

**TENSÕES E CONTRADIÇÕES DO TRABALHO POLIDOCENTE NA  
FORMAÇÃO DE PROFESSORES NA MODALIDADE A DISTÂNCIA:  
UMA ANÁLISE DO PROGRAMA NACIONAL ESCOLA DE GESTORES  
NA UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE OURO PRETO**

***TENSIONES Y CONTRADICIONES DEL TRABAJO POLIDOCENTE EN LA  
FORMACIÓN DE PROFESORES EN LA EDUCACIÓN A DISTANCIA: UN  
ANÁLISIS DEL PROGRAMA NACIONAL ESCOLA DE GESTORES EN LA  
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***TENSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS OF POLYDOCENT WORK IN TEACHER  
TRAINING IN THE ON LINE EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRAMA  
NACIONAL ESCOLA DE GESTORES AT THE FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF  
OURO PRETO***

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**RESUMO:** O artigo analisa as tensões e contradições que permeiam o trabalho da equipe de formação do Programa Escola de Gestores, na Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto (PNEG/UFOP), no âmbito das ações de formação de professores que faziam parte da Política Nacional de Formação Continuada, até 2016. A partir da interação e dos processos pedagógicos e administrativos que conformam e vinculam esses sujeitos, foram realizadas 26 entrevistas formais com a equipe de formação que atuou no PNEG entre os anos de 2013 e 2016. As entrevistas evidenciam que as condições de trabalho e as questões orçamentárias revelam a fragilidade e a precariedade com que esse tipo de política tem sido implementada no Brasil.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Formação de professores. Educação a Distância. Trabalho docente.

**RESUMEN:** El artículo analiza las tensiones y contradicciones que permean el trabajo del equipo de formación del Programa Escola de Gestores, en la Universidad Federal de Ouro Preto (PNEG/UFOP), en el marco de las acciones de formación de profesores que integraban la Política Nacional de Formación Continuada, hasta 2016. A partir de los procesos pedagógicos y administrativos que conforman y vinculan a esos sujetos, se

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realizaron 26 entrevistas con el equipo de formación que actuó en el PNEG entre los años de 2013 y 2016. Las entrevistas evidencian que las condiciones de trabajo y las cuestiones presupuestarias revelan la fragilidad y la precariedad con que ese tipo de política ha sido implementada en Brasil.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Formación de profesores. Educación a distancia. Trabajo docente.

**ABSTRACT:** The article analyzes the tensions and contradictions that permeate the work of the training team of the *Programa Escola de Gestores*, at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (PNEG / UFOP), one of the programs that conform the National Policy for Continuing Education, until 2016. Based on the tasks, routines and perceptions of the team responsible for the training, 26 formal interviews were conducted with the professionals that took part of this team between 2013 and 2016. The interviews show that the working conditions and budgetary issues reveal the fragility and precariousness with which this type of policy has been implemented in Brazil.

**KEYWORDS:** Teaching training policies. On line Education. Teacher work.

## Introduction

This paper intends to analyze some of the tensions and contradictions found in the national teacher training policy in Brazil, based on the perceptions of the work performed by the training team of the *Programa Escola de Gestores* at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (PNEG / UFOP).

This analysis is the result of one of the dimensions revealed by a research carried out with the program's training team<sup>4</sup>, whose objective was to evaluate the mobilization of the teaching knowledge of this team and if (and how) it contributed to the formation of a polyteaching knowledge in on line education (OE). Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with professionals who composed the team that worked at PNEG from 2013 to 2015. The interviews were transcribed and their contents were analyzed with the assistance of NVivo®, a qualitative software which enabled the reading and classification of the sources from the previous plan of the analytical categories defined.

