

PUBLIC POLICIES AS INSTRUMENT OF TEACHER APPRECIATION IN BRAZIL

POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS COMO INSTRUMENTO DE VALORIZAÇÃO DOCENTE NO BRASIL

POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS COMO INSTRUMENTO DE VALORACIÓN DOCENTE EN BRASIL

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ABSTRACT: This study presents concepts and models of typologies, cycles and analyzes of educational public policies, considering the political scenario and the historical and political context in which they are created and implemented, having as a starting point the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 and as final milestone the 2016 coup d'état discussion. It is a documentary research that is part of the field of policy discussions. The study highlights that the PNE and the National Curriculum Guidelines for Initial and Continuing Education for Basic Education Teachers can be alternatives to intermediate actions that encompass different aspects of basic education professionals. The valorization of these professionals must be guided by a policy based on some fundamental pillars that include formation, remuneration, career and working conditions. This requires commitment from the government and organized society in the different spheres of governance within the spheres of the federated entities.

KEYWORDS: Public policy. Educational policies. Brazilian education.

RESUMO: O presente estudo apresenta conceitos e modelos de tipologias, ciclos e análises de políticas públicas educacionais, levando em consideração o cenário político e o contexto histórico e político em que são criadas e implementadas, tendo como marco inicial a Constituição Federal do Brasil de 1988 e como marco final da discussão o Golpe de Estado de 2016. Trata-se de uma pesquisa documental que se insere no campo das discussões sobre políticas. O estudo destaca que o PNE e as Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Formação Inicial e Continuada para Profissionais do Magistério da Educação Básica podem se constituir como alternativas para intermediar ações que englobam aspectos diferenciados dos profissionais da educação básica. A valorização desses profissionais deve ser conduzida por uma política pautada em alguns pilares fundamentais que contemplem formação, remuneração, carreira e condições de trabalho. Isso requer empenho do governo e da sociedade organizada nas diferentes esferas de governança nos âmbitos dos entes federados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Políticas públicas. Políticas educacionais. Educação brasileira.

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RESUMEN: *Este estudio presenta conceptos y modelos de tipologías, ciclos y análisis de las políticas públicas educativas, teniendo en cuenta el escenario político y el contexto histórico y político en el que se crean e implementan, teniendo como punto de partida la Constitución Federal de Brasil de 1988 y como hito final de la discusión sobre el Golpe de Estado de 2016. Es una investigación documental que forma parte del campo de las discusiones sobre políticas. El estudio destaca que el PNE y los Lineamientos Curriculares Nacionales de Educación Inicial y Continua para Docentes de Educación Básica pueden ser alternativas a las acciones intermedias que abarcan diferentes aspectos de los profesionales de la educación básica. La valorización de estos profesionales debe estar guiada por una política basada en unos pilares fundamentales que incluyen la formación, la retribución, la carrera y las condiciones laborales. Esto requiere el compromiso del gobierno y la sociedad organizada en los diferentes ámbitos de gobernanza dentro de los ámbitos de las entidades federativas.*

PALABRAS-CLAVE: *Políticas públicas. Políticas educativas. Educación brasileña.*

Opening considerations

This article seeks to present concepts and models of typologies, cycles and analysis of public policies, considering the political scenario in which they are created and implemented. It is noteworthy that the policies studied here refer, above all, to social policies, in which educational policies are inserted.

We will also present the valuation of teachers from the Brazilian historical and political context, having as its starting point the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the discussion of the State Reform of the 1990s. We understand that it is from there those public policies for education gain strength, even understanding that the struggles have always existed and that before the 1988 FC, mobilizations and struggles took place to guarantee the rights of teachers in this country; using as a final mark the current political context and its setbacks in the scope of Brazilian education.

It is a documentary research characterized "by the search for information in documents that have not received any scientific treatment" (OLIVEIRA, 2007, p. 69, our translation) which, as a data collection instrument, manages to nullify the possibility of the researcher's influence, since the documental text is ready and it is necessary to accept it as it is presented. Ludke and André (1986, p. 38, our translation) draw attention to the importance of using documents in investigations in the field of education and also state that: "as an exploratory technique, document analysis indicates problems that should be better explored through other methods".

In light of the above, we seek to present what Brazilian legislation expresses about public policies for valuing teachers in Brazil, their conceptions and typologies; the valuing of

teachers from the federal constitution of 1988; the valuing of teachers from the 2016 coup d'état.

