



DRIVER EDUCATION: DEHUMANIZING EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

EDUCAÇÃO PARA O TRÂNSITO:
PROCESSOS EDUCATIVOS DESUMANIZADORES

EDUCACIÓN DE TRÁFICO:
PROCESOS EDUCATIVOS DESHUMANIZADORES

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to be a theoretical foundation for the study of educational processes in social practice. The general objective of this research is to identify the educational processes that emerge from the relationship between driving instructors and their respective students during the social practice "driving lessons" in the city of Uberaba, MG, Brazil and analyze their documents in the context of driver education. A qualitative methodology (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994) with a descriptive-exploratory purpose that consists of obtaining data through the application of a structured questionnaire (GIL, 2008), documentary research (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 1986), and direct observation with daily field records (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994) was used. Field research took place in active driving schools accredited by the Minas Gerais State Department of Motor Vehicles (DETRAN/MG/Brazil), which are linked to a network. The process of organizing, coding, categorizing and analyzing the data followed the guidelines of Braun & Clarke (2006) in an intimate dialogue with the theoretical-methodological assumptions of triangulation described by Triviños (1987). As a result, there is the unveiling of a chain of dehumanization that permeates not only driving lessons and the Driver Qualification Process, but also driver education as a whole. It also shows the existence of forces of resistance that trigger educational processes that fight against fatalism and reaffirm the hope in the ontological force of "being more".

KEYWORDS: Driving lessons. Educational processes. Education as culture.

RESUMO

Este artigo tem como fundamentação teórica os estudos de processos educativos em práticas sociais. A pesquisa teve como objetivo geral identificar os processos educativos que emergem da relação entre instrutores(as) de trânsito e seus(as) respectivos(as) alunos(as) durante a prática social "aulas de direção veicular" no município de Uberaba/MG e analisar seus desdobramentos no contexto da Educação para o trânsito. A metodologia é de caráter qualitativo (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994), com finalidade descritivo-exploratória, cujos meios para a obtenção de dados foram: aplicação de questionário estruturado (GIL, 2008); pesquisa documental (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 1986); e observação direta, com registros em diários de campo (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994). A pesquisa de campo se deu em autoescolas ativas e credenciadas pelo Departamento Estadual de Trânsito de



Minas Gerais (DETRAN/MG), vinculadas a uma rede. O processo de organização, codificação, categorização e análise dos dados seguiu as orientações de Braun & Clarke (2006) em íntimo diálogo com os pressupostos teóricometodológicos da triangulação descritos por Triviños (1987). Como resultado tem-se o desvelamento de uma cadeia de desumanização que permeia não só as aulas de direção veicular e o Processo de Habilitação de Trânsito, mas a Educação para o trânsito como um todo. Mostra ainda, a existência de forças de resistência que desencadeiam processos educativos que lutam contra o fatalismo e reafirmam a esperança na força antológica do “ser mais”.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Aulas de direção veicular. Processos educativos. Educação como cultura

RESUMÉN

Este artículo pretende ser una base teórica para el estudio de los procesos educativos en la práctica social. El objetivo general de esta investigación es identificar los procesos educativos que surgen de la relación entre los instructores de tránsito y sus respectivos estudiantes durante la práctica social "salas de manejo de vehículos" en la ciudad de Uberaba / MG y analizar sus documentos en el contexto de la educación para o tránsito. Una metodología cualitativa (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994), con propósito descriptivo-exploratorio, que consiste en la obtención de datos mediante: aplicación de un cuestionario estructurado (GIL, 2008); investigación documental (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 1986); y observación directa, con registros diarios de campo (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994). Una investigación de campo reveló escuelas de manejo activas acreditadas por el Departamento de Tráfico del Estado de Minas Gerais (DETRAN / MG), vinculadas a una red. O el proceso de organizar, codificar, categorizar y analizar dos datos siguiendo los lineamientos de Braun & Clarke (2006) en estrecho diálogo con los supuestos teóricos y metodológicos de la triangulación descritos por Triviños (1987). Como resultado, la develación de una cadena de deshumanización que impregna solo las aulas de gestión de vehículos y el Proceso de Habilitación del Tránsito, además de la Educación para o Tráfico, así como todo. También muestra la existencia de fuerzas de resistencia que desencadenan procesos educativos que luchan contra el fatalismo y reafirman la esperanza en la fuerza antológica del “ser más”.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Clases de conducir. Procesos educativos. Educación como cultura

INTRODUCTION

This article stems from Master's in Education research entitled **Beyond the CNH: educational processes of the social practice “driving lessons” in the context of driver education**, developed from the theoretical foundations of “education as culture” elaborated by Carlos Brandão (2013) and Paulo Freire (2005), which enabled the studies of “educational processes in social practices” from the perspective adopted by Maria Waldenez de Oliveira, et al. (2014), focusing on Driver Education.

