


EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGY – A CRITICAL LOOK AT TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION FROM THE GRAMSCIAN AND MARXIST PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Educational technologies are an essential reality in the contemporary scenario, transforming the field of knowledge and several other spaces in society. They enable new forms of interaction and learning, expanding access to knowledge and promoting the inclusion of varied student profiles. In the school environment, for example, these technologies favor the personalization of teaching, allowing students to advance at their own pace and explore content in a more interactive and dynamic way. Thus, this article

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aims to theoretically examine the role of educational technologies as ideological tools, proposing a transformation of the educational reality from a Marxian and Gramscian perspective. The study seeks to analyze the ideological influences of educational technologies, in order to promote an emancipatory pedagogical practice. The research follows a qualitative (Minayo, 2019) and analytical (Gil, 1999) method, based on the contributions of the ideas of Gramsci (2012) and Marx (2007; 2011) and on the critical analysis of the relationship between ideology and technology in education. The approach adopts a historical and political perspective to understand how educational technologies can reinforce or challenge cultural and social hegemony in the educational context. The conclusions point out that, without "adequate literacy", these technologies can accentuate social inequalities by perpetuating a hegemonic status quo. The analysis suggests that educators' praxis is crucial for a revolutionary transformation in education, aligning with the critical ideals of the central authors for social change.

Keywords: Educational Technologies. Ideology. Emancipatory Pedagogical Practice. Cultural hegemony.

INTRODUCTION

A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE EMANCIPATORY POTENTIALITY AND IDEOLOGICAL RISKS OF TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION: INTRODUCING

Educational technologies have become a reality in the contemporary educational scenario, being applied in various areas of knowledge and offering new opportunities to enrich the teaching-learning process. With the vast array of digital tools available, such as online learning platforms, multimedia resources, and interactive apps, these technologies offer means to make learning more dynamic and accessible. In today's society, failing to use such tools can be seen as a setback, given that they facilitate access to knowledge and promote student interaction and engagement, says Santos, *et. al.* (2024).

However, as Löwy¹⁶ (2015 [1985]) warns, the adoption of educational technologies requires a critical reflection on their uses and implications. It is not enough to simply integrate these resources into the school routine; It is necessary to question how and for what they are being used. In a context where education often serves as an instrument of domination, technologies can become tools of control and standardization, promoting uncritical learning that reproduces dominant values, instead of fostering autonomy and critical reflection.

In this sense, Frigotto (2010 [1989]) states that it is crucial for teachers and educators to be aware of the potential of technologies, but also of the risks that their decontextualized use may involve. Technologies must be incorporated in a way that contributes to an emancipatory education, which enables students to question the *status quo* and develop their critical thinking. The use of digital resources must therefore be accompanied by a pedagogical project that prioritizes the formation of conscious and participatory citizens, committed to a fairer and more democratic society.

In the contemporary educational context, profound challenges arise for the production and dissemination of knowledge, aggravated by misinformation, informational overload, and the devaluation of critical reflection among teachers, who are often de-

¹⁶ Michael Löwy, in his work originally published in 1985 and revised in 2015, presents a perspective strongly influenced by Marxist studies, applying historical materialism to analyze society and cultural and educational phenomena. Löwy, a Marxist-oriented sociologist and philosopher, explores how Marxism can serve as a critical tool for understanding the structures of power and domination present in society, especially in the context of education. Inspired by thinkers such as Karl Marx and György Lukács, he approaches education not only as a space for the transmission of knowledge, but as a field of ideological conflicts where the power relations of capitalist society are reproduced. Löwy warns of the risk of educational institutions functioning as a means of perpetuating the dominant ideology, but he also glimpses the potential of education as a space for resistance and social transformation. In this way, his studies dialogue with the Marxist tradition by considering education a strategic field in the struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed classes. See references.

intellectualized in their teaching practice (Nörnberg, 2020; Shiroma, 2003). The urgency to rethink education and the processes of knowledge construction emerges in response to the difficulties faced by educational institutions, which deal with budget constraints, threats to freedom of thought, and pressures for knowledge of immediate application.

This article, therefore, analyzes the role of educational technologies, considering them as potential ideological tools that can reinforce oppression and social division, conditioning teachers to act as unconscious defenders of a hegemonic educational system, with no room for critical reflection and counter-hegemonic ¹⁷practices. By questioning the ideology underlying the use of technologies in education, we argue that the transformation of educational reality must be guided by a Marxian and Gramscian perspective, where the praxis of educators acts as a vector of resistance and emancipation.

CRITICAL METHODOLOGY FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGIES

The methodology of this study was based on a qualitative approach, which proved to be particularly relevant to the proposed analysis, as it allowed a deep understanding of educational phenomena in their social, historical, and ideological contexts (Minayo, 2019). Qualitative research was essential for the investigation of the role of educational technologies, not only as pedagogical tools, but as ideological instruments that can influence and shape the dynamics of power and oppression in the educational field. This method allows the study to go beyond the surface of educational practices and critically explore the ideology underlying the use of technology in education, contributing to a more detailed and contextualized analysis of the phenomena investigated.

