



The valorization of education professionals: contradictory process

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ABSTRACT. The article aims to question whether valuing workers in education is a reality or just an ideological discourse. When analyzing the view of the National Confederation of Workers in Education about the valorization processes, it establishes the criticism, pointing out that there were advances in achieving the legal norms, but there was a process of class illusion when it asserts that the norms would be fulfilled. Establishes theoretical discussion to support the fight in defense of the valorization of education professionals. The approach is critical-dialectic, since it intends to unveil the conflicts of interests that are established in social movements and discuss processes of transformation of social reality, anchored in the category of founding work of the social being, analyzing from the method the totality, praxis, contradiction and mediation allowing us to apprehend the reality that presents itself as a structured whole. We affirm that, in a certain way, the changes that occur in society have broadened the locus of struggle and differentiated the subjects, giving greater visibility to the differences and drawing up joint tactics requires the understanding that, at this moment, ideological differences have to be overcome.

Keywords: education workers; fight; social movements.

A valorização dos profissionais da educação: processo contraditório

RESUMO. O artigo tem por objetivo questionar se a valorização dos trabalhadores em educação, é uma realidade ou apenas um discurso ideológico. Ao analisar a visão da Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação sobre os processos de valorização estabelece a crítica, salientando que ocorreram avanços ao conquistarem as normas legais, mas ocorreu um processo de ilusão de classe quando assevera que as normativas seriam cumpridas. Estabelece discussão teórica para subsidiar a luta em defesa da valorização dos profissionais da educação. A abordagem é crítico-dialética, já que intenciona desvelar os conflitos de interesses que se estabelecem nos movimentos sociais e discute processos de transformação da realidade social, ancorados na categoria trabalho fundante do ser social analisamos a partir do método a totalidade, práxis, contradição e mediação nos permitindo apreender a realidade que se apresenta como um todo estruturado. Afirmamos que de certa forma, as modificações que ocorrem na sociedade ampliaram o *locus* da luta e diferenciaram os sujeitos, dando maior visibilidade às diferenças e traçar táticas conjuntas requer a compreensão de que, neste momento, as diferenças ideológicas têm que ser superadas.

Palavras-chave: trabalhadores da educação; luta; movimentos sociais.

La valoración de profesionales de la educación: proceso contradictorio

RESUMEN. El artículo tiene como objetivo cuestionar si la valoración de los trabajadores en la educación es una realidad o solo un discurso ideológico. Al analizar la visión de la Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación sobre los procesos de valorización, se establece la crítica, señalando que hubo avances en el cumplimiento de las normas legales, pero hubo un proceso de ilusión de clase cuando afirma que las normas se cumplirían. Establece la discusión teórica para apoyar la lucha en defensa de la valorización de los profesionales de la educación. El enfoque es crítico-dialéctico, ya que pretende desvelar los conflictos de intereses que se establecen en los movimientos sociales y discutir procesos de transformación de la realidad social, anclado en la categoría de trabajo fundacional del ser social, analizando desde el método la totalidad, praxis, contradicción y mediación que nos permite aprehender la realidad que se presenta como un todo estructurado. Afirmamos que, en cierto modo, los cambios que se producen en la sociedad han ampliado el locus de lucha y diferenciado a los sujetos, dando mayor visibilidad

a las diferencias y la elaboración de tácticas conjuntas requiere entender que, en este momento, hay que superar las diferencias ideológicas.

Palabras clave: trabajadores de la educación; lucha; movimientos sociales.

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Introduction

The movement of workers in education at all levels has advocated that the valorization of teaching profession materializes in career, training, salary and working conditions. Our central objective was articulated based on the problem that we proposed: to analyze whether, nowadays, valorization is a reality or is it just an empty discourse, which has been the professional life of workers in education?

The article aims to work on the issue, raising the hypothesis that educational policies have built a contradictory process that values and at the same time devalues the magisterium, threatening public education, since increased privatization actions compromise the Public School, despite significant advances in the norms, by this we used bibliographic research as a technique, which allowed us to analyze the documents discussed in the article.

