathy and aggression, whose violence manifests against those considered weaker (socially weaker). The discussion also refers to the remarks of Freud, in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1997), on the significance of encouraging young students to reflect on the aggressiveness they have been subjected to in certain circumstances.

Concerning the ultrarealist pedagogical scenario (which rewards pain and coldness), supported by Freud, Adorno (2020) warns about how much such conditions favor the development of sadomasochistic traces, navigating the

territories of violent actions fueled by suppressed pain, which manifests in persecution against others. Thus, the author comments that “The praised goal of being harsh in a certain education means the indifference against general pain” (2020, p. 139, our translation), building an institutional atmosphere pregnant with barbarism, in which its constituents are powerlessness due to the restraint of their intellectual capacities and freedom of thinking. This educational system extends the existence of a society managed by the principle of exchange, deterring the path of critical potential development so that the youth can deny the same reality and think about alternatives.

Adorno (2020) highlights that the destruction of consciousness also impacts the pathological relationship with the body. Therefore, the transformation and aggravation of the body as a source of anguish -due to the denial of pleasure and differentiation (possibility of sublimation) - comprises cruelty and physical violence between peers and contributes to a state of general apathy. Accordingly, institutions aim for an ‘ideal’ student - the ‘adjusted student - who is ready to answer effectively and attentive to performance quantified by evaluation criteria, the adjusted student. The uneasiness created by this idealization enables the reinforcement of stereotypes about people and ‘acting out’ behaviors filled with sadism.

The restraint of educational goals to commands of reality adjustment strengthens generalized adjustment, promoting youth’s knowledge aversion. The content and

ways of apprehending it would lead to the development of complex thinking, inclined toward alternate experiences with objects, through the confrontation between scientific concepts and sociohistorical reality where they form. The imposition of reality adjustment and what it implicates - threats of social exclusion and fear of neglect - are becoming so constricting that they refer to Adorno's (2020) concept of 'heightened realism' regarding the youth's behavior. Their behavior follows the sociability model of a social order that expands and administers all the elements of the subjects' lives. The outcomes include the hardening of individuals and hostility (and even resentment) toward culture and intellectual activities.

According to Adorno (2020), consciousness receptive to social contradiction and possibilities to connect to the world is not supported by instrumental rationality, offered by another educational model, which enables suffering when promoting conflicts that lead to rejection of contents and formative experiences that 'hinder' adjustment and competition in the massified world. Adorno states:

If I may trust my observations, I suppose that among the youth and, particularly, among children, there is something akin to overestimated realism - maybe the correct word would be pseudorealism - that alludes to a scar. Since the adjustment process is disproportionately reinforced by the entire context in which humans live, they must impose adjustments upon themselves and, in Freudian terms, identify themselves to the assaulter. The critique of this overestimated realism appears like one of the most decisive educational tasks to be implemented in early childhood (Adorno, 2020, p. 157, our translation).³

Simultaneously, we need to inquire about the pedagogical ambitions regarding the understanding that the development of formal capacities is the primary goal of scholar education. This perspective includes developing logical operations of organization and classification (for example, thought as a synonym of logical mathematic operations or application of grammatical rules) alongside technical apprehension of knowledge, to the cost of being able to make “creative intellectual experiences” - this implies questioning about the objects thought and apprehended content in its motion and reality.

³ Original citation: Se posso crer em minhas observações, suporia mesmo que entre jovens e, sobretudo, entre as crianças encontra-se algo como um realismo supervalorizado – talvez o correto fosse: pseudorealismo – que remete a uma cicatriz. Pelo fato de o processo de adaptação ser tão desmesuradamente reforçado por todo o contexto em que os homens vivem, eles precisam impor a adaptação a si mesmo, e, nos termos de Freud, identificando-se ao agressor. A crítica deste realismo supervalorizado parece ser uma das tarefas educacionais mais decisivas a ser implementada, entretanto, na primeira infância (Adorno, 2020, p. 157).

In “Education - for what?”, Adorno (2020) states that exacerbated formalism extends to instrumentalized thinking forms when including diverse objects in an abstract formula. This process subtracts their distinctiveness and historical traits. Since the social structure requires an education distant from questioning social contradictions and critical thinking, the sensibility to recognize the suffering and diversity of historically situated subjects is threatened. Consequently, the same structure applies to men, especially those classified as ‘inadequate’ and fit into classification stereotypes of people. The idea of intelligence permeated by the logic of classes and ordering corresponds to the educational model focused on adjustment.

But this [logical ideal of intelligence] constitutes a restraint to intelligence, a special type of intelligence, which is needed. However, what characterizes consciousness is the thought of reality, the content - the relationship between the subjects’ manners and systems of thinking and they are not. This profound sense of consciousness or faculty of thought is not only a formal and logical development but a literal resemblance to the ability to create experiences. [...] education for experience is identical to education for emancipation. (Adorno, 2020, p. 164, our translation)

The lectures published by Adorno (2020) in the 1960s, titled “Education after Auschwitz” and “Educate Against the Barbarity”, elucidate forms of barbarism in modern culture and how they infer evident discrepancies between promises

of a democratic society, with high technological development, and psych regression in a society that should have objective conditions for people's emancipation of oppression. However, in the current phase of monopolist capitalism, development happens due to productive forces and higher technological power - based on oligopolies' control and wealth-hoarding ambition. Thus, this society structure denies human finality, contradicting the ideas disseminated about democracy and 'equal opportunity'.

As previously mentioned, we have achieved enough productive forces to abolish scarcity and reduce the time spent on producing life necessities (Marcuse, 1999), and since this has not been accomplished, one of the mechanisms to maintain social reproduction - supported by 'surplus valor' idea - is the ideologic spread of the need for competition and enhancement of technical and cognitive abilities for survival and individual 'success'. Therefore, this logic reinforces the model of an apolitical individual pressured by the need to integrate socialization standards of administered society based on the disseminated and prevailing fallacy of fighting for one's interests.

Ultimately, authoritarianism and social inequalities stem from our society model. This model requires the maintenance of people in constant surveillance in favor of competition as a domination mechanism fulfilling competitive individualism. In this period, subjects are continuously becoming administered objects and submissive to economic powers concealed by the seduction

of a “technology veil”, with its typical fetishization of techniques and dissemination of instrumental rationality: The ideology of technical rationale connected to education promises to resolve all ‘ills of education’ and project a subject supposedly adjusted to the current social system. Educational institutions, which should offer a formative environment for resistance and consciousness over the origin of suffering caused by reality, seem to prioritize the contrary - grounded on a model that praises competition, perpetuates hardness and apathy, and reinforces power relations between peers.

In the current context, educational reforms have adequated to the needs of contemporary capitalism, incorporating everyone and everything to the equivalence logic. This perspective is within the parameters of administrative thoughts corresponding to objective conditions in its forms of production. Accordingly, considering the complexity of social and psychological aspects at play, the expressions of hatred and acts of violence between peers and those considered fragile, and the statements connected to neo-Nazi affinities, confirm the irrationality underlying the prevailing rationality.

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