From this expanded perspective of educational phenomenon, the research that gave rise to this article aimed to identify the educational processes that emerge from the relationship between driving instructors and their respective students during the social practice of “driving lessons” in the municipality of Uberaba, MG and also to analyze their outcomes in the context of Driver Education.

As the object of study, driving lessons that are part of the Driver Qualification Process (DQP) were carried out. The general results of the investigation present multiple possible approaches. However, considering the current political scenario and the need to resist the advanced process of precariousness in regulatory frameworks, which guarantee a minimum of humanity in the social relations inherent to Driver Education, it is urgent to invest first in reporting and denouncing so that, later, it is possible to proceed in a more purposeful manner.

Therefore, this article presents the results extracted from the data analysis that gave rise to the central theme "dehumanization and its constraints on human processes" and is organized as follows: first, the theoretical framework that guided the analysis of the produced data is presented. Next, the assumptions and methodological procedures adopted for the data production are presented and, finally, the analyses around the central theme previously announced are presented.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For over a century, the automobile has fueled the imagination and altered the sociocultural dynamics of Western society. To get an idea of the symbolic power of the car, just look at the film industry's successful strategy of associating great film and television heroes with luxurious, super-powered cars.

Guillermo Giucci (2004 p. 263) helps to understand this fascination with the car when he states that "the automobile is the quintessential symbol of modernity at the beginning of the 20th century. Its arrival in different parts of the world illustrates the irresistible trajectory of mobility". Therefore, as a symbol, the car performs other functions and goes beyond its essential purpose, which is the transport of cargo and or passengers. Likewise, analyzing traffic from an anthropological perspective, Roberto DaMatta (2010, p. 28) says that:

In Brazil, we resumed the use of sedan chairs carried by slaves when we opened our arms to individual transport. That's how we became modern like the Europeans and Americans and stayed true to our taste for hierarchically constructed public space.

Here, DaMatta (2010), in addition to reaffirming the cultural dimension of the automobile, makes an important socio-historical contribution by relating traffic behavior to the aristocratic universe of Brazilian society's slave owning past.

Without the same historical/sociological perspective, but equally important, are the works on traffic psychology organized by Maria Helena Hoffmann, Roberto Morais Cruz and João Carlos Alchieri (2011). Their focus is centered on human behavior in traffic. One of the works published by this group corroborates this discussion by stating that, "the car becomes

an object of power and self-assertion, a need that arises in many cases to compensate for insecurities or feelings of inadequacy and inferiority" (CORASSA, 2011, p. 49).

Given this, it can be said that traffic is a historically constructed, socially structured and culturally symbolized phenomenon, and thus constitutes what Pierre Bourdieu (2004) categorized as a social field.

The fields are formed by agents, which can be individuals or institutions, who create the spaces and make them exist through the relationships they establish there. One of the principles of the fields, as it determines what agents can and cannot do, is the "structure of objective relationships between different agents" (BOURDIEU, 2004, p. 23).

Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, in addition to making it possible to understand traffic as a social field (BOURDIEU, 2004), provides, through the concept of symbolic violence, a critical understanding of the forces that favor the hierarchy of social relations and that interfere with human behavior in traffic. According to Bourdieu (1997, p. 22), "symbolic violence is violence that is exercised with the tacit complicity of those who suffer it and, often, of those who exercise it to the extent that both are unaware of exercising or suffering".

Understanding the operation dynamics and knowing the sociocultural structures responsible for the production/reproduction of violence, oppression, and the dehumanization of and in traffic is essential for a broader analysis of a phenomenon responsible for claiming half a million¹ lives in just a decade. However, this movement should only be the first step because, according to Freire (2005, p. 32), "if we admitted that dehumanization is the historical vocation of men, we would have nothing else to do except to adopt a cynical attitude or one of total despair", which is, of course, not the purpose of this article.