The bibliographic and critical analysis were based on authors who bring a Marxist (2007; 2011) and Gramscian (2012) perspective, whose theories served as a basis to examine the ideological implications of technology in the educational environment. This bibliographic research was crucial to situate the debate on educational technologies within a theoretical tradition that questions cultural hegemony and the social function of education.

¹⁷ Counter-hegemonic practices refer to actions, approaches, and strategies that challenge and resist the dominant norms, values, and power structures in a society, especially those that perpetuate inequality and exclusion. In the educational context, counter-hegemonic practices seek to break with methods and contents that reinforce ideologies of domination, such as Eurocentrism, racism and elitism, proposing an education that values cultural diversity, inclusion and social criticism. Inspired by the theories of thinkers such as Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci, these practices promote an emancipatory education, aimed at raising awareness and protagonism of oppressed subjects. The goal is for students and educators not only to recognize the structures that maintain inequalities, but also to engage in the transformation of social reality.

By conducting a survey and careful analysis of critical works and articles, we built a robust theoretical framework that allowed us to understand the interactions between technology, ideology and education, considering the possible contributions and risks associated with the adoption of technologies in the training of educators and in teaching practice.

The methodology also included an analytical approach aimed at the critique of hegemony and the role of educational technologies as ideological tools, as suggested by Gil (1999). This critical focus aimed to investigate how technologies, when introduced into the school environment, can both reinforce the *status quo* and promote emancipatory pedagogical practices, depending on their use and pedagogical intentionality. From this analysis, we problematize the uncritical use of technologies and highlight the importance of educators' praxis as a form of resistance and possibility of social transformation. Thus, the methodology adopted allowed the research to advance in the understanding of educational technologies from a perspective that prioritizes emancipation, providing theoretical subsidies for educational practices that contribute to a critical and transformative education.

IDEOLOGY AND TECHNOLOGY IN EDUCATION: A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE REPRODUCTION OF CLASS CONCEPTIONS AND THE TRANSFORMATIVE PRAXIS OF TEACHERS

Ideology is a complex concept, as Löwy (2015 [1985]) points out, due to its multiple meanings. Contradictions, misunderstandings and misunderstandings make the definition and understanding of this word an arduous theoretical process. Historically, Marx proposed a perspective to think about ideology, and it is along this path that we intend to follow in this article, as a theoretical exercise of understanding and analyzing the technologies present in classrooms. As Feenberg states: "[...] The dialectic of technology is not, therefore, a mysterious 'new concept of reason', but an ordinary aspect of the technical sphere, familiar to all those who work with machines, if not to all who write about it" (2002, p. 177).

Starting from the Napoleonic conception of ideology, Marx (2007 [1845]) associates it with speculations or illusions. Following this Marxian approach, we are interested in Lenin's interpretations, when relating ideology to class interests (Löwy, 2015 [1985]), and especially Marx's vision (2011 [1852]), for whom it is classes, and not individuals, that produce ideologies. This approach makes it possible to distinguish at least two antagonistic

ideologies: the bourgeois and the proletarian¹⁸, in constant struggle and dispute for class positions. In this process of understanding, we follow Löwy (2015 [1985], p. 21), who proposes the term "social worldview" as "[...] all those structured sets of values, representations, ideas and cognitive orientations, unified by a determined perspective, by a social point of view of determined social classes".

Ideology, as a social product, is intrinsically linked to the development of social classes, history, and political economy (Löwy, 2015 [1985]). In the educational context, it is essential to recognize and criticize ideologies when embedded in technologies, promoting a pedagogical practice that enables the transformation of reality. What are the social events and economic directions that allow the triumph of certain ideological conceptions over others? It is from this questioning that we explore the technologies introduced in schools as ideologies (Selwyn, 2014), especially under the conception of "mechanism" of the Enlightenment encyclopedists, understood here as the production and reproduction of the same phenomenon (Löwy, 2015 [1985]), without going beyond the maintenance of this cycle. This "progress" conforms and adapts, reducing a historical process of oppression and limitations to individualized willpower, disconnected from collective doing.

However, we do not affirm that there is an absolute victory or consolidation through the ideological reproduction proposed by technologies at the service of hegemonic groups. We understand this moment as transitory and subject to disputes, permeated by complex and diverse relations, such as the totality that is imposed on them. Thus, the contradictions permeated by conflicts are our theoretical arena, based on Gramsci's cultural conception (2022 [1929-1932]) and on the Marxist interpretation, which "[...] It aims to transform reality, it aims at a revolutionary transformation. It is, therefore, a matter of understanding reality in order to transform it revolutionarily from a class point of view, from the dominated classes" (Löwy, 2015 [1985]).