In order to deal with the polyteaching work in OE, the concept of polyteaching adopted by Mill (2010, p.17) was adopted, understood as "a team of educators and advisors who – together, but not in the same proportion – mobilize knowledge of a teacher ". For

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this author, the work done by the on line teacher is structured in a fragmented, collective, collaborative and cooperative way, where the one who teaches is the polyteacher. Unlike in a face-to-face presential classroom, virtual teacher work is not performed by a single person, who takes care of the entire training process. On the contrary, a diverse number of professionals perform different functions, making the process highly fragmented and specialized, constrained by institutional designs and regulations, responsible for defining the bases under which the process is structured (MILL, 2010). In assuming that (poly) teaching is a multidetermined activity, which depends on institutional, cultural and individual factors, this research intends to highlight the tensions and contradictions emanated from the work of the training team taking as a starting point the interaction, the pedagogical and administrative processes that shape and bind these subjects.

The article is structured in five parts. The first part presents a brief discussion about on line education in the context of the national teacher training policy in Brazil. The second deals with PNEG in UFOP. In the third, the methodological aspects are presented. The fourth examines the tensions and contradictions of the polyteaching work in PNEG, followed by the final considerations.

### **OE in the context of national teacher training policies: the *Programa Escola de Gestores***

In the context of the actions of the Education Development Plan (PDE) launched in 2007, Federal Law No. 11502/2007 changed the focus of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes), a federal agency that, since 1951, was responsible for the induction and regulation of higher education in the Brazil. With this Law, Capes also assumes the role of implementing and instrumentalizing public policies for the initial and continuous training of basic education teachers, with resources assigned by the National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE).

Among the activities developed by this agency are the institution of the Institutional Program of Initiatives for Teaching (Pibid) and *Prodocência*, a program designed to increase the number of teachers with a university degree on his or her subject. Following the restructuring of Capes' objectives, in 2009 the Teacher Training Plan (PARFOR) was launched, institutionalizing and expanding the functions of the National Network of Continuing Education of Basic Education Teachers (RENAFOR). In this way, RENAFOR now includes a larger number of training projects to be implemented by public higher

education institutions, especially the federal universities, institutions financed by the federal government through the Ministry of Education (MEC).

The objectives of this new network were to promote a "set of strategic actions of continuous formation, articulated among themselves with the objective of contributing to basic education teacher training" (GATTI; BARRETO; ANDRÉ, 2011, p. 56). The programs that integrated the National Continuing Education Network as strategic actions of the Ministry at that time were, among others: *Pró-Letramento*, *Gestar II* and a post-graduation course in early childhood education.

As a result of the redesign of the network in 2009, the National Teacher Training Policy was redesigned, focusing both on those professionals who did not hold a higher education degree, but who were in full exercise of the teaching profession, and those already graduated but that demanded professional qualification at the postgraduate or qualification level. Thus, continuing education courses sought to identify the difficulties raised by public basic school professionals, believing that if they were offered content aligned to these demands, they would produce changes both in their teaching skills and attitudes (GATTI, 2003; NUNES, 2001).

In the Federal Law 13005 of 2014, which established the National Education Plan (PNE) from 2014 to 2024, four goals specifically deal with training and teaching work. Goals 17 and 18 focus on professional development and the establishment of career plans, while goals 15 and 16 concern the training of basic education teachers, including post-graduate levels. Among the strategies of goal 15, the following can be highlighted: the elaboration of a strategic plan to guide the activities of federated entities, with a diagnosis of the training needs and the capacity of attendance by public and community institutions; implementation of specific programs for the training of professionals for rural schools, indigenous communities, *quilombolas* and special education; implementation of courses and programs for specific training in higher education for teachers with a basic level of training.

In order to make such training at the national level possible, OE was the strategy adopted by the Brazilian federal government to boost the qualification process in the country, especially with regard to public basic school teachers (BELLONI, 2002, 2012). In order to better understand the context in which the OE is established in the country, the Decree n. 5622 of December 19, 2005 is the main reference, which recognized OE in its first article as an educational modality "[...] in which pedagogical mediation in teaching

and learning processes occurs through the use of information and communication media and technologies, with students and teachers developing educational activities in different places or times" (BRAZIL, 2005). Supported and stimulated by this legislation, the demand for OE initial and continuing teacher training provided by public and private institutions (GATTI, 2008) grows in the country.