From the perspective of education, which is the core of this research, the first step towards overcoming this spiral of dehumanization is to understand that during driving lessons, instructors and students² relate and interact with each other, and together they fall into an even more complex set of relationships. Referencing Freire's understanding (2005, p. 79) that "no one educates anyone, just as no one educates himself: men educate themselves in communion, mediated by the world", it is possible to say that driving lessons constitute a social practice and from it numerous educational processes emerge, because as Brandão (2013, p. 7) would say, "no one escapes education".

¹ Statistical Bulletin: special edition 10 2008-2017, Seguradora Líder/DPVAT (2018): Available at: https://www.seguradoralider.com.br/Documents/boletimestatistico/Boletim%20_ESPECIAL%2010%20ANOS.pdf Accessed on: 20 Feb. 2021.

² By virtue of legal concept, it will be necessary, in specific situations, to use the term "candidate". Legislation and normative instructions refer to drivers in training as candidates for the CNH (Brazilian Driver's License).

Social practices are constituted from the establishment of relationships and interrelationships of human subjects, and within them, essential knowledge for the lives of the people involved in these practices is developed. According to Oliveira, et al. (2014, p. 33)

Social practices arise from and generate interactions between individuals and between them and the natural, social and cultural environments in which they live. They develop within groups and institutions with the purpose of producing goods, transmitting values and meanings, teaching how to live and control life; and finally, maintaining the material and symbolic survival of human societies.

Thus, research in education that investigates educational processes in social practices in non-school environments proved to be an important conceptual and methodological contribution in unveiling the contradictions that dehumanize relationships both in traffic and in the driver training process.

METHODOLOGICAL COURSE

The methodology was qualitative (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1994), with a descriptive-exploratory purpose, whose means for obtaining data were the application of a structured questionnaire, documentary research and direct observation with notes in field journals. The research was developed with 19 people in a Network of Driving Schools, popularly known as Autoescolas. The participants were 4 instructors and 15 students in the city of Uberaba, MG.

To try and understand the initial motivations that led the subjects to the Driver Qualification Process and their expectations in relation to practical driving lessons, a structured questionnaire was used as a collection instrument, because, according to Gil (2008, p. 121), this instrument allows the investigator to “obtain information about knowledge, beliefs, feelings, values, interests, expectations, aspirations, fears, present or past behavior, etc.”

The field research,³ which began in July 2019 and ended in January 2020, took place in a network of driving schools accredited by the Minas Gerais State Department of Motor Vehicles (DETRAN/MG), having as its specific field of action three schools located in the southwest region of the city. Ten meetings were held, and the participation of the researcher took place through direct observation with records in a Field Journal, as directed by Bogdan; Biklen (1994).

The documentary research (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 1986) was developed through the analysis of legislation that regulates Driver Education and the training of drivers. Documents such as such as federal legislation, state ordinances and state normative instructions were analyzed in

³ Approved through Opinion No. 3.660.851 issued by the Research Ethics Committee (CEP) of the University of Uberaba.

addition to syllabi of instructor training courses, which define, standardize and guide practical driving lessons.

The process of organizing, coding, categorizing and analyzing the data followed the Thematic Analysis guidelines by Braun & Clarke (2006) in an intimate dialogue with the theoretical-methodological assumptions of triangulation described by Triviños (1987).

To guarantee the historical and cultural elements and the link between the phenomenon and macroreality, Triviños (1987) suggests three structural vertices for the data triangulation process. In the first vertex, called “processes and products elaborated by the researcher and those constructed by the subjects”, the data collected through questionnaires answered by the students were gathered. In the second vertex, “elements produced by the environment”, the data collected through the field journal notes were grouped. In the third and last vertex, “processes and products originated by the socioeconomic and cultural structure of the social macroorganism”, the data from the documents produced by state bureaucracy were allocated.