¹⁸ Bourgeois and proletarian ideologies represent antagonistic worldviews, rooted in the interests and values of opposing social classes. Bourgeois ideology, associated with the ruling class, seeks to maintain the power structures and economic privileges that guarantee its social position and control over the means of production. Its perspective is based on the naturalization of inequalities and the promotion of individualism, aiming to consolidate a social order that favors the accumulation of capital and the perpetuation of relations of exploitation (Löwy, 2015 [1985]). In contrast, proletarian ideology emerges from the interests of the working class and seeks the radical transformation of prevailing social and economic conditions. Based on class solidarity and collectivity, this vision proposes the overcoming of capitalist structures of domination and the construction of a more egalitarian society, in which workers control the means of production and free themselves from the alienation and exploitation imposed by capital (Marx, 2011 [1852]; Löwy, 2015 [1985]). These ideologies express, therefore, a continuous and contradictory struggle for positions of power and hegemony in the social field.

Our proposal for transformation is not based on a model external to the core of our problem. We do not defend the need for action by other social groups or external proposals to change the ideology of the technologies that are being reaffirmed in schools. The central point of our interpretation lies in the construction of the intellectuality of teachers, in the face of ideological processes, as an authorial exercise of transformation through praxis – a practical experience of changing consciousness, ideas, representations and ideologies (Löwy, 2015 [1985]).

The acceptance or rejection of ideologies is related to the Marxian conception that classes, as a collective, shape ideologies, and that "[...] political or literary representatives of the class – writers, political leaders, etc. – are those who systematically formulate this worldview, or ideology, according to class interests" (Löwy, 2015 [1985], p. 119). From this perspective of struggle and dispute (Gramsci, 2022 [1929-1932]), teachers can insert themselves in this field, even if they are often the target of pressures that distance them from their intellectual condition, limited to the "intellectual horizon" of the hegemonic class (Löwy, 2015 [1985]). The exercise of reading, understanding, interpreting and acting is a key point for our social tension: criticism and overcoming.

TECHNOLOGY AS IDEOLOGY

The starting point for our main statement is based on the thought of Vieira Pinto (2005, p. 4), who states: "[...] the center captured one of the meanings of technology and ideologically proclaimed it as universal, reserving to the world of the periphery the condition of 'patient receiver' of technical innovations [...]". The author refers to the subordination of the worker, who loses his essence when he receives a new one, masked as modernity. In other words, an asymmetrical situation is created, in which the relations between man and the world, in the peripheral space, become less accessible and, consequently, less elaborated. In this context, there is a systematic importation of technologies, resulting in the loss of the creative and human essence of the expropriated subjects. Thus, this technology "[...] it now appears as purely instrumental, as value-free [...]" (Feenberg, 2003, p. 5), becoming apparently necessary to achieve the future that was (imposed) on the subjects.

Modern societies organize seemingly neutral mediations such as markets, elections, administrations, and technical systems to express an unlimited variety of contingent

interests and points of view that cannot, but must, be justified, harmonized, or ordered [...]”¹⁹ (Feenberg, 2002, p. 162).

Vieira Pinto's (2005) conception makes it possible to understand the theoretical transition developed by Feenberg (2010), in which the thoughtless use of technology would be characterized as instrumental, as opposed to a more humanized, engaged and reflective practice, typical of a critical approach. “[...] Only in reflection do human beings recognize their natural limitations and thus moderate their struggle to dominate nature [...]” (Feenberg, 2012, p. 142). Criticality, therefore, is based on a double condition: an appropriate, clear and intentional practice, combined with the understanding necessary to transform the imposed reality. In this way, Vieira Pinto's (2005) thought is close to the Lukacsian model in its cultural sense, indicating that the absence of criticality is due more to a low degree of understanding than to a lack of knowledge. Feenberg describes this condition from the perspective of the autonomy of technology:

[...] To say that technology is autonomous does not mean that it makes itself. Humans are still involved, but the question is, do they really have the freedom to decide how the technology will be developed? Does the next step in the evolution of the technical system depend on us? If the answer is 'no', then it can justifiably be said that technology is autonomous in the sense that invention and development have their own immanent laws [...]. On the other hand, technology can be humanly controllable while determining the next step of evolution according to our intentions (2003: 6).

Vieira Pinto's analysis (2005, p. 32) highlights how “[...] Man always lives in a technological age and, therefore, it is necessary to stop naively marveling at technologies or other devices detached from his historical condition.” With this, the author emphasizes that technology is a product of human action and carries values that reflect its context of creation, and is therefore not a guarantee of quality of life in the present. Selwyn (2014) supports this critical perspective by observing that, although in the 1980s and 1990s it was common to question the benefits of technologies, today they are often accepted without due critical reflection. Thus, the ideologies embedded in technologies become invisible, disguising contradictions under the cloak of normality or necessity. Complementing this view, Feenberg (2003, p. 9) suggests the democratization of technology, recognizing it as a structure that forms lifestyles, and not just a neutral tool. In this sense, he argues that “[...]”