Characterized by a large national territory, with great cultural diversity and regional specificities, the demands for teacher training in the country require large-scale strategies from the federal government. It is in this context that OE is efficient because it can reach a very large range of individuals geographically dispersed through internet connection, creating a training cyberspace and a network of exchanges among students, mediated by a virtual environment and facilitating teachers, demanding new positions from all those involved in the educational process (MORAN, 2007). In the same direction, Orth *et al.* (2013) state that:

[...] In this society, in order to be a citizen of the world, it is necessary to keep up to date through continuing education. OE, by using web resources to support this training, allows citizens to expand their spaces of sharing and learning, while at the same time making their study moments more flexible. In this way, new ways of updating are created, as well as the knowledge [...] (p. 44).

The Open University of Brazil (UAB) emerges in this context as a virtual system composed of several public institutions of higher education that start to offer courses directed, preferably, to the population that have no access to presential higher education. The objective of the UAB is to promote initial and continuing teacher training using distance education methodologies. In this way, "UAB has become one of the main instruments for the implementation of higher education policies of the Ministry of Education (MEC), alongside with the Program of Support for Federal University Restructuring and Expansion Plans (Reuni) [...]" (GATTI, BARRETO; ANDRÉ, 2011, p. 63).

The institutionalization of OE higher education courses for teachers, conceived in the form of continuing education using these new technologies was promoted at the UAB through the *Pro-Licenciatura* Program, created by MEC in 2005, and designed for teachers in service without training at a higher level or acting outside the area of their training (GATTI; BARRETO; ANDRÉ, 2011, p. 50).

It is in this context that actions aimed at teacher training with a view to strengthen Brazilian education systems and public schools gain contours of a federal public policy. The Secretariat of Basic Education of the Ministry of Education (SEB/MEC) invested, until 2015, considerable resources in order to increase teacher training through OE. Among these initiatives was the PNEG, which trained professionals in order to improve public school management, prioritizing schools that were below national average in the Education Development Index (IDEB)<sup>5</sup>.

Established in 2004, the Program was created to implement a teacher training policy in order to reinforce the public conception of education and the pursuit of its social quality, based on the principles of democratic management and inclusive education (BRAZIL, 2009b). Its actions were concentrated in two OE post-graduation courses: School Management and Pedagogical Coordination, with a total of 400 and 405 hours, respectively.

### **The PNEG at UFOP**

At UFOP, the implementation of PNEG began in 2012, with the post-graduation course in School Management. Between 2012 and 2016, three classes were formed and approximately 800 teachers were certified.

Regarding PNEG in UFOP, the Coordination team assumes that the activities performed by the trainers are shared and structured based on the polyteaching perspective, as defined by Mill (2010). All the members of this team were paid through the granting of monthly scholarships financed by the National Education Development Fund (FNDE). Resolution CD/FNDE No. 24 of August 16, 2010 deals with the regulation of the payment of scholarships to teacher training programs, among them PNEG. Chart 1 describes the profiles and the attributions of each professional that composes the polyteaching team of the PNEG in the University.

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<sup>5</sup> In 2015, the economic and political crisis deepen, culminating in the approval of President Dilma Rousseff's impeachment process. Vice-President Michel Temer starts to lead a new political coalition and implements a set of radical changes for the country, marked by an even more severe fiscal austerity policy. The contingency of the MEC budget has a significant impact on the initial and continuing education policies of basic education teachers, which are no longer financed and operationalized thereafter.

**Chart 1: Profile and Requirements of PNEG Team**

<b>Funciona</b>	<b>Profile</b>	<b>Assignem</b>	<b>Scholarship paid (per month)<sup>6</sup></b>
General Coordinator	Professor officially linked to the Institution; Experience in the areas of School Management with knowledge on OE and technology;	Course management, definition and organization of the technical-pedagogical team, coordination of the course evaluation processes and interinstitutional articulation.	R\$ 1.500,00 (US\$ 474,00)
Assistant Coordinator	Master or Doctorate degree.	Assist the general coordinator in managing the course.	R\$ 1.400,00 (US\$ 442,00)
Subject Coordinator	Experience in OE teaching; Experience in the specific subjects; Master or Doctorate degree	Selection of course contents and activities.	R\$ 1.400,00 (US\$ 442,00)
Course Supervisor (General and Pedagogical)	Not specified	Management of administrative, academic, institutional and pedagogical processes.	R\$ 1.100,00 (US\$ 347,00)
OE Professor	Experience in OE teaching; Experience in the specific subjects; Master or Doctorate degree	Academic management and content mediation in a specific class, together with OE tutor; Orientation of the Course Completion Work (final assignment).	R\$ 1.300,00 (US\$ 410,00)
OE Tutor	Experience in OE teaching; Experience in the specific subjects and in tutoring; Master or Post Graduation degree	Academic management and mediation of content in a specific class; presential support.	R\$ 765,00 (US\$ 241,00)

Source: Adapted from Resolution CD/FNDE nº 24 of August 16, 2010. (BRASIL, 2009b, p. 24-28)

Because it is a polyteaching team, the role played by these teachers is an issue to be analyzed more deeply. The collective and collaborative work binds different actors and processes, in different times and spaces. Given the specificities of the work, its formative dimension, the virtuality of interaction and the institutional constraints that define the pedagogical and administrative processes, tensions and contradictions naturally emerge.

It is necessary, then, to assimilate the conditions in which polyteaching work is carried out since the combination of these elements constitutes the everyday practice of

<sup>6</sup>Considering the exchange rate on October 16th, 2017: US\$ 1 = R\$ 3,17

these teams, a reason why it is important to understand how these aspects combine and what results this alchemy produces.

## Methodology

Twenty-six individual in-depth interviews were conducted with the polyteachers of the program from 2013 to 2015: 10 OE Professors (PT), OE Tutors (AT), three Subject Professors (PCSA), three pedagogical supervisors (SP) and two members of the administrative and technological support team (SA/ST). The interviews were based on a semi-structured script, elaborated with questions that contemplate the following dimensions: (i) teaching experience and professional trajectory; (ii) perceptions about the national teacher policy and the use of OE; (iii) training and interaction routines and strategies; and (iv) perceptions about the OE institutional design implemented by UFOP.

The analysis of the interviews provided five macro categories: (i) autonomy and conceptions about PNEG training design; (ii) perceptions about OE; (iii) OE teacher training policy; (iv) teaching knowledge; (v) polyteaching work. Each of these categories was analyzed with the assistance of NVivo®, a tool that allows the reading and classification of the sources used. The software allows the elaboration of qualitative analysis based on concepts and classifications previously identified by the researcher.

NVivo® works as an encoder: from the previously listed categories, the program performs the encoding of the material (in the case of this research, transcripts of the interviews), enabling a more robust separation of the excerpts that exemplify such categories, and making this work more agile, compared to the manual alternative. Strictly speaking, therefore, the software's operating logic is quite simple and mechanical. This coding procedure is the core of the work in NVivo® and bases all other procedures to be adopted, since, for any parameterization to be done, the data must already be coded according to the categories.

The analytical categories used in the study were operationalized from "nodes" in NVivo.® "Nodes" are the codes according to which the available evidence material has been encoded. Table 1 quantitatively systematizes the "nodes" referring to the fifth category. In the second column, the sources refer to the interviews (in a total of 26, 20 were used for this category). In the third, the excerpts indicate the 312 excerpts that were



codified in the 20 interviews used. 92 coded passages made direct or indirect reference to polyteaching work, revealing its centrality to the OE policy of teacher training in Brazil.

**Chart 2:** Recurrence of the category Autonomy, by sources and coded passages

Category	Sources coded	Excerpts coded
<b>Polyteaching work</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>312</b>
Work characteristics in OE	11	19
Negative characteristics	9	12
Fragmentation	3	3
Hierarchy	1	1
Work intensification	8	12
Positive characteristics	3	3
Flexibility: place and work hours	4	4
Pedagogical practice and experience with OE	20	52
Team and student interaction	15	25
Potentials and difficulties	13	21
Team training moments and opportunities	18	32
Work meetings	9	10
Virtual meetings	5	5
Virtual interaction room	12	16
Organization of the pedagogical work	4	4
Correction	4	4
Feedback	4	4
Team work	14	28
Tasks and work division	9	13
Colaboration-cooperation	1	1
Polyteaching interaction	15	25
Interaction among PT	5	6
Interaction between PT and AT	6	11
Interaction between PT-AT and students	1	1