To carry out the analysis, it was necessary to start from categories that emerged from the data and then follow the 6 essential steps, according to Clarke and Braun (2006): 1. Familiarization with data; 2. Generating initial codes; 3. Searching for themes; 4. Reviewing the themes; 5. Defining and naming the themes; 6. Producing the report. It is reinforced that data were collected/produced from the application of questionnaires to driving students/candidates, field journal notes obtained from direct observation and the selection of documents related to the Driver Qualification Process.

From the reading of the data produced, it was possible to establish the coding process that gave rise to three central themes: 1) dehumanization; 2) the conditions of dehumanization in human processes; and 3) humanization in inhumanity. From the thematic review, two final themes of analysis were concluded upon: 1) dehumanization and its conditions in human processes – the subject of discussion in this article; 2) humanization in inhumanity.

The analysis of the themes exposed a chain of dehumanization that permeates not only driving lessons and the Driver Qualification Process, but also Driver Education as a whole. It also revealed that, within dehumanization, there are forces of resistance that unleash educational processes that, in addition to preserving their own humanities, contribute to the restitution of part of the other’s humanity, thus deconstructing fatalism and reaffirming hope in the ontological force of “being more” talked about by Freire (2005), as shown below.



DEHUMANIZATION AND ITS CONDITIONING IN HUMAN PROCESSES

The research identified, in the Driver Qualification Process (DQP), elements that configure educational processes resulting from direct and indirect interactions - within and beyond - the social practice of “driving lessons”.

Through the conditioning concepts - rushing, arbitrariness, bureaucracy, formalism, fragmentation, ineffectiveness, pressure and chauvinism - it was possible to understand the action and performance of social structures that trigger processes that contribute to the denial of the other’s humanity, represented in the concepts that support the central theme “dehumanization” – oppression, stress, imbalance, intimidation, reproduction, utilitarianism, technicality and exclusion.

It is necessary to present the analysis, given the relevance and eloquence of the phenomenon, by exploring the concept of bureaucracy⁴, which occupies a prominent space because it acts at the limit between the efforts of humanity, while processes of rationalizing social life and the conditioning of dehumanization act as instruments liable to the intimidation and oppression of some and to the detriment of the privileges of others.

Here, it is important to highlight and differentiate this double dimension of bureaucracy, and to do so, the term bureaucratic will be used to speak of processes that emanate from the Modern Rational State and contribute to the organization of life in society, and the terms bureaucratists/bureaucratization will be used to denounce the distortion of this goal.

Bureaucratization brings with it the essence and perversity of symbolic violence, according to Bourdieu (1997), since it presents itself as neutral, impartial, necessary, rational and legal, but other elements such as fragmentation, formalism, ineffectiveness and arbitrariness itself follow in its wake. These instruments of dehumanization cross and condition the driver qualification process.

One of the elements of this articulation that is characteristic of the DQP is its fragmentation, which can be observed in the studied legislation:

Art. 3 To obtain an ACC (motorcycle/moped license) and CNH (driver’s license), the candidate must submit to:

I – Psychological Assessment;

II – Physical and Mental Aptitude Examination;

III – Written exam, on the entirety of the syllabus content, developed in a Training Course for Drivers;

⁴ Considering the existence of humanization efforts in bureaucracy, as an ideal type of sociological category (WEBER, 1982) and as an objective instrument of governance, does not necessarily mean disregarding its own instruments of dehumanization.



IV – Vehicle Driving Examination, carried out on public roads, in a vehicle of the category for which you are qualifying. (BRAZIL, 2004).

The fact that the candidate has only 12 months to complete the process, the scheduling/rescheduling deadlines, the limitation of places for exams/evaluations and the strict control of each activity end up fragmenting the DQP in such a way that many candidates are at great risk of not being able to complete the process on time, especially those with less education and/or with unfavorable financial conditions.

The fragmentation and formalism are such that the State is not content with the monopoly of assessments/exams and the biometric control of the general workload. It also requires, monitors and controls the detailed fulfillment of each element provided in the theoretical course syllabus.

From this pedagogical immobility, a series of situations emerges that condition the teaching practice and pressure the actors - instructors, students and the institution itself - to rush the training process, thus frustrating the initial expectations of pleasurable learning. This was evidenced in the data collected through the questionnaires in which most respondents claimed to have started the DQP to seek autonomy, freedom and the pleasure of driving.