¹⁹ Original text: Modern societies organize apparently neutral mediations such as markets, elections, administrations, and technical systems for the expression of an unlimited variety of contingent interests and visions of life that cannot and need not be justified, reconciled, or ranked (Feenberg, 2002, p. 162).

through capitalism, technical mastery was transformed into a means of domination, affecting not only the design of machines, but also the structure of modern reason" (Feenberg, 2012, p. 141). Vieira Pinto already pointed to this subordination to what is external, without a link to the history of the subjects.

Selwyn (2014) and Feenberg deepen this perspective, highlighting that "[...] capitalism revolutionizes production and subordinates the whole of society to technical power that is transformed into a new source of legitimacy, expanding its domination not only in specific objects, but also on a broader level" (Feenberg, 2012, p. 152). In this context, the view of neutrality and functionality of technology is widely accepted, especially in the social sciences. This ideology acts in a subtle way, shaping perceptions and naturalizing specific interests (Selwyn, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017). Thus, technology is coated with a false aura of neutrality in the face of the values and politics that it actually serves. Technical rationality is interpreted as an operation independent of its context (Feenberg, 2002).

Although instrumentalist theory predominates, the substantive theory of thinkers such as Jacques Ellul and Martin Heidegger proposes an alternative view, where technology occupies an autonomous position and can lead to a degradation of humanity, reducing beings to objects. This theory suggests that technology reconfigures the social world, resulting in unforeseen cultural consequences, which, while not the original goal, become central to society (Feenberg, 2002). Whether from an instrumental or substantive perspective, technology seems to impose an acceptance or rejection without nuances, limiting the space for transformative human interventions. In this scenario, modernization is seen only as a superficial adaptation, in line with the Third Way²⁰, which suggests that the technical mastery of specialists reduces the democratic space (Neves, 2005).

Critical theory, adopted here to question technology as an ideology, advocates for a cultural transformation through technologies. The Frankfurt School²¹, through concepts

²⁰ The Third Way represents a perspective that promotes modernization as a gradual and superficial adaptation of social and economic systems, without deep structural transformation. This approach suggests that the technical management of progress should be conducted by specialists, implying a reduction in the democratic space, since the decisions and directions taken by societies are now guided by a technocracy that privileges specific knowledge to the detriment of broad public participation. This technocratic model limits the possibility of democratic interventions, putting in check the autonomy of collective decisions and relegating the population to a passive role in the technological and political conduct of societies (Neves, 2005).

²¹ The Frankfurt School was an intellectual movement founded in 1923 at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, Germany, composed of philosophers and social theorists such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Walter Benjamin. His main contribution was the development of Critical Theory, an interdisciplinary approach that aims to unmask the structures of social, economic, and ideological domination present in capitalist society. Frankfurt School thinkers proposed a radical critique of modern industrial society, emphasizing how instrumental rationality and technology could be used to legitimize subtle

such as "reification" and "one-dimensionality," explored how technology could be used for social domination. However, Habermas' critique pointed out that delegating technical topics to specialists would threaten the concept of democracy. Feenberg (2002) argues that the return to technological neutrality was a mistake, defending a position where technology is intrinsically political, as expressed by Marcuse (1973 [1964], p. 19): "[...] The traditional notion of 'neutrality' of technology cannot be sustained. Technology [...] is a system of domination that already operates in the concept and elaboration of techniques." In short, the use of technology is not neutral, as it depends on human intention and interest, demanding a break with the idea of neutral technological rationality.

We must articulate and judge these values in a cultural critique of technology. By doing so, we can begin to understand the contours of another possible industrial civilization based on other values. This project requires a different kind of thinking from the dominant technological rationality, a critical rationality capable of reflecting on the broader context of technology. (Feenberg, 2002, p. V).

Critical theory suggests the existence of two modern civilizations, which follow different paths of technical development, influenced by the technological choices that shape users and reflect the risks and tensions of society. Hegemonically, one of them is widely recognized in our daily practice. The other, addressed in our text, proposes a process of critical reflection and the constant desire to overcome inequalities, establishing a course to be followed. Contemporary technology has the power to be transformative when used in a conscious and inclusive way, reflecting social values such as equity and freedom. For this to occur, collaboration between intellectuals and technical experts is essential, ensuring that technological innovation promotes social justice and avoids perpetuating the inequalities of the past. However, critical literacy is also necessary for this potential transformation to materialize. By uniting critical theory and technical practice, technology can be transformed into a tool capable of meeting human needs and driving social emancipation, counteracting the material reality in which the division of labor and mechanization reduce workers to mere appendages of the production process. In this context, the knowledge and skills of workers are alienated, incorporated into the machines owned by capital, which transforms them into

forms of control and alienation. Adorno and Horkheimer's "dialectic of enlightenment," for example, explores how scientific-technical progress, rather than emancipation, can reinforce conformity and authoritarianism. In addition, the Frankfurt School problematized mass culture and its ability to manipulate and standardize people's behavior and thinking, warning of the loss of critical autonomy and the capacity for individual resistance in the face of the hegemonic power of capitalism.

an objective power external to themselves (Feenberg, 2002), configuring an intellectual expropriation that justifies inequalities.