Source: prepared by the author, based on data extracted from NVivo.®

## Tensions and contradictions of the work performed by the polyteaching team at UFOP

### Polyteaching work: professional fragilization

The pressures for quality and competitiveness imposed by the globalized world associated with the needs of income and subsistence impose on teachers increasing working hours and/or adherence to more intense and demanding work contracts. In

general, the professionals interviewed worked in other educational institutions (primary schools, private colleges or public universities), where their labor contracts were formally guaranteed. Although this was the main source of income of the majority of the professional interviewed, it was noticed that the salary complementation was one of the motivations that guided the decisions of the professionals to be part of PNEG training team. This is because “[teacher's] wage gains are, on average, low to make up to the family's main source of income” (Mill, 2006, p. 215). (MILL, 2006, p. 215).

Two interviews show that working as a trainer in such programs is a strategy for wage supplementation. The third excerpt illustrates the weight that the supplementary remuneration has in relation to his/her the monthly budget, in addition to the suggestion that the value becomes part of his personal and/or family income:

*Two interviews with class teachers show the "hiring" as scholars as a strategy for wage supplementation. The third section illustrates the weight that the supplementary remuneration has in relation to the total gain of the trainer, in addition to the suggestion that the value becomes part of his personal and/or family budget (PT2).*

*It is not a formal contract, this is not a position to be a permanent professor at UFOP, but it is a scholarship and it allows people to somehow be part of the staff, besides improving our salary (PT5).*

*[If] the Money would be needed if I left the PNEG? Sure, sure. I do not depend on this money to survive, but it gives me a better condition. [If] I want to plan a trip, for example, I count on that money (PT6).*

The payment of the polyteaching team is an issue that deserves attention in this research. Payment in the form of a scholarship, as detailed in Chart 1, indicates the evident insecurity in PNEG and in several other continuing education programs coordinated by MEC. As Oliveira *et al.* affirm,

*The funding for this program is a delicate issue: scholarships paid to trainers, distance tutors and face-to-face tutors are very low, producing disincentives that undermine local management of actions (2014, p. 24).*

As shown in Chart 1, the values of the scholarships paid by FNDE are differentiated according to the functions performed in the course/program. For each function (OE Professor or OE Tutor), specific training and professional experience is required to compose a qualified profile, in addition to the availability of twenty hours a week to carry out course activities. In the specific case of the AT, it is worth mentioning

that twelve of the twenty hours per week should be spent *in loco* at the support center, to assist students. The scholarships, in turn, do not guarantee an employment contract with the institution, which means these professionals have no labor protection or right. The combination of these factors – the qualification requirements and the precariousness of the labor relationship associated with the low values – reveals an inconsistency in the policy, which contributes to a devaluation of the professionals that work in OE. This is reinforced by Mill (2006) when he considers that:

The hiring of professionals for OE in Brazil, even in the scope of public universities, are characterized by being temporary, part-time, with lower wages and working conditions and, sometimes, without some guaranteed rights (p. 136).

Besides the precariousness of the work contracts, for not guaranteeing any benefit or labor right, not even the payment is assured on a regular basis. The economic situation and the budget crisis faced by the Federal Government since 2014 have affected most of the teacher training programs, including PNEG on two major fronts. The first concerns the interruption in the flow of new offerings, jeopardizing the efficiency and effectiveness of one of the educational policies that guide MEC actions at the national level. This interruption has been aggravated since 2016, with the change of the government agenda due to the government of Michel Temer, which also has reflected in MEC.