The rushing, pressure and stress that were procedurally developing and accumulating in the previous phases are more strongly experienced at the moment that should be, according to the candidates' expectations, the most pleasurable part of the training: the driving lessons. However, as not everyone reaches this stage in the same emotional, physical and financial conditions, new conditions end up intensifying the situation even more, thus making room for utilitarianism, technicality and reproduction, "annihilating what is fundamentally human in the educational exercise: its formative character." (FREIRE, 1996, p. 33).

In practical driving lessons, dilemmas are experienced daily that only the subject who experiences them can express...

Man, here we work at the limit all day, every day of the week... it's all contradictory: the student wants to learn, but doesn't want to spend on classes; wants to drive in traffic, but does not train for the test; needs instruction but doesn't like to be instructed; the exam area is a public road, but the citizen who is learning to drive cannot travel there; you shouldn't answer the phone during classes, but the driving school keeps calling you; it's crazy. (CRIS⁵, FIELD NOTES, p. 6-7).

⁵ To guarantee the anonymity of the participants, we chose to create neutral pseudonyms – Cris, Jaci, Nery and Muriel – for the instructors because the number of participants was considerably small and these subjects are members of a community. Therefore, it is necessary to expand the protection of their identities. The general universe of students is very large and the period of permanence in the research field is relatively small, in addition to which, the interviewees' profiles are extremely relevant for the research. Therefore, we created pseudonyms consistent with the self-declaration that each person made in the questionnaire. It is also worth noting that the excerpts from the field notes in this section were chosen from the possible dialogue with the

In their speech, Cris brought to light not only the contradictions, but also revealed a condition of pressure and oppression that impels both instructors and students to develop multiple defense mechanisms, many of which are situated on the borders of the teaching ethics mentioned by Freire (1996, p. 33) when he states that “it is not possible to think of human beings far from ethics, let alone outside of it. To be far from, or worse, outside of ethics, among us, women and men, is a transgression”.

Contrary to this eminently human conception, processes and actions that indicate an appeal to the elasticity of a morality based precisely on bureaucratic legality were identified in the instructor’s speech. This is because the instructors find in the legal support, in addition to the tacit definitions of the limits of their attributions, the necessary stimulus for a technical exercise of their practices, since the legislation itself does not grant them a formative role, as provided for in Article 3 of Law No. 12.302 of August of 2010, which states that:

Art. 3º. It is up to the driving instructor to:
I - instruct students about the theoretical knowledge and skills necessary to obtain, alter, and renew the driver’s license and the authorization to drive motorcycles/mopeds. (BRAZIL, 2010).

Succumbing to bureaucratic legalism, which brings in its historical core multiple interests such as labor issues (just the most latent example), evidences a movement of accommodation and adjustment that, in practice, unveils the action of structuring structures acting to conform *habitus* as a “generating principle of responses more or less adapted to the demands of a field” (BOURDIEU, 2004, p. 131), a force that works to naturalize and dehistoricize adherence to the “easy deviations with which we are tempted, sometimes or almost always, to get rid of the difficulties that the right paths can put in our way.” (FREIRE, 1996, p. 33).

The symbolic violence introduced in the DQP finds in bureaucratization an important vector of reproduction of inequities and injustices. As other subjects, multiple interests and, above all, an object that goes beyond its condition as a thing, the car, are incorporated in practical driving lessons, situations become much more complex. Learning-teaching-learning, most of the time, becomes specific training. Its purpose is summarized, at that moment, in overcoming the contradictions and difficulties imposed by objective reality, passing the dreaded practical driving test.

This situation could be even better understood when, provoked by the researcher, a group of instructors brought an interpretation that corroborates Cris' speech in terms of conditioning and its consequences. However, the unspoken declarations - internalized devices externalized through the language - also became revealing:

central theme targeted for analysis – as the adopted Thematic Analysis methodology presupposes – and which is presented in this text.

“The candidate wants to learn to drive, but there are a million situations that make life difficult for the guy: there is only one exam area; the guy has to start and finish the class with his fingerprints on the driving school computer; the boss, the husband, the boyfriend make the schedule difficult; the mother arrives crying because the child is sick; the number of classes is small, but the monetary cost is high and the money is low. In this situation, what does the guy do? He asks you to focus on the e...xam”, justified the instructor Muriel, when another colleague concluded: “There's no way this is conditioning. If you don't train to do exactly what is required in the exam – which is totally different from what is done in the driver's daily life – the candidate goes to the driving school and blows up at the instructor”. (JACI; MURIEL, FIELD NOTES, p. 15).