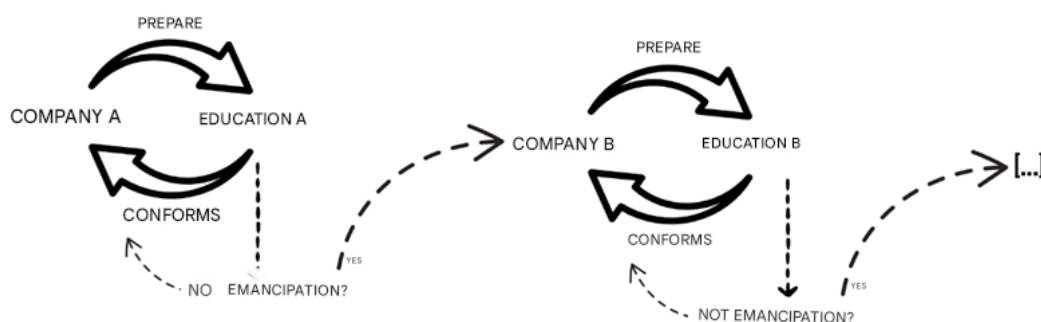
TECHNOLOGY, HEGEMONY AND EMANCIPATION: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATION IN THE TECHNOLOGICAL AGE

We conceive the pedagogical proposal of technologies in education as a manifestation of the new pedagogy of hegemony, as described by Neves (2005). In this context, we highlight the predominance of petty politics, especially promoted by Giddens' Third Way, which reduces civil society to volunteering and philanthropy, prioritizing private interests to the detriment of collective social demands. This results in a cultural regression driven by technological barbarism (Schlesener, 2016).

According to Neves (2005), hegemony seeks consensus on the interests of hegemonic groups or the maintenance/modification of practices aligned with these interests, which feed back on each other throughout the process of construction of their values and civilization, reproducing their consciousness in material forms. In this sense, we recognize the formation of the Extended State in its educational function, where social stabilization is closely linked to the hegemonic interests of the ruling class, through productive efficiency. This dynamic is manifested in the proposition of a new dominant scientific language and in the development of organic intellectuals, represented by experts from the business sectors, who, in turn, consolidate the consensus on the "need" to incorporate technology into schools automatically. All these elements are part of the insertion of technologies in school institutions.

This political design is proposed based on historical processes of capitalism, which is in constant development and seeks to be preserved as a mode of production. Nosella (2004) discusses this process of school transformation, highlighting the transition between different educational models, such as the traditional, the Jesuit and the modern. Although these models alter values and hegemonies, they all retain the aspect of directing the interests of the elites. In a contradictory and dialectical way to the hegemonic proposition, "[...] we educate ourselves in the historical movement, based on the economic, social and ideological circumstances that characterize this movement" (Schlesener, 2016, p. 13), as illustrated in Image 1.

IMAGE 1 – Synthesis of the intellectual direction of education towards emancipation.



Source: Prepared by the authors from Schlesener (2024).

Image 1 illustrates the dialectical interdependence between society and education, where the latter, shaped by the former, simultaneously reinforces or challenges social structures. In the Gramscian perspective, this relationship is not static, as education can both conform to existing hegemonic values and promote emancipation and social transformation. The cycle represented shows that the transition from one society (Society A) to another (Society B) occurs when education breaks with conformity and enables emancipation. This dynamic highlights the possibility of education, in the midst of historical and material forces, emerging as a field of counter-hegemonic struggle, promoting new values and practices that continuously reconfigure social reality, as analyzed by Nosella (2004) and Schlesener (2016). This process of preparation, which we identified as a hypothesis, involves the possibility of emancipation that we seek in the practices originated in the daily life of schools, as opposed to the conservation proposed by the dominant ideologies.

The pedagogical adjustments of the Third Way, from the 1990s onwards, were a response to the negative effects of neoliberalism and its deficiencies, represented by European social democracy. This movement resulted in a refinement of neoliberalism, as pointed out by Neves (2005), who observes the search for stability that does not favor workers or address fundamental issues, such as surplus value. Neves also highlights the Third Way's criticism of socialism, for not recognizing man as a leading political subject and for denying the class struggle in society. This generates a dehumanization of the socio-historical process, treating it as something external to individuals and preventing social emancipation. In this way, society is maintained in a cycle of maintenance and reforms that meet the interests of a subaltern intellectual and moral direction (Schlesener, 2016),

through a social conformation that is reproduced in the unidimensionality of our time, visible and manifest.

Currently, political power asserts itself through its powers over the mechanical process and over the technical organization of the apparatus. The government of developed and developing industrial societies can only be maintained and guaranteed when it successfully mobilizes, organizes and exploits the technical, scientific and mechanical productivity available to industrial civilization (Marcuse, 1973 [1964], p. 25).