Public policy: conceptions and typologies

In order to carry out the analysis of a legal document that institutes a public policy, in this case of education, it is necessary to conceptualize and support the discussion. Thus, in order to think about public policy, it is necessary to define the concept of policy in its most comprehensive aspect, of educational policy in a particular way, and to understand the role of the State. To aid understanding we will use the contributions of Peroni (2003), Barroso (2005), Oliveira (2009), Souza (2003; 2006), Lessard and Carpentier (2016), Frey (2000), Najar and Lunardi (2020), Tozetto and Domingues (2020), Machado (2018), Silva, Bittencourt and Oliveira (2019), Raimann and Farias (2020), Cardoso Neto and Nez, (2020), Sobzinski, Diogo and Masson (2015), Souza and Mello (2019), Araújo, Pires and Ribas (2020), Ramos (2010), Fardella and Sisto (2014), Robalino and Crespo (2014), Duarte and Oliveira (2014), Ilha and Hypolito (2014), Fernandes and Barbosa (2014), Magalhães and Anes (2015), Teixeira and Nunes (2016; 2019a; 2019b; 2019c), Brito and Nunes (2020), Castro Neta *et al.* (2020), Andrade, Moreira and Neves (2014), Brito, Prado and Nunes (2017), Silva, Brito and Nunes (2019), Brito, Silva and Nunes (2018), Ribeiro and Nunes (2018), Castro Neta, Cardoso and Nunes (2018), Maués and Costa (2020), Nunes and Oliveira (2017), Nunes (2019), Oliveira *et al.* (2018), Peroni and Oliveira (2019), Silva and Nunes (2019), Silva (2009), Socorro, Santos and Nunes (2017), Moura *et al.* (2019) and Calazans and Nunes (2018).

Thus, to define Public Policies, we will adopt Souza's (2006) concept, which summarizes them as a field of knowledge that simultaneously seeks to put the government into action, analyze this action and, when necessary, propose changes in the direction of these actions.

The author also states that the formulation of public policies constitutes the stage in which democratic governments translate their electoral purposes and platforms into programs and actions that will produce results or changes in the real world.

[...] public policies, after being designed and formulated, unfold into plans, programs, projects, databases or information and research systems. When put into action, they are implemented, and then submitted to monitoring and evaluation systems (SOUZA, 2006, p. 26, our translation).

Following the line of analysis, we have the public policy cycle, which Souza (2006) defines as a deliberative cycle, formed by several stages and constituting a dynamic and learning process, composed of the following steps: definition of the agenda, identification of alternatives, evaluation and selection of options, implementation and evaluation.

This strand contrasts the field of analysis of public policies that has traditionally been dominated by a functionalist and rationalist view of the activity of the political system, as stated by Lessard and Carpentier (2016). Model that followed a linear and logical process that encompassed the steps of inserting a question or problem on the agenda of the political agenda, elaboration and formulation of a specific policy, decision, application in practice and evaluation.

Lessard and Carpentier (2016), through the socio-constructivist perspective of public action, analyze how different agents end up building together and working throughout their life trajectory, on how a public action is told at the same time it is done, thus rejecting the linear scheme for deeming it simplistic. In line with Souza (2006) when she states that public policies have repercussions on the economy and societies and, therefore, any theory in the area must also explain the interrelationships between State, politics, economy and society, we use Laswell's definition, in what decisions and analyzes about public policy imply answering the following questions: who gets what, why and what difference does it make?

Therefore, an analysis of educational policies is sought, relating the conceptions and typologies of policies introduced by Lowi (1972) and the implications of these approaches, which were born in developed countries, with stable and consolidated democratic regimes, in the process of implementing such policies in the context of developing countries, as in the case of Brazil (FREY, 2000).

According to Souza (2006), Lowi probably developed the best known typology of public policy, when he elaborated the maxim: “public policy makes politics”. Lowi reports that each type of public policy finds different forms of support and rejection and that the disputes that occur around them pass through different arenas, presenting, as described by Frey (2000), namely: **distributive policies**, which encompass decisions taken by the government, disregard the issue of limited resources, generating more individual than universal impacts by privileging certain social groups to the detriment of the whole.

Redistributive policies, on the contrary, reach a greater number of people and impose concrete and short-term losses for certain social groups; examples are: the tax system and the social security system. In the case of **regulatory policies**, which work with orders and prohibitions, decrees and ordinances, the effects related to costs and benefits are not

determinable in advance, as they depend on the concrete configuration of the policies and, finally, the **constitutive policies**, which determine the rules of the game and thus define the structure of political processes and conflicts, that is, the general conditions under which distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies have been negotiated.