With the problem brought up in Muriel's declaration and complemented by the colleague, it is evident that bureaucratic mechanisms have conditioned the DQP and that this situation triggers other sets of perceptions, actions and behaviors, many of which end up providing feedback to the system and serving as justification for the intensification of bureaucratization itself, as well as creating the conditions for feelings of denial, including humanization efforts.

Another element of the declaration that cannot go unnoticed is a grammatical gender contradiction that lays bare the gender relations⁶ that are also present and active in the process. According to Muriel's declaration, the person who wants to learn, who starts and stops, who asks and who blows up is the Guy; but the person who is subject to the wishes of the boss, boyfriend and husband, who is late and, above all, who cries, is the woman.

This situation, unintentionally revealed, could also be observed in the form of differentiated treatment that instructors gave to their students during practical driving lessons. The tone of speech with the female students is more professorial, brings a more accentuated formality and reproduces the idea of women's fragility. The conversations are more restricted to the universe of the classes/exams themselves and or about the daily dilemmas and afflictions brought up as a justification for the apparent poor technical performance. Vocabulary undergoes a slight change and situations capable of softening the intense demand are created, as can be seen in the note below.

The class somewhat followed the same pattern. The female student had some difficulties with the execution of the maneuvers (continuous reverse, stopping without the brake and conversions). As for the first two female students, the instructor reassured the student saying, “this is really difficult, with training we can correct it”. However, he also demanded better performance in the conversions saying, “but you should already be able to do the conversions well, huh!” (FIELD NOTES, p. 10).

⁶ Category used in the perspective of Heleieth Saffioti (1992), who states that “gender is a relational, analytical category that belongs to the social process” Thus, the concept of gender relations is chosen because it is understood that the referred concept gives account of “capturing the web of social relations, as well as the transformations it has undergone historically through the most distinct social processes.” (SAFFIOTI, 1992, p. 187).

On the other hand, boys are given special attention. Relaxed speeches are generally used and, despite talking about different subjects, the automobile universe assumes a prominent place among instructors and students, moving most often to issues related to engine power, technical issues, models, aerodynamics and sportsmanship of cars. In other words, in the case of a man instructing a man⁷, there was relaxation, speeches that denote intimacy and even the demands assume a certain jocular tone - Come on, big guy! Stop there, you big lug! Stop being such a goof! – situations that considerably favored the dynamics of the class and relieved the pressure on students, as expressed in the notes taken from the field note below.

The next lesson was very interesting because this time a young man of 18 years who already has a fair amount of driving experience was waiting to start his lesson. The class started at the door of the school and the instructor used part of the time to catch up on his schedule, reorganize classes, clean the car's glove compartment and even check important messages on his app. Along the way, the professorial tone of sentence completion (to turn right you need to turn on the... blinker) gave way to praise and comparisons. After a provocation, the instructor did not hesitate to say, "women have more difficulty, but it is not because they are worse or better than men, it seems that they were trained to be afraid. (FIELD NOTES, p. 13).

When it comes to a woman instructing a man, the situation is more tense and it was even possible to notice very firm postures, which reflect the need for a constant search for self-assertion⁸. This is a typical situation for those who live with and have learned how to operate chauvinistic structures, as can be seen in the following passage. As the gender of the participants is the object of analysis in this case, even the instructor's pseudonym was omitted.

In Necrecio's first practical driving lesson, when he sat on the seat and tried to fasten his seat belt, the instructor immediately interrupted him: just a moment, before you start, we need to talk a little...to ensure a good relationship and better performance during lesson, we need to establish some rules. These rules are related, on the one hand, to the techniques necessary to pass the test, and on the other hand, to the safety rules necessary for you and others. At that moment, the student cringed, folded his hands and began to pay close attention to the directions. Consciously, she ignored the student's previous knowledge and skills, introduced each of the components of the dashboard, pedals and vehicle levers, as well as presented the correct sequence of adjustments (1st - seat, 2nd - mirrors and 3rd - seat belt). Before the departure she said the following: I know you already know how to drive, but from now on you will need to forget everything you know. I'll treat you as if you've never driven, just so we can make all the corrections necessary for you to pass the exam. Do you agree? The student, half astonished and scared, readily agreed. Then she concluded: Those are the rules... OK? (FIELD NOTES, p. 18-19).