Here, it is important to realize that the Third Way is established as a proposal for the development and consolidation of new ideologies, to be socially agreed. Uncertainties are presented as artificial, as there are many "truths" that underlie the directions proposed by the leading groups of normative hegemony. Capitalism is naturalized, moving from the historical and constitutive processes of human action to something immutable, which, therefore, does not allow the search for alternative directions or even overcoming, due to the supposed impossibility of change – which is reflected in the conformity of Image 1. In this new construction of social reflexivity, the information acquired by the subjects becomes fundamental for a reordering in which everyone is considered "intelligent", "active", "creative" and "interactive" in the execution of their social roles. Schlesener (2016, p. 18) points out that "[...] the insertion of new technologies in the education process, without the essential bases of literacy, acts to increase social inequalities". The central issue, then, is the relationship between literacy and technologies. An effective literacy model must be accompanied by a real schooling process, offering a rich range of multimedia materials for reading. Only in this way is it possible to avoid autonomous (Street, 2014) and weak (Soares, 2009) models, which perpetuate the status quo of the hegemonic circulation of information and knowledge.

This context requires a critical approach to media education and the insertion of technologies. Critical media literacy is essential to enable individuals to reflect on their realities and transform their human conditions. Therefore, it is crucial that education includes not only the development of technical skills, but also the ability to promote critical reflection and social transformation (Feenberg, 2002; Selwyn, 2014). This means that technologies and media should be seen as social constructs, procedurally developed by human hands, and not as neutral or deterministic entities. Moving on to the cultural dimension, we appropriate Kellner (2001) and Williams (2016 [1974]) to rescue the insertion of subjects in the productive practice and in the reconstitution of the ways in which

technologies are (imposed)imposed on the school routine, evidencing their relationship with the existing culture and with the hegemonic disputes that are established at each stage of this process, in the name of the primacy of everyday life.

To this end, the relationship between the State and capitalism is symbiotic: the system is incapable of surviving without the State, and the State, in turn, must be at its service. This implies recognizing that "[...] The world today is not rigidly controlled by human power, but rather by a set of artificial uncertainties that have generated significant changes in politics. The world has taken on a dynamic that has made paradigms (of philosophy, science, politics and ethics) outdated constructions" (Neves, 2005, p. 52). In this sense,

Gramsci is not naïve. It will not be any 'novelty' or didactic way to convince him: children playing with birds is not something revolutionary nor is it even a great novelty, as long as the relationship between them and nature does not change, the real novelty has not yet occurred. [...] Never, for him, should the school, because it has modern industrial work as its pedagogical principle, be a petty or monstrous machine for preparing labor [...]; never unidirectional, but open, humanistic, cultured, in short, of the Renaissance type, updated (Nosella, 2004, p. 135-136).

To this end, "[...] the school would need to change its structure, contents and methods, to create the conditions for the student to recognize his cultural roots and the values that transcend his time, in order to understand his insertion in the world [...]" (Schlesener, 2016, p. 21). In this way, it would be possible to break the current cycle and assume the historical protagonism and the constitution of collective human action, which would manifest itself in the emancipation proposed by Gramscian thought. With this, we understand that the state and directive proposition is not something modern or new in society. It represents only a more intense and brutal stage, as Neves (2005) points out, through new forms of work, organization of production and power relations, all rooted in the urban-industrial culture of the Western world. From the Gramscian perspective, a new historical bloc is formed, with the objective of "[...] technically and ethically conform the popular masses to bourgeois sociability" (Neves, 2005, p. 26), with schools being one of the main spaces for carrying out this project, especially for their role in preparing for the acceptance and use of technologies. However, Neves (2005, p. 27) states that, from a Gramscian perspective, the school can also occupy a different position, depending on the historical conjuncture, demands and orientations, "[...] opening space for the possibility of building a counter-hegemony", a central point of the critical philosophy of technology that guides this work.

What Gramsci seeks to show is that the separation between form and content effected by liberal thought takes on a political and ideological dimension that feeds common sense, with great mystifying power of social reality. In his social imaginary, having assimilated individualism and the idea of meritocracy, which underlie social relations in capitalist society, the subject believes he can ascend socially through his work, since he understands himself as someone who processes (and can) win with his own capacities (Schlesener, 2016, p. 38).

"Moving away from a reading of reality as a process and synthesis of multiple determinations allows the Third Way to idealize civil society as an autonomous sphere of the market and the State, a space for collaboration and promotion of the common good" (Neves, 2005, p. 54). This alignment between the Third Way and liberal doctrine shares principles that encourage entrepreneurial spirit, self-confidence, and risk management as core practices of this new era, overcoming dependence on a welfare state and its social policies. This atomizes the subject, attributing to him the role of agent of his own salvation and valuing a market logic in which small politics exerts a great influence. This approach reinforces a dynamic that resonates with great force in petty politics, limiting the formation of a class consciousness and the struggle for broader social demands.