The second is related to the scholarships of the professionals who worked in courses during this period (2014-2016). Because of the budgetary contingency, the payment of these scholarships suffered successive delays, contributing to the scenario of uncertainty and consequent precariousness of the work performed. When referring to a period of approximately four months in which there was a delay in the payment of scholarships in 2015, the PT and AT pointed out some reflections of this delay in their practices, emphasizing that:

*People [referring to trainers] are more dispersed. It can be because of the payment delays (AT2).*

*You are working, then it is the Government's obligation to pay! [...] It's really hard to work and not receive, but you're sure it's going to be deposited into your account. Our work has to be valued! (PT3).*

This situation created insecurity for teachers, intensified by the lack of information provided by MEC on the regularization of payments. When it came, unofficially, MEC

personnel usually explained that the delays were frequently justified by the contingency of resources in the Ministry. These issues related to the weakening of polyteaching work show a contradiction in the national OE policy of teacher training: under the conditions in which the PNEG and other programs and actions were designed, would not the Federal Government be using the work precariousness of the professionals responsible for the training to promote the qualification of basic teachers?

### **Polyteaching work: professional intensification**

Another important factor is the intensification of teachers' work in OE. Hypolito (2011) asserts that this is a job that can be exhausting, even though it is carried out in many different ways from home. An excerpt from an interview corroborates this statement:

*And the correction, depending on the activity, consumes a lot of time. You have to have criteria for a class of forty students; suddenly you will correct a five page text! If you are going to correct forty texts, it will take a lot of time! [...] And sometimes even the reading load of material too, for example, I needed to know the content and there are several activities (PT4).*

This work dynamics requires more and more hours of the worker's time (BLIKSTEIN; ZUFFO, 2006), since virtual teaching demands more from the teacher in terms of dedication and investment of time. Data collected with the investigated group revealed how this OE intensification occurred. According to the interviewees, the work intensification was directly related to the number of students enrolled in the virtual classes and the time allocated to the correction of activities:

*In OE, I work very, very much, much more. There are now twenty-three students who have posted. Each work has at least four pages. So I will not spend less than an hour to correct them. [I mean] if just go and start reading! But I have to study the material first! Besides, because I like to proofread and I like to make corrections along the text and provide some feedback, I spend more than an hour. So, only with these twenty-three tasks I spend twenty-three hours. So it's not twenty hours [referring to the official work hours]. When I had fifty students, fifty hours! (PT5).*

*I think that all of our actions in OE [teaching] are more intense than in the classroom, precisely to diminish the distance between the student and the teachers (AT3).*

Even though most of the work can be performed from home, there is an intensification of the journey due to the great demand for materials used in the platform or

the correction of activities that are time consuming, invading the private life of the professionals interviewed:

*I get home and work about fifteen hours. I work at school, at college and at UFOP. I have workmates who double their journeys in school. I do not double, so I stay in the afternoon at home working, preparing the classes. I also work on weekends. (PT3).*

Hypolito (2011) reveals that in OE, the teacher is required to be available to his students at all times. OE often end up making teachers assume the work they perform is highly qualified when, in fact, it is much more intensified and precarious because they work any day and hours, with an absurd number of students, workloads, discussion forums, messages and lots of individualized tasks.

In PNEG, assignments are mostly corrected by the AT who shares, with the PT, the activities to be corrected, but receive a much lower payment. This intensification was noticed after the implementation of the second group at UFOP, when the coordination and supervision team integrated the correction activities in order to involve them also in the pedagogical aspect of the training itself. This change was perceived by OE professionals who were interviewed:

*With the first group the AT was not so responsible. Now, they have plenty of things to do compared to the payment they get. The AT also has to be in loco. I really think they're brave. (PT2).*

*In the beginning, we did not correct activities, and then I think they were changing some things and we started to divide [referring to the coordination staff]. It scared us because we started performing the same tasks the PT did, but receiving much less (AT5).*

Work conditions in OE reinforce the idea of intensification and precariousness due to the following aspects: (i) work overload; (ii) large number of students per class and (iii) low remuneration. The combination of time and space allocated to online work is seen by many teachers as advantageous, as it allows autonomy and flexibility in their routine. On the other hand, work intensification is clear, although not perceived by these teachers. The following fragments confirm this conflict implied in the speech of two OE teachers:

*As for my personal organization, my schedule is flexible. I have some hours to dedicate but it is flexible, so I can organize myself to work according to my routine. If I cannot work during the week I can*

*reschedule over the weekend in order to accomplish some tasks. This flexibility helps a lot (AT3).*