To deepen the defense of the hypothesis, we worked on the process of productive restructuring, which undertakes actions to increase the productivity of capital, which, in turn, also affects the worlds of work and the whole of society, since it engenders changes in all institutions, including the state structure (Mourão & Almeida, 2005; Mourão, 2006).

According to Alves (2007), 'the new form of work organization brings with it not only the precariousization of work'. But it also creates difficulties for the development of a class consciousness that drives the struggle of workers, given that there are pressures that lead to neo-corporate practices that "implode the 'organic core' of the organized salaried worker of Fordist-Keynesian base, agents of the trade union movement and political of the proletariat class".

Thus, we discuss in the work the struggle of teachers who advocate the valorization of teaching and how the power of the State devalues the teaching work with economic, political and ideological actions that seem to be structuring the valorization, but which in practice insecure the work of the teacher. We briefly discuss productive restructuring because it allows capital to increase accumulation and we understand that historically the distribution of unequal and combined income throws open the door to social segregation between the poor and rich, assuming as "[...] assumption that capitalist production is the production and reproduction of capitalist relations of production [...]" (Kuenzer, 1986, p. 32), accentuated by the logic of the hegemonic capitalist class model, has led a large portion of the world's population to a situation of misery (Silva & Mourão, 2017). This process emerges from our reflection on the CNTE, we affirm that normative acts represent a gain for the career of education professionals, but are not structuring due to class struggle, to deepen this criticism we focus on the financing of education, outsourcing and labor reform with the support of an analysis of ideological, political and attacks that act to demobilize workers' fighting mechanisms.

Our research on the Brazilian Educational Policy led us to reflections that guided us to choose the method of approach. We anchored ourselves in the work category as a founding element of the social being, to the extent that man acts in the world and in doing so modifies it, transforms himself and, consequently, transforms social relations (Marx, 2004). The categories of the whole method, praxis, contradiction and mediation allowed us to analyze the reality that presents itself as a whole structure.

Thus, we utilized a critical-dialectical approach, whose intention is to unveil the conflicts of interests that are established in society and, more specifically, in social movements, seeking with this processes that transform social reality (Gamboa, 2010).

We are militant 'researchers', because by inserting ourselves in academic life, fulfilling all the necessary requirements to be university professors, we also engage in social struggles. The criterion of truth is the social practice that is unveiled at a certain historical time (Triviños, 1997).

Productive restructuring

The search for greater productivity, whose objective is to increase the process of capitalist accumulation, brings new forms of work organization, triggering the following characteristics: a) Organizations have to be leaner, that is, structures have to be more horizontal, hence teamwork; (b) the contents of the work must be

richer and workers must do so, which requires continuous training processes; c) Work autonomy is essential; d) Trust and participation of workers in processes become important, because involvement and participation lead to more responsible behaviors (Mourão, 2006).

The control of labor in the capitalist system assumes its ideological bias acting on power relations aiming at salaries management and training. Concrete work alienated as the essence of man (Marx, 1988) is part of its existence given the present conjuncture inherent to nature, Marx concludes that there was never any other work other than alienation. The European discourse mentioned processes of democratization of companies, in which the humanization and democratization of work would occur. However, in practice what happens is a growing differentiation in the worlds of work with inequalities in processes. Thus, "[...] inequalities related to autonomy at work tend to worsen with the expansion of flexible forms and, above all, with precarious forms of employment, with the diversification and individualization of labor relations" (Kovács, 2006, p. 4).

The new standards of work management also seek a new sociability that is built inside and outside work. Capitalist rationality is not abandoned, but, even so, there is the ideological construction of a new vision of post-economic social utility (Mourão, 2006). Zarifian and Palloix (1988) affirm that the post-economic reality leads to the construction of a new society anchored in new processes of socialization – a transformation they call civil socialization. The need to produce collectively pushes workers to collective social actions, since society has to change and the new economic and social order is erected in representations, in the political debates that build paths of a new economic order (Zarifian, 1992).