Here, "[...] the solution of problems and the realization of demands should be sought in the social mobilization of small groups and through 'partnerships' with the state apparatus and other civil society bodies, and no longer in universalizing policies" (Neves, 2005, p. 63). By grouping themselves by specific and temporary interests, the understanding of class is weakened, while the conceptions of "social capital" and "cultural capital" are strengthened, as new social references of action are established. This scenario is translated by Frigotto (2010, p. 18) when discussing the productivity of this model applied to schools, referring to the application of "[...] new categories of knowledge society, skills training and employability that [...] make effective [...] human capital". Frigotto also points out that "[...] the one-dimensional subordination of education to capitalist processes of production remains intact, albeit in a more subtle, veiled and, therefore, more violent way." This critical view highlights how the education system is shaped to meet the interests of capitalism, with a focus on skills formation and employability as forms of human capital. The knowledge society model promotes the idea that education should be directed to meet the demands of the market, subordinating it to capitalist processes of technological production. Although this subordination is more disguised and sophisticated, Frigotto argues that it becomes even more pernicious and aggressive in the subtlety of its implementation.

Frigotto's critique suggests that by masking this subordination with terms such as "knowledge society" and "skills training," the technologized educational system perpetuates capitalist logic in a deeper and more insidious way. This maintains an education that does not promote the emancipation of individuals, but prepares them to fit into the gears of the market, ensuring the continuity of the capitalist system under a façade of modernization and progress. In short, "[...] the Third Way relieves capital of responsibility, deprives history of responsibility and makes subjects and their associations responsible for the guarantee of social, political and psychological stability profoundly shaken by the elimination of a horizon of transformation" (Neves, 2005, p. 65).

This destruction of consciences is established in parallel with the insertion of science and technology in social production, especially if we consider the development and strengthening of what Vieira Pinto (2005) presents as the wonder of the current technological era, which presents itself as a fireworks show (Farbiarz; Farbiarz, 2008). Such resources are presented as synonymous with an unquestionable modernity, which, being outside of human historicity, displays an aura of neutrality and progress, leading us to "[...] class struggle, a struggle that is renewed with other nuances in the movement of placing and overcoming the economic, social and political contradictions that form, in their articulation and intertwining, the structure of society" (Schlesener, 2016, p. 46).

The neoliberal application to the Brazilian reality allows, as Neves (2005) points out, the manifestation of two of Gramsci's observations: that hegemony is born and needs intermediaries; and the "American phenomenon", which requires a new type of man, shaped by the hegemonic processes presented so far. The active and militant subject, who fights for a more just and egalitarian society, based on historical analyses, becomes the volunteer who seeks to mitigate his guilt or weaknesses through superficial actions. "By channeling man's indignation and feeling of impotence in the face of profound social injustices, volunteering tends to prevent these impulses from becoming the constitution of collective political subjects that contest the established order" (Neves, 2005, p. 101). In other words, "[...] the error is not found in the [abstract] words, but in the non-identification of the reality that they hide through the ideology that conveys them" (Schlesener, 2019, p. 50). Therefore, neoliberal ideology diverts social dissatisfaction to actions that do not challenge the power structure, maintaining the status quo and preventing the formation of political movements that could challenge the established order.

By transforming militancy into volunteerism, neoliberalism neutralizes potential contestants of hegemony, promoting a participation that seems engaged, but which is devoid of real impact on the social fabric. This perpetuates domination by concealing the true nature of words and actions, which, instead of confronting structural injustices, end up reinforcing them. As Frigotto (2010, p. 37-38) maintains, "[...] the school will be a locus that occupies – for 'forced unproductive' work – more and more people and in a longer period of time and that, although it does not produce surplus value, is extremely necessary to the capitalist system [...]; and, in this sense, it will be a productive work". Thus, "[...] the Brazilian educational reforms already implemented or in the process of being implemented aim, from the technical point of view, at the formation of an enterprising man and, from the ethical-political point of view, at the formation of a collaborating man, essential characteristics of the urban intellectual today [...]" (Neves, 2005, p. 105). In general terms, a discursive hegemony that humanizes exploitation is constructed, thus reinforcing practices of self-exploitation of the subjects, while public resources are directed to business groups that volunteer in the name of building social consensus around a project disguised as autonomous, modern and technological.