⁷ During the development of the field research, there was no opportunity to follow any class of an admittedly non-heterosexual person.

⁸ And here, no judgment and/or condemnation of the instructor's specific posture is issued. Just the pointing out and problematizing of a situation that goes unnoticed or is simply despised by the dominant forces that, ultimately, appeal to demagoguery to disqualify not the instructor, but an entire segment.



If the strategy was to impose her authority from the start, the instructor was successful because at the end of the class, the student made the following comment: “it seems like it's the first time I'm driving. This business of getting a driver's license is very difficult”. The cost of the “good relationship” was priced by the ghostly ballast called Exam, an important bureaucratic tool for controlling the issuance of CNHs (Brazilian Drivers' Licenses), but which, by serving bureaucratization, became an entity that serves to justify and solve all sorts of problems.

As an agglutinating entity of all spells, the Vehicle Driving Examination is evoked at all times as an instrument of pressure and oppression because at every imperfect conversion, forgotten signaling, sudden movement, gear grinding or any other technical slip, the scary and chauvinistic/intimidating phrase comes up automatically: “if you do this at the time of the exam, you'll flunk”.

The result of this type of communication could be captured not only in the observations recorded in Field Notes, but also in numbers and statements collected through the questionnaires.

In one of the questions that made up the questionnaire, the participants were asked about the degree of difficulty each one had in learning to drive. Of the thirteen people who responded, only two acknowledged having a lot of difficulty, while the rest said they had only little or no difficulty in learning to drive. However, when they were asked to point out which were the elements that made learning the most difficult, a scenario of fear and insecurity was unveiled, prevailing among the learning subjects, the “excessive concern with the driving test” and the “fear of crashing the car”.

These elements are recurrently used not only as instruments for defining the space of power, as analyzed above, but also as pedagogical resources associated with the expectations and warnings present in driving lessons.

It was possible to observe this situation during the monitoring of Muriel's classes. At one of the opportunities, Muriel and Cris planned a Pre-Exam that consisted of a simulation of a Vehicle Driving Exam in which they switched vehicles and each evaluated the other's student according to the rules and parameters established in the Exams applied by the examining board – a moment of rare relevance for understanding the phenomenon.

To do the simulation, the instructor played the character of a driving examiner. This character had serious features, short and direct speeches and was slightly moody. During the simulated course, the instructor/examiner issued the commands and only made a comment to point out the errors and imperfections that justified the final fail. When parking the vehicle and switching back, the instructors made a point of

socializing, in the presence of the student, discussing the problems that needed to be resolved and also reinforcing the student's potential. Upon returning to the car, Muriel left the examining character. It was then explained that the students need to get used to the exam environment... they must go through this: passing and failing in simulations, being evaluated by third parties; seeing a judgmental face; this is, at the least, what they will encounter on exam day. (FIELD NOTES, p. 11).

The good intention, in itself, has not been able to overcome the dehumanization established in and by DQP, since essentially some pedagogical practices contribute to the reproduction and further reinforcement of oppression. This is because the utilitarian search for preparation exclusively for the Exam triggers such a strong technicality that the learning subjects themselves are compelled to choose between what is essential for training and what is necessary to qualify.

This paradox could be observed in the declaration of a student who, when asked about the personal perception of her own education, brought the following reflection:

“It's a mixture of feelings as there is a need to pass the exam, which is an expensive and traumatic process. In other words, I feel joy/hope when thinking that I could pass, but there's also that insecurity as the exam approaches.” (NERYELE, Questionnaire, n-03).

Thus, the cycle of dehumanization is completed with the subjects that integrate the studied social practice playing multiple roles, through which multiple forms of oppression are also manifested, thus feeding fear, insecurity, stress and instability.