This proposition denies the value of exchange, privileges the value of use and, therefore, hides that wealth is constructed by the labor force in a process of expropriation of the worker. There is a fetish around the concepts, since the proposal of a new process of social construction subsidizes capital when it advocates exits from the crisis without shaking its logic. Part of the premise that a new consciousness is being constructed, which we contest, because ideals are not separated from material life and it is precisely human action in the world that develops cognition and behaviors (Marx & Engels, 1991).

The alignment of workers with the objectives of organizations requires new management of human resources, now called people management. In order to have a relationship between the worker and the company a new social contract is explained, which is based on results. To this end, continuous learning is needed to assimilate new knowledge and, at the same time, increase a process of adaptation to the work environment (Trassatti & Costa, 1999).

By digging into the problem seeking to know it with the support of the method, the understanding emerged that the model of people management presents fluidity of the social codes that are socially inscribed and, with this, there is concretely the rupture of labor and union rights (Manfredi, 1998). It is in this perspective that the restructuring of the State and the broad discourse of reforms that, in the name of the 'crisis', destroy the rights conquered. Based on this understanding we question: is there really a process of valorization of education professionals?

Valuing education professionals in CNTE's vision

Since the 1970s, education professionals have discussed the valorization of their profession, establishing the following axis of claims: a) Salary issue (with emphasis on the wage level); b) Democratic freedoms (Elections for school principal and greater participation in decisions); c) Better working and teaching conditions (reduced workload, time to plan and assist students, funds for public school and greater participation in educational issues); training (qualification to subsidize work in the classroom) and career (Statute of the magisterium) (Mourão, 1997).

According to the Brazilian National Confederation of Education Workers [CNTE] in the 2000s there is the return of the debate on the valorization of education professionals, in the context of a new paradigm, that of the construction of the Articulated System of Education. This occurrence occurred due to the creation of three regulatory frameworks that supported the process: Basic Education Fund [FUNDEB] – Law No. 11,494/07 (Brazil, 2007), Wage Level Law (Law 11,738/08) (Brazil, 2008) and Law that incorporates school employees as education workers (Law 12.014/09) (Brazil, 2009). The institution considers:

Based on the foundations of Constitutional Amendment No. 53 of 2006, which establishes FUNDEB along with several other provisions, especially those incorporated into Article 26 of CF/88 (items V, VIII and sole paragraph), the valorization of education professionals has assumed the status of structuring policy for the quality of education, alongside financing, management and institutional evaluation (CNTE, 2009, p. 6).

CNTE understands that there has been an advance in its struggles for valorization and points it to two union actions. The first is the struggle to convince managers who reaffirm the concepts of the wage level law and the second is the construction of plans for positions, careers and salaries, at the state and municipal level. It is important to highlight that we also agree that there has been progress in the construction of regulations that ensure the valorization of workers in education. However, we emphasize that there was an illusion that the regulations would be complied with and would never be subtracted from the workers.

When the progressive trade union movement adests to the Government without more forceful criticism of politics, it loses its class perspective, it shares the idea that the state would be changing, without deepening the relations established by the great capital regarding Brazilian development. They have forgotten, however, that capitalism is a mode of production that expropriates and massacres workers. They did not take into account that the process of globalization points to unequal and combined development and, thus, the norms are the same throughout the capitalist world, given the globalization of capital (Chesnais, 1996).

Some issues needed to be deepened and combated, not only by the movement of workers in education, but by all those who were and are committed to building a more harmonious and egalitarian society. This is because at all times the rights are withdrawn, and the struggle for the guarantee of such achievements resumes. Thus, although the norms are a great advance, they cannot be considered structuring so that there is an improvement in education, even because empirically we have found the opposite and, therefore, we raise questions to deepen our reflection.

Issues to deepen criticism

The financing of education

The policy of funds, according to Davies (2014), fragments education by favoring an educational level, because thinking about educational policy is thinking of an articulated whole, from early childhood education to graduate education. In addition, the author points out that, when setting the resources of funds for education, this percentage is minimal, not meeting the real needs of a socially qualified education.

In addition to these issues, we emphasize that the complementation has not materialized in the remuneration of teachers. In Manaus, for example, at the end of 2017 teachers protested because the city did not have passed on the value of Fundeb, which they would be entitled to. In the complaint, teachers accused the secretary of education of using R \$ 98.2 million to pay for contracts for the provision of services (Teachers of the network ..., 2017).

Davies (2014) also asserts that the policy of funds deepens the corporatism of workers in education, these end up not being incorporated into larger struggles to make education funding more comprehensive (Davies, 2014).

In the 1970s and 1980s, one of the words of order was the non-payment of external debt, the moratorium. Currently, trade unions do not even incorporate the possibility of auditing public debt in their claims, although it is clear that investment in education is incredibly short. We question why this stance.

We were based in Alves (2002) by stating that the logic of toyotism is the capture of the subjectivity of the worker. The author states that productive restructuring is not only aimed at drying up the machine and reducing labor costs, but above all sabotaging the 'memory of the collective worker', preventing the construction of a class consciousness. This form of domination developed the fear syndrome forged by the degradation of work, and the intense and extensive violence causes the working class to lose the prospect of building another society (Alves, 2002).

Outsourcing and labor reform

Law No. 13,429, of March 31, 2017 (Brazil, 2017a) known as the law of outsourcing, which hits the activities ends, precarious the working conditions in Brazil by "[...] legalize the fraudulent interposition of the labor force and withdraw workers' rights" (Sá, 2016, p. 10). For this author, the norm does not meet the constitutional principles of valuing work.

For Sá (2016), the main objective of outsourcing is to circumvent the norms that protect workers contained in the Consolidation of Labor Laws [CLT] instituted through Decree Law No. 5,452 of May 1, 1943 (Brasil, 1943). Now, with the labor reform all the arguments used in defense of the worker dropped, leaving only the law of capital that exploits and expropriates those and those who live from work.

Marques and Ugino (2017) assert that the capitalist expansion process proclaims the free movement of goods and, to this end, it is necessary to remove the State from social and economic issues, leading to deregulation processes, especially from the labor market. It is in this sense that the Labor Reform is included

through Law No. 13,467, of July 13, 2017 (Brasil, 2017b). According to the author, companies maintain, in one pole, a hard core of workers who are entitled to career policy and, in another, outsourced workers, temporarily hired or even partially hired.

The capital to expand increasingly points to the denationalization of Brazilian companies, while aiming to reduce the size of the State, ending the rights already constituted in the name of national development and, to splendour the resistance in the country, promotes the flexibilization of the labor market. So for Marques and Ugino (2017):

The labor reform promoted by the Temer government changed 117 articles and 200 provisions of the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT). Its first objective is to grant security to foreign capital, to the capital that is interested in buying or applying in the businesses now put up for sale in the country through privatization processes or lifting the legal prohibition that existed before. Of course, this benefits all capitalists, who are currently present in the Brazilian economy or not. Thus, the general meaning of labor reform is to grant legal guarantee so that large international capital, especially financial, but associated with industrial and commercial capital, completes the integration of the Brazilian economy into the world economy. Thus, the cost of labor will be under control, so that the capital installed here can compete with that of other economies, in which it is very low (Marques & Ugino, 2017, p. 15).

The author draws attention to the fact that the justice of labor has lost its function, since the new law proclaims that the worker and the company can negotiate; in the negotiation process even the wage level can be questioned since what is worth is the contract signed. Given the changes in Brazilian legislation, the process of valuing the education professional is extremely difficult. The teacher can be hired by a company that will compete in bidding, his salary will be paid by the entrepreneur and no longer by the State, and thus the conquest of the wage level, career, training, working conditions was forgotten by the new legislation, considering that in the current scenario being a teacher is to assume a position of resistance the loss of strength of the CLT leaves education workers in vulnerability because even if it assumes a democratic character and progressive labor rights have been weakened.

To top it off, it was approved with great hope for those who were not attentive to the movement of the class struggle the law of public spending that was promulgated through Constitutional Amendment No. 95, of December 15, 2016 (Brazil, 2016). Through it, the State will not be able to spend more than stipulated, so that the cuts are equated in the areas of Health, Education, Social Security, Rights. It's more of a justification for subcontracting.

Ideological, political and economic attacks

The framework through which Brazilian society goes through requires fighting in the economic, political and ideological terms. To immobilize educators, the ruling class aims to contain the debate, eliminating any idea that will clarify the origin of oppression. It is with this objective that they established several Bills to placate the School without Party as the PL 246/2019 (Brazil, 2019) authored by Congresswoman Bia Kicis (PSL-DF) on February 4, 2019, in a sum represents imposing gags orders on education professionals and broad exercise of class political awareness.

The offensive to silence society goes further, like the PL that is being processed in the Chamber authored by Mr Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN), which "[...] intends to amend the Penal Code by proposing detention from three months to one year for teacher, coordinator, educator, educational advisor or school psychologist who practices the so-called ideological harassment" (Oliveira & Assis, & Lima, 2017, p. 509).

Ideological attacks, however, still come from the social movement itself. We know it's a strong statement, needing to be qualified. "The strength of the class that lives from work [...]" (Antunes, 2010, p. 43) derives from their union, so much so that the expression "Proletarians from all over the world unite [...]" represents the collective labor force (Marx & Engels, 1998, p. 86). Nowadays the trade union movement is all divided, each political current has its Workers' Center. The main justification of the division is how to lead the fight. Capitalists and their allies, despite having divergences, unify to enhance the productivity necessary for capital accumulation, while the class that lives from work is completely divided.

Lenin (2016) criticizes leftism by stating that institutions are not *scabs*, submissive are the leaderships. Therefore, one of the tasks of the class that lives from work is precisely to promote unity at the political level. For what purpose? Build processes of struggle that can really change the structure of the state, which can only happen through really revolutionary processes.

Gramsci (1978) states that the awareness that it belongs to a social class is a process of three moments. In the first, there are behaviors of solidarity with the members of a certain category, it is the corporate economic moment. Later, men acquire the knowledge that interests do not belong to a category, but are general. It is at

this moment that the pressure of the workers is in relation to the State, aiming at the conquest of rights, in terms of legislation and administration. It is the time for reforms and achievements without, however, changing the own structure of the State.

The third moment the struggle of workers is openly political, in which the ideologies that are constructed by the class that lives from work become a political force and, at this moment, there is the understanding that the State is an institution that represents the interests of the ruling class. In this sense, the State has to be modified through revolutionary processes.

As the state is not neutral, "[...] the State cannot be evaluated by analyzing only the men who govern it" (Mourão, 1997, p. 42). The class that lives from work has to outline tactics and strategies for building a more egalitarian society.

The State develops a mechanism of conviction and coercion to maintain its technical and political functions. Thus, co-optation is one of the mechanisms used, the other is ideological domination. When it fails to convince of "its good intentions," the state appeals to coercion. What is the tactics and strategy outlined to build a process of valuing workers in education?

Final considerations

In a way, the changes that occur in society expanded the locus of the struggle and differentiated the subjects, giving greater visibility to the differences. This process was an achievement of social movements, responsible for building the processes of social inclusion. Recognizing the differences and social rights of citizens requires answering some questions.

At first we draw attention to the need to objectify what we want, that is, 'is the struggle of organized civil society a struggle for all?' In our understanding, we say no. To qualify our denial, we ask: Does the women's movement respond to the interests of all women? In some ways, yes. In others, class interest divides women, like the woman who works, takes care of the family, does not have resources for daycare or to hire domestic services, has a double shift. This woman is not the same as the one who has purchasing power and has the means of production.

This reflection permeates all other movements and, thus, it is important to enhance mechanisms of struggle and formation. Fight together for the interests of the class that lives from work and, at the same time, trace frameworks that understand the different moments of the struggle, so that they can stand firmly before the challenges of the 21st century. It is essential, therefore, to respond to the interests of groups, without leaving aside class interests.

Drawing together tactics requires understanding that ideological differences must be overcome at this time. The movement together has to answer: What unites them and what differentiates them? Choosing tactical actions requires understanding the strategic objectives of the movement. Is the strategy outlined the same for all representations of the workers' union movement in Education?

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