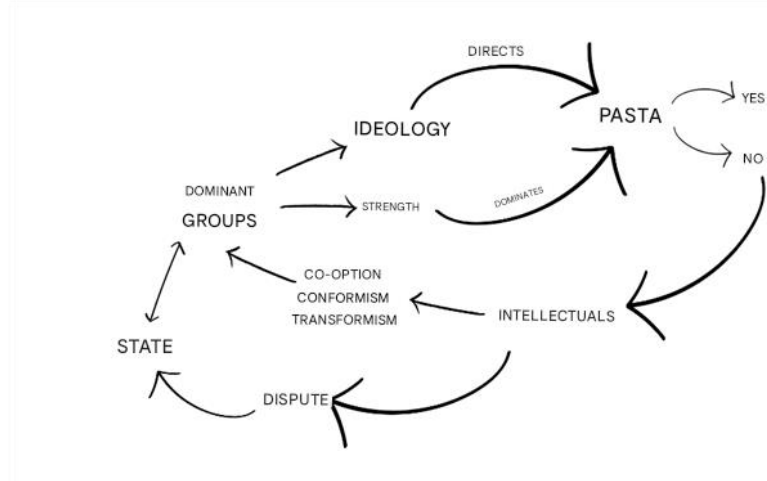
For this movement, we identified two types of business organizations: (a) think tanks, producers of ideologies committed to this new pedagogy; and (b) the foundations and institutes that transform the ideas of the previous group into concrete actions. In this way, "[...] There is also a clear trend towards professionalization and training of a body of specialists who, organized in foundations, institutes or departments of the company itself, have been receiving the function of planning, executing and evaluating social projects developed [...]" (Neves, 2005, p. 171).

[...] the new dimension of the class struggle is ideological and requires appropriating a critical and comprehensive perspective in order to confront the struggle for hegemony. This means, in the field of knowledge, demystifying naturalized concepts and the pretense of neutrality, recovering the concrete historicity of life, identifying contradictions in order to overcome them, understanding that the class struggle takes place in everyday life, in the way of life and thinking. It is about understanding that, in society, nothing is natural, everything is historical (Schlesener, 2016, p. 53-54).

The symbiosis between the State and the dominant groups ensures the perpetuation of the capitalist system, as illustrated in image 2. Ideology is employed as an instrument of control, shaping the perceptions and behaviors of the masses, leading them to accept the established order as something natural and beneficial. When ideology fails to have the

desired effect, force is used, either directly or indirectly, to ensure conformity. Intellectuals, in turn, occupy an ambiguous position, being able to act both as mediators of the *status quo* and as contestants of hegemony. The depoliticization of the masses, resulting from the transformation of active subjects into conformed volunteers, prevents the formation of political collectives capable of challenging the established order.

IMAGE 2 – Synthesis of the tension between hegemony and counter-hegemony.



Source: Prepared by the authors from Schlesener (2024).

When we apply Gramscian concepts, we observe the loss of control and direction of the masses over this pedagogical process, making it crucial to analyze ideologies, especially those associated with technologies and their discourses of modernity presented in a naturalized way. In this context, intellectuals/professors who resist hegemony are faced with two paths: co-optation and conformism, or the continuation of the dispute for hegemony on a daily basis.

CONCLUSION

Pedagogical work, by being limited to a single discipline or approach, runs the risk of impoverishing thinking and distorting the understanding of the education of students, especially those from the poorest sectors. This is largely due to the absence of an interdisciplinary approach, which is essential for understanding the social, cultural, and economic influences that shape learning processes. In the context of technological education, this impoverishment is even more evident, because, by being restricted to a technicist view, the formation of the working class can be distorted, leaving aside the human and critical aspects of the educational process (Nosella, 2004).

Language, as a central element in the struggle for hegemony, plays a fundamental role in this process. As Schlesener (2016) argues, language not only constructs meanings and identities, but also defines the power relations and social structures that govern society. Thus, when using technologies in everyday school life, it is crucial that education goes beyond technical training and considers the construction of a critical consciousness, aligned with the struggle against forms of domination. From the Gramscian perspective, it is necessary to distinguish between the technical and formal aspects of literate culture and the ethical-intellectual maturity of the students (Nosella, 2004). Teachers, in this scenario, play a decisive role in the cultural clash, as they are the ones who mediate the implementation of technologies, often imposed as an ideology by hegemonic directions.

This confrontation of educational challenges, which involves the use of technology in school, aims to promote a more emancipatory and conscious education. Schools, although often used to reinforce bourgeois sociability and its technological rationality, also have great potential to become spaces of resistance and transformation. The performance of teachers as critical intellectuals is a determining factor in this process of transformation. This dual role of the school, as a reproducer and at the same time a potential transformer of social relations, requires a critical analysis of educational policies and their implications in the broader context of power relations and hegemony in society.

The formation of an elite distant from the people, throughout the process of development of capitalism, is strengthened with the insertion of new technologies of mass communication. The subordination of the media to large corporations contributes to consolidating a mass culture that feeds hegemony, creating homogeneous thinking and behaviors adjusted to dominant interests (Schlesener, 2016). Thus, education needs to be seen not only as a means of transmitting knowledge, but as a crucial space for the integration of ideologies, hegemonies, and languages that question the supposed neutrality of public policies aimed at the "modernization" of schools. This modernization, often guided by a techno-scientific logic, must be criticized and challenged so that we can move towards a more humane, emancipatory education capable of dealing with the coercive abuses that can hide behind educational innovation proposals.

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