Thus, it has long been believed and propagated the idea that to improve society it is necessary to develop education. Lessard and Carpentier (2016) deal with a deep faith in the progress of society through education, a faith that is nurtured by the urban middle classes, for which a school diploma was and still is the necessary capital for social mobility or, more prosaically, a means of preventing possible disqualification.

In this perspective, public educational policies were, at the end of the 20th century, designed and implemented with a view to the educational and social monitoring of young people by the States, with the aim of democratizing education, raising the general level of education of the population, training labor force capable of contributing to economic development and guaranteeing the formation of young citizens capable of living in modern and pluralistic societies.

From this we can infer, according to Lowi's (1972) typology, that educational policies can be defined as regulatory policies, as they are expressed through laws, decrees, ordinances, resolutions, among others. Identifying and including a problem on the public policy agenda, defining the agenda based on the options, implementing and evaluating them, requires in-depth knowledge of the demand in its historical and social context, of the actors in the process, of the concept of State and society involved in this dynamic.

Regarding the demands of social public policies, which encompass public educational policies, the challenge from the 1990s onwards, presented by Peroni (2003; 2019) and by Brito, Prado and Nunes (2016), has as its guiding principles deregulation of the economy, reduction of state intervention, privatization and incentive to competition and profit-making, in which government policies integrate budget cuts and scrapping of social public policies.

Here we seek to contextualize public policies, in particular educational public policies, in a State model conceptualized by Peroni (2003), which is a historical, concrete, class State, and which presents a Maximum State for capital and a Minimum State for social policies. As the Capitalist State has gone through several crises since its birth, we will analyze, in particular, its phase in the 1990s and its implications for the redefinitions of the State's role, in which, in an attempt to overcome its crisis, it established as its main strategy the neoliberalism. And it is in this context that educational policy is part of the State Reform

project in Brazil, in which the State becomes the coordinator and no longer the executor, transferring some of its own tasks to society.

Teacher appreciation from the federal constitution of 1988

The Brazilian scenario that preceded the Federal Constitution of 1988 was demarcated by union pressure in favor of changes aimed at guaranteeing State Policies for the enhancement of public teaching and the offer of free, quality public education. According to Gadotti (1987), the end of the 1970s was marked by a period when teachers received the worst salaries and the teaching career was among the worst and most undervalued professions, also suffering the highest rates of illness. This fact spurred the Confederation of Teachers of Brazil (CPB, Portuguese initials) to lead a movement to claim that:

[...] mobilizations and strikes for salary readjustments and loss recovery, which had a similar general character, given the unified phenomenon of national inflation, and a specific state character, as each network practiced different salaries, careers with different progressions and structures, and granted also diachronic and distinct adjustments. And the search for a common denominator, for a national demand that would not only unify wages for equality, a single career, but also make the union struggle common and unified (MONLEVADE, 2000, p. 121, our translation).

Machado (2010) states that, both at the federal level and in the states and municipalities, the education workers affiliated to the CPB ensured their representation in the debate forums on the new directions of education that occurred in the elaboration of the State Constitutions. It was in this context that, in 1990, the CPB became the National Confederation of Education Workers (CNTE, Portuguese initials), unifying and further strengthening the trade union struggle of the category.

It was at the end of the 1980s, in a context of Brazil after the Military Dictatorship, that the Federal Constitution of 1988 was promulgated, contemplating important issues for the Brazilian educational policy, with proposals for access and permanence to basic education and the valuing of education professionals. This discussion is expressed in its article 206, items V and VIII (BRASIL, 1988), which proposes valuing school education professionals through career plans, with admission exclusively through public examinations and titles to public schools, and national professional salary floor. The regulation of these constitutional provisions “was referred to complementary legislation, thus transferring the responsibility to implement career and remuneration plans to the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities” (SOUZA; GOUVEIA, 2011, p. 84, our translation).

The principle established by Article 206 of CF/88 can be, according to Machado (2010), divided into at least three important aspects, namely:

The first concerns career plans, assuming stability and progression; the second, the establishment of a professional salary floor as a guarantee of salary appreciation for members of the public teaching profession; and the third, admission exclusively through public examination of tests and titles, assuming the need for a quality academic qualification, proven, in principle, by overcoming the entrance exams (MACHADO, 2010, p. 27, our translation).