In this process of escalating dehumanization, the subject now occupies an unfavorable situation and soon after may find themselves in the condition of oppressor of others, even though they are often not fully aware of what role they are playing. This is because the subtlety of symbolic violence and *habitus*, as a “generating and unifying principle of the set of practices and ideologies characteristic of a group of agents” (BOURDIEU, 2005, p. 191), regroup fragmentations, arbitrariness, bureaucratization and the considerable differences in a single category, through which they justify and naturalize the inhumanity of the process and reduce everything to a simple matter of personal abilities.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This scenario, which is complex and precarious in itself, is becoming easy prey for inhumanity. One example, demagoguery, supported and favored by the reach of social networks, has increased people's frustrations, anxieties and indignation in relation to bureaucratic processes related to driving - surveillance, fines, renewal of licenses, driving school, among others. Its strength lies precisely in the emotional exploitation of premises that find



materiality in the naturalization of contradictions; elements that are easily identified, understood and incorporated by common sense.

As one of the most illustrious exponents of the Escola Sem Partido movement⁹, congressman Kim Kataguirí (Democrats/SP) presented in September 2020, Bill 4474/20, which would allow “the instruction given to future drivers of motor vehicles to be done privately, without the need for the candidate to attend a driving school”. Under the pretext of reducing bureaucracy, it creates, once again, the window of opportunity for the precariousness of working/life conditions, as well as offers a gigantic market niche to be uberized¹⁰.

As an exponent of the spirit of our time, there is Bill 3.267/2019, which was presented by the Executive Branch and has already passed through the National Congress. It was approved with some minor adjustments, although not yet sanctioned. However, the text of the law disregards the observations, warnings, opinions and technical notes of entities such as the Federal Council of Psychology (CFP) and the Brazilian Association of Traffic Medicine (ABRAMET), among others.

It is not yet possible to measure what the impacts of such decisions will be. However, it is possible to allude that, in addition to being in deep agreement with the interests of automobile speculation, these legislative initiatives have not lost sight of the essence of the coloniality that permeates the power relations of a nation formed from and under lordship, as highlighted by DaMatta (2010).

Deregulating the few situations of effective safety standard control, making legislation more flexible in favor of an atomization of different and unequal wills, as well as ensuring that offenders have the right not only to continue breaking the law and threatening society, but also to exercise their deadly driving habits,¹¹ ultimately configures the “doxa of the paradox” itself (BOURDIEU, 2018), because it means, in fact, to demand the restitution of the aristocracy’s historical right to exercise oppression and inhumanity; a right that does not

⁹ Ideological movement created in 2004 by lawyer Miguel Nagib, aims to change the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (Law 9394/1996), a condition to censor the freedom of professorship in favor of combating what they define as “abuse of the freedom of teach”.

¹⁰ In his book “Uberization: the new wave of precarious work” Tom Slee (2017), exposes the cynicism of the so-called Shared Economy promoted by technology giants such as Uber and AibnB. According to the author, through self-promotion and intense lobbying, these companies advertise the wonders of technology and promise, among other things, expanding social cooperation, promoting multiple opportunities and greater parsimony in the use of resources. But, in practice, it has been found that its operations, in various parts of the world, are promoting a generalized deregulation that, in addition to the precariousness of work and the consequent loss of individual autonomy, has challenged the rules of democracy, denying tax collection and further expanding monopolies.

¹¹ In PL 3267/2019, the article (Art. 261. I) brings a new wording that expands the scoring limit from 20 to 40 per infraction for the application of the suspension penalty of the right to drive.

allow the said aristocracy to be subjected to the bureaucratization process which, in essence, has always served it.

It was possible to verify the existence of a set of educational processes that act by conditioning subjects, techniques and norms, and thus create and feed the contradictions from which the various forms of inhumanity are manifested, from utilitarian technicality to the most dangerous political demagogy. The investigation thus unveiled a situation of dehumanization that sometimes manifests itself openly, clearly and brutally, and that sometimes acts through implicit, subtle and camouflaged symbolic violence, making it difficult for people to recognize themselves as subjects of the social roles they develop.

Thus, dehumanization in traffic translated into official statistics only as fatality/misfortune and or as a result of a specific problem, for example, the possible bad technical training of instructors, can now be understood within the markers of its complexity as a phenomenon inserted in a given context and developed by a given society, whose own trajectory unveils a process of “dehumanization not as ontological feasibility, but as an [eminently] historical reality” as highlighted by Freire (2005).

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