*In the first group I spent almost twenty-four hours a day, because everything is done, everything is corrected, the forum is commented, but the messages are there, [so] I'm going to take a look, check all the emails [and] all the messages that I receive (PT1).*

Carneiro (2002) reinforces this issue and argues that this flexibilization is an illusion, since time can actually generate more work. For the author, "in reality, we are available for work all the time and we enter into a daily juggling, almost without rest, of interposing professional commitments with domestic ones" (p.28). In the excerpt of three interviewees, one can perceive this interference:

*It was an activity a week, so it was too heavy for us to read everything and correct and post the grade. So I found it was very confusing and stressing. The supervisor sometimes said, "You have to work twenty hours a week," but I worked a lot more than fifty! So we had to work on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays to be able to do it (PT5).*

*There is no holiday, no Saturday, no Sunday. No nights, maybe. If I cannot follow that weekly schedule, I make it up over the weekend. I have to go look what's going on, if there's somebody questioning, but I do not keep that schedule during the week because I know that the student accesses the platform on the weekends. I give more assistance to the student on the weekends because he/she is at home, it is the time he/she has to access. So I organize my schedule that way (AT3).*

*You are there to have an extra income, you need this money, you have agreed to work, you have to fulfill your duties ... This is very serious! I feel bad when I cannot do it properly. We need the money and there is the entire work overload, ok, we end up accepting it, but it is bad. (PT2).*

## **Final considerations**

Regarding OE teacher training policies, the ambiguous character of the professionals responsible for the teacher's qualification and valorization – seen as a central character in the formation process, but whose contract is precarious and the remuneration is low – reveals the fragility with which this type of policy has been implemented in Brazil. Specifically in the PNEG, the analysis of the interviews with PT and AT – who are part of the polyteaching team – revealed some of the tensions and contradictions inherent in the virtual formative process, given the reflexes of the precariousness felt in their work, especially in this context of budget contingency, driven by a severe fiscal policy.

In other words, OE training programs under the National Teacher Training Policy implemented by MEC require the constitution of teaching teams in order to form the teacher-trainees. Formed mainly by external university professors, these teams are remunerated through scholarships paid by FNDE which, among its purposes, was constituted to strengthen the teaching career and contribute to the increase the salary of education professionals<sup>7</sup>.

In this sense, the scholarship fulfills neither objectives: it weakens the career because the values are very low, reinforcing the disincentives to become a teacher. Such asymmetry, instead of being reduced, is amplified, contributing negatively to the appreciation of the teacher's work. This is one of the tensions and contradictions of this policy: it uses the weakening and precariousness of the training team to promote the qualification of basic education teachers, reproducing a vicious circle that, after all, worsens the teaching conditions in Brazil.

With regard to the PNE, the economic recession that has taken place in the country after the approval of the plan, coupled with the changes in the political scenario resulting from the *impeachment* of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, are elements that allow us to assume that the fulfillment of its goals, scheduled for 2024, will not be effective, challenging Article 62 of the National Educational Law – Law 9394/1996<sup>8</sup>. Likewise, Constitutional Amendment No. 95, approved on December 15, 2016, which establishes the so-called "New Tax Regime" within the framework of the fiscal and social security budgets of the Union, changes the relationship between public revenues and expenditures, further aggravating State investment in health and educational sectors.

From the point of view of the implementation and operationalization of the training actions that are in charge of the public universities (among them, the PNEG at UFOP), the budget contingency and the interruption of the offers since 2016 disarticulate, at the local level, the training teams and the expertise achieved, besides producing uncertainties and disincentives for teachers to qualify, further weakening teachers, municipalities and States that depend on this network to enable their training projects. A new contradiction is then revealed: the inconsistency of the policy is perverse and becomes even more perverse when the budgetary question overlaps the educational policy, further compromising the strengthening of the teaching profession in Brazil.

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<sup>7</sup>For comparison purposes only, the current minimum wage in Brazil is R\$ 937,00. The scholarships have not been readjusted by MEC since 2011.

<sup>8</sup>The article states that training for basic education teachers should be done primarily at the university level.

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