It is worth remembering that at this moment the rule applies only to teaching professionals, in a clear reference that the value of career and the Floor would apply to teachers. The Federal Constitution promulgated in 1988 did not bring the concept of teaching professionals or education professionals. Priority in the constitutional text was given to those who directly exercised teaching activities.

For Monlevade (2000), the payment of the Floor – it is worth noting that it still does not refer to the National Professional Salary Floor (PSPN) – was financially unfeasible for the State, because the prevailing view then was that the states and municipalities were so unequal in their collections and educational charges that was impracticable an equal treatment of salaries for the establishment of a floor that, at the same time, pleased teachers from rich states and municipalities and was payable by poor states and municipalities. Thus contradicting the terms present in the Federal Constitution of 1988, in its Article 212, which determines:

The Union will apply, annually, no less than eighteen, and the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, at least, twenty-five percent of the income resulting from taxes, including that from transfers, in the maintenance and development of education (BRASIL, 1988, our translation).

After the advances and achievements under the Federal Constitution of 1988, the Brazilian educational scenario has undergone major changes from the educational reforms that Brazil began to experience in the 1990s and which are marked by the search for social justice, in the sense of expanding educational services for those who do not have access and those who cannot stay in school. According to Assunção and Oliveira (2009, p. 350, our translation), “the principles that guide these initiatives are the promotion of social equity, seeking to reduce social inequalities, through the educational offer to populations in vulnerable situations”.

In this context, administrative and financial decentralization regulates the centralization of school management, that is, schools have autonomy in the administration of resources received from their federative entities, which is summed up in the transfer of responsibilities from the central to the local scope. As for the attributions of management, we have: funding, regularity and expansion of national assessment exams, greater curricular flexibility, institutional assessment and community participation, which make up democratic management, an achievement obtained in the legal plan from the Federal Constitution of 1988 and Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBEN), n. 9,394/96; therefore, schools obtain greater autonomy in their pedagogical, administrative and financial dimensions (BRASIL, 1996).

These changes have implications for teacher's work and, in this respect, Oliveira (2004; 2006) understands that the pursuit of greater social equity, resulting in the incorporation of new social sectors into school systems, in a scenario marked by cost containment and restrictions on resources, directly influences the working conditions and remuneration of teachers, which may be putting the quality of education at risk.

Based on the reconfiguration of the school organization, it is possible to enumerate several factors that compromise the quality of education, the definition of "good work" and the health of teachers, such as: the intensification of teaching work, the precariousness of education, massification of teaching, difficulties in restructuring the teaching work and responding to the demand of new organizational and pedagogical needs as a result of the expansion and complexity assumed by the school at the end of the last century. This reconfiguration of the school organization has, according to Oliveira (2004; 2006), implied the emergence of new functions, the reorientation of obligations and tasks previously destined to traditional positions and functions within the teaching work process.

All the factors mentioned and the need for reconfiguration in the school organization deal with the domain of teaching knowledge, mechanisms of attractiveness, valuation and career progression, public policies that define and regulate actions to enhance the profession that, according to Nunes and Oliveira (2017):

[...] must be focused on the daily experiences of the teacher's educational practice, and without this starting point, there is a risk that the policies do not result in improvements neither for the teacher nor for the students enrolled in the schools where they act (NUNES; OLIVEIRA, 2017, p. 10, our translation).

In 1995, Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) assumes the Presidency of the Republic, with the reform of the Brazilian State as his government's marks, with the privatization of state-owned companies, the creation of regulatory agencies and the change in the legislation that governs the civil service, as well as the introduction of cash transfer programs, such as *Bolsa Escola*.

Despite the guarantees of rights in Brazilian legislation, little progress was made with regard to the valuing of teachers in the 1990s, a period that is marked by neoliberal policies, which benefit elites and the State is minimal only for social policies. Thus, the FHC Government presents the State reform, proposing the replacement of bureaucratic public administration by managerial, which uses the logic of the market, in which the citizen becomes the customer-citizen, social services such as education are decentralized in the logic of neoliberalism. Peroni (2003) considers that this Government's project was to decentralize social services to Municipalities and States at the same time that it centralized resources in the Union, in addition to making changes in collections, which harmed the revenues of these federated entities.

When it comes to the appreciation of education professionals, in this period Law n. 9,394/96 was sanctioned, which establishes the Guidelines and Bases of National Education; it expresses in its article 67, items I to VI, that teacher appreciation will be guaranteed through the creation of statutes and career plans for public teaching, as follows:

- I - admission exclusively through public competition of tests and titles;
- II - continued professional development, including paid periodic licensing for this purpose;
- III - professional salary floor - PSPN;
- IV - functional progression based on title or qualification, and performance assessment;
- V - period reserved for studies, planning and evaluation, included in the workload;
- VI - adequate working conditions (BRASIL, 1996, our translation).

One of the most significant changes for the valuation of teachers in the country, in the 1990s, was the creation of the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and the Valuing of Teaching (FUNDEF), regulated by Law No. 9,424, of 24 December 1996, and by Decree No. 2,264, of June 1997. In this provision, teacher valuation is contemplated in article 9, which, among other aspects, provided for: "I - the decent remuneration of public elementary school teachers, in effective teaching practice; II - encouraging work in the classroom; and III - improving the quality of teaching" (BRASIL, 1996, our translation).

In 1997, CNE/CEB Resolution No. 3, of 1997 (BRASIL, 1997), established Guidelines for Career and Remuneration Plans for the Teaching of the states, Federal District and municipalities. The approval of this resolution, according to Machado (2010), did not show progress in terms of salary valuation, even though it was supported by the precepts of the National Professional Salary Floor.

In 2001, Law 10,172/2001 was approved, which instituted the National Education Plan - PNE (2001-2010), establishing goals to achieve the quality of education through the enhancement of teaching. It is noteworthy that despite the PNE contemplating many objectives and goals, such as career plans for teaching, full-time working hours and commitment to initial and continuing education, many of these were not achieved. Its implementation was directly linked to the financial goal; without financial resources, the regulatory document was no more than an innocuous document, as Saviani highlights (BRASIL, 2014, p. 81, our translation): “Without the financial resources being assured, the plan is nothing more than a letter of intent, whose goals can never be carried out”.

Despite all the strategies to remain in power, the neoliberal government showed signs of exhaustion and in 2002 a progressive government was elected, although it maintained and established new alliances with industrial elites (FERNANDES; RODRIGUEZ, 2011). In Lula's government, movements in favor of valuing teachers are resumed. In view of the entire mobilization of the category and the struggle of unions such as the National Confederation of Education Workers (CNTE), teacher appreciation returns to the public policy agenda and in 2006 we have a constitutional amendment, EC 53/2006, which changes and includes in article 206 principles such as:

V - valuing school education professionals, guaranteed, in accordance with the law, career plans, with admission exclusively through public competition of tests and titles, to those in public networks; VIII - national professional salary floor for public school education professionals, under the terms of federal law (BRASIL, 2006, our translation).

In 2007, FUNDEF was replaced by the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Valuing of Education Professionals (FUNDEB), regulated by Decree No. 11,494, of 20 June 2007 (BRASIL, 2007). FUNDEB, in relation to teacher valuation, moves towards including Basic Education professionals in the allocation of fund resources, guaranteeing a minimum of 60% for remuneration of school teachers and also for continuing education. In addition, it also established the deadline of 31 August 2007 for the creation of a

specific law on the National Professional Salary Floor (PSPN) for public teaching professionals in Basic Education (BRASIL, 2007).

It is noted, therefore, that there is an inconsistency between what the legislation proposes and what has been practiced for the financial guarantees of the realization of teacher valuation. FUNDEF, for example, limited financial resources to Elementary School, leaving out Kindergarten and High School, thus hindering the development and implementation of career plans.

With the perspective of contributing to the improvement of the quality of education, in 2008 Law n. 11,738/2008 was instituted, which deals with the National Professional Salary Floor (PSPN) for Public Teaching Professionals in Basic Education, marking another challenge for valuing these professionals, which is the implementation of policies related to job, career and compensation plans (PCCR). However, the history of construction of this legal instrument as a public policy for the appreciation of teaching was marked by many challenges regarding its actual implementation.

Even with the approval of the Floor Law, the realization of benefits related to job, career and remuneration plans is still not guaranteed, as can be seen in the attempt of some state and municipal entities to overturn said Law, under the allegation that it can “break” the states; at the municipal level, since this law came into force, mayors allege difficulties in passing on the salary increase percentages stipulated by the federal government.

One year after the Law of the Floor was instituted, new National Guidelines for Career Plans and Compensation of Professionals in Public Basic Education were defined through Resolution CNE/CEB No. 2 (BRASIL, 2009), which is included in its article 3rd:

The criteria for the remuneration of teaching professionals must be based on the precepts of Law n. 11,738/2008, which establishes the National Professional Salary Floor, and Article 22 of Law n. 11,494/2007, which provides for the portion of the budget Fund of Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Teaching (FUNDEB) for the payment of teaching professionals, as well as in Article 69 of Law n. 9,394/96, which defines the minimum percentages of investment by federal entities in education (BRASIL, 2009 , p. 1, our translation).

This Resolution highlights the importance of Career and Compensation Plans containing the functions and positions of education professionals, setting starting salary for entry into the teaching career that complies with the PSPN and is an attractive to the entrance, differentiate the salaries in accordance with the degree and working hours, which must be

defined in the Career and Remuneration Plans. Thus, the career plans of teachers must contain, according to Moretti and Masson (2015):

- a) description of positions and functions;
- b) how long will be the working day;
- c) the continuing education policies carried out during the career;
- d) the basic initial salary and salary levels throughout the career;
- e) the sampling of how progression will take place throughout the career (MORETTI; MASSON, 2015, p. 114, our translation).

Continuing the rescue of legal frameworks that guide the theme of teacher valuation in the country, the importance of the National Education Conference (CONAE/2014) is highlighted, since it presents a broad conception of valuing education professionals, surpassing a vision of appreciation in the narrow sense of formation. The final document defines that the policy of valuing education professionals encompasses, in an articulated manner, initial and continuing formation, careers, salaries and working conditions. As reported:

Conae's deliberations are articulated with movements in favor of this valorization, involving clashes in the processing and approval of the PNE, national policies and guidelines aiming to overcome a scenario marked by the need for national guidelines for careers, a national salary floor for all, improvement of the conditions of work and guarantee of initial and continuing formation for education professionals (DOURADO, 2016, p. 38, our translation).

Considered as a great legacy of CONAE/2014, the PNE (2014-2024), approved through Law 13,005/2014, consisting of 20 goals and 254 strategies, is the main articulator of these educational policies in the country and represents another achievement of the struggles of social movements and civil society, in search of quality education.

Among the goals set out in the current PNE, goals 15, 16, 17 and 18 stand out as initiatives for professional development in basic education. This regulatory framework reaffirms in its guidelines the respect and appreciation of diversity as issues intrinsic to the formation of education professionals, as well as legitimizing the need for articulation between higher education institutions, education systems, their institutions and professionals.

The current PNE institutes guidelines for national educational public policies, as well as goals and strategies to be achieved in the educational sphere in the period 2014-2024. This set of goals and strategies represents an important advance towards integrating formation programs at the federal level, with actions that have already been developed in the states and

municipalities, with the objective of promoting conditions for valuing education professionals in a comprehensive sense.

Despite being regulated by the PNE 2014-2024, the career plans and remuneration of basic education professionals are still a great challenge to be conquered by such professionals, as can be seen below:

Given the federative organization of the Brazilian State and its imbalances, especially regional, the organization of career plans for basic education professionals today is quite dispersed and varied. Existing from plans that contemplate the set of education professionals as well as those that only refer to teaching professionals (OLIVEIRA, 2016, p. 126, our translation).

Thus, according to the record made by Oliveira (2016), Masson (2016) takes a similar position, understanding that even after the career plans of teachers are regulated by law, this fact has not guaranteed equality between the states, because, as highlighted (2016, p. 159, our translation): "each state defines criteria and formats that make it difficult appreciation in a way corresponding to the formation and time spent in the profession", characterizing a very different picture in each region of the country.

After the approval of the PNE, Resolution CNE/CP No. 2 of 2015 (BRASIL, 2015) was instituted, which established the National Curriculum Guidelines for Initial Education at higher level (teaching degree courses, pedagogical formation courses for graduates and courses for second teaching degree) and for the Continuing Education of Professionals in the Teaching of Basic Education. The Resolution defines "principles, fundamentals, formative dynamics and procedures to be observed in policies, management and formation programs and courses, as well as in the planning, evaluation and regulation processes of the educational institutions that offer them" (BRASIL, 2015, p. 2, our translation).

Decree n. 8,752/2016 (BRASIL, 2016), on the other hand, which provides for the National Policy for the Formation of Basic Education Professionals, is more comprehensive in that it extends to all basic education professionals and not just teachers, with the "purpose of establish its principles and objectives, and organize its programs and actions, in a regime of collaboration between education systems and in line with the National Education Plan - PNE" (BRASIL, 2016). The proposal of the formation policy for education professionals is to be carried out in conjunction with the ten-year plans of the states, the Federal District and the municipalities.

A policy of valuing these professionals requires an articulated discussion that is conducted from some fundamental pillars, which should include issues of formation, career, salaries and working conditions. According to Saviani (2014), working conditions play an important role in the formative process of new professionals, as they are directly related to the social imaginary of the profession, and:

Therefore, if working conditions are precarious, that is, if teaching takes place in a difficult situation and with unrewarding remuneration, young people will not be encouraged to invest time and resources in more demanding and long-term formation. As a result, teacher formation courses will have to work with discouraged and uncommitted students, which will negatively reflect on their performance (SAVIANI, 2014, p. 87, our translation).

To address the valuing of education professionals, it is necessary, above all, to understand the relationship between formation and professional development, which can be translated through the interaction between professional formation, entry and permanence in the profession and the construction of their identity as an educator. Thus, professional development cannot be related only to pedagogical development, knowledge and self-understanding. This must be thought of in a broader perspective, encompassing the social, economic and historical conditions in which these professionals are inserted.

Teacher appreciation from the 2016 coup d'état

To discuss this theme, it is necessary to analyze the Brazilian historical-political-economic context from the US hegemony and its influence in Latin American countries under ethnic miscegenation and religious eclecticism, which always justified its ideology, named by Medeiros Filho (2018), as the doctrine of manifest destiny³.

Thus, in the 20th century, the United States consolidates itself as a hegemonic capitalist power with an emphasis on financial, economic and cultural domain, thus preserving its sovereignty over developing countries. These start to assume a position more of supplier of raw material, of markets for industrial products and receivers of investments

³ The doctrine of manifest destiny, presented by Barnabé Medeiros Filho in the first chapter of the book *The 2016 coup and education in Brazil* (see references), is an idea present in the 19th century and kept in the 20th century, which begin to spread in the period of the war against Mexico, it preached that the United States had the right, given by God, to expand throughout North America and that was what the nation was predestined for, by its moral superiority, due to its Anglo-Saxon character and the work cult of the predominant Protestant strands in the country. A strange moral superiority and the cult of work that strangely coexisted with slavery.

through massive financing in these countries by the US power, thus establishing a severe financial dependence.

The Brazilian elites and bourgeoisies, who have always ruled the country, tried at all costs to prevent parties with a socialist orientation or those formed by representatives of the working class to reach power, precisely because they knew that their project of domination and exploitation would be at risk. The Workers' Party (PT) was the one that stood out most in the struggle against this form of domination. In 1980, the party published:

Workers want national independence. They understand that the Nation is the people and, therefore, they know that the country will only be effectively independent when the State is run by the working masses. It is necessary for the State to become the expression of society, which will only be possible when conditions are created for workers to freely intervene in decisions on their paths. For this reason, the PT intends to reach the government and the direction of the State to carry out a democratic policy, from the point of view of the workers, both in the economic and in the social sphere. The PT will seek to conquer freedom so that the people can build an egalitarian society, where there are neither exploited nor exploiters (PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES, 1980, p. 2, our translation).

In 2002, the PT managed to elect Luís Inácio Lula da Silva as President of the Republic. This sought to implement social programs that favored both the working class and the existing minorities in the country. In the educational context, there were considerable improvements that translate into numbers, such as the investment in education that jumped from 18.01 billion in 2002 to 126.14 billion in 2015 (COSTA, 2017).

Although the achievements of the working class have been visible, the Workers' Party, due to the uncontrollability of capital, as mentioned by Mészáros (2011), gave in to negotiations with large companies, which received great benefits. With the crisis that affected the entire world, the capitalist system needed to restructure itself once again.

The population understood the changes implemented by the PT as relevant to the constitution of a public management model that was favorable to different layers of the people. As a result, the Party managed to win three more elections, with Luís Inácio taking his first term in 2003, remaining in the Presidency of the Republic for eight years. Then, in 2011, Dilma Rousseff assumes her first term, having started her second term in 2015 and being dismissed on 31 August 2016, when the then President Michel Temer took over.

Thus, although there was an incompatibility between the PT's management model and the demands of capital, what is registered is that in 2014 the Party was elected for a fourth term under its responsibility. Thus, there is a contradiction that big business no longer accepted. On the one hand, there was a management model that did not serve capital (despite

the various dialogues with it through negotiations with the private sector); on the other hand, still in 2014, the current model, headed by the PT, was elected for another term that would extend from 1 January 2015 to 1 January 2019. Thus, it would be needed to wait four years for a change in the management model via election, or power would be taken by the undemocratic route.

It is in this context that the “Coup” takes place. According to Saviani (2017), a coup d'état took place in Brazil when the impeachment mechanism was used without the conditions foreseen to make it legal. According to the aforementioned author,

[...] when this mechanism is used as a pretext to overthrow a democratically elected government without fulfilling the condition that the Constitution prescribes for this mechanism to be activated, that is, the occurrence of a crime of responsibility, then it is not appropriate to quibble (SAVIANI, 2017, p. 217, our translation).

In this scenario of political disarticulation, Antunes (2017) believes that:

As impeachment is provided for in the country's Constitution, the “ideal alternative” was created: launching a coup with a legal, constitutional appearance. A coup that, counting on the decisive support of the mainstream media, took on the appearance of a non-coup. Not a military coup, as in 1964, but a coup of a new type, forged by the parliamentary swamp that, until a few days before, was part of the allied base that supported the Lula and Dilma governments (ANTUNES, 2017, p. 53, our translation).

As can be seen, the Brazilian Parliament was decisive for the coup to take place. Although the Brazilian media and the Judiciary Power have their share of contribution in this process, the parliamentary Legislative Power was the instrument, the partner of capital, as it works in its favor, to consummate the coup and set up a new power structure that was under their control. Mészáros (2017) reinforces this idea by claiming that

Capital is the extra-parliamentary force par excellence, whose power of socio-metabolic control cannot be politically constrained by Parliament. This is why the only form of political representation compatible with the way capital works is one that effectively denies the possibility of contesting its material power. And it is because it is the extra-parliamentary force par excellence that capital has nothing to fear from the reforms enacted within its parliamentary political structure (MÉSZÁROS, 2017, p. 45, our translation).

It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that Brazil, after the coup, is in a state of exception. Antunes (2017) agrees with this statement, when he states that:

[...] our Latin America will need to intensify resistance in the face of this bizarre phase that can be characterized as a state of law of exception. For which, sadly, our continent has long experience and tradition. And Brazil too, this time, with the parliamentary coup that led Temer to the presidency of the Republic (ANTUNES, 2017, p. 60, our translation).

After the coup, Vice President Michel Temer rose to power, took numerous measures that were not part of the government project of which he was the vice president, and approved several reforms that found a place in the government project of defeated party in the election of 2014, in other words, the project contrary to the one that Michel Temer himself defended. Such reforms affected workers' lives, in addition to further harming education, which is our focus of discussion.

The 2014 PNE, as a Plan that unifies other laws, decrees and resolutions on Brazilian education, was seriously threatened. The president Michel Temer, going against the proposal of the Plan that provided for a progressive increase in transfers to education, proposed (and was approved) in 2016 the PEC of the Ceiling of Expenses, through the Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016, which freezes spending on education and other sectors for 20 years, in addition to cutting funds in 2017 for financing Basic and Higher Education and vetoing the priority that was foreseen for the PNE in 2018, through the Budget Guidelines Law (LDO), n. 13,473/2017, among other measures that also compromise Education and other sectors of society.

The loss of rights also permeates Law 13,415, of 16 February 2017, approved in an authoritarian manner, and changes the entire structure of secondary education in the country, without debate with either the educators or the students, or with the society in general. The text establishes the segmentation of disciplines according to areas of knowledge and the gradual implementation of integral education.

The referred Law has its origin in the Provisional Measure for the New High School. As amended in the joint committee and in the Chamber of Deputies, MPV 746/2016 was approved in the Senate under the Conversion Bill (PLV) 34/2016. The reporter of the matter, senator Pedro Chaves of the Christian Social Party (PSC) of Mato Grosso do Sul (MS), partially or totally accepted 148 of the 568 amendments presented to the Public Ministry (MP). The implementation of the reform is linked to the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC), which comprises a set of guiding guidelines for curricula.

Social rights are also being usurped by the Social Security Reform proposal (PEC 287/2016), already approved by the Constitution and Justice Commission (CCJ) of the Chamber of Deputies and awaiting evaluation by a special commission that was installed in

the year of 2017, but it has not yet been fully approved. This reform puts an end to the special retirement of the teaching profession and directly affects aspects of working conditions for teachers at the end of their careers and the prospects of attractiveness for those entering the teaching career.

The political, economic and social crisis that the country is currently experiencing is the result of a greater problem, the capitalist production model, which is by its nature excluding and tries at all costs to remove from the worker everything that is produced and achieved by him, thus affecting the valuation of these professionals.

The words of Malanchen and Santos (2017) summarize this situation:

In the roar of this storm, social rights such as health, education, employment, income, social security were snatched by the interests of capital, which from time to time finds, in its cyclical crises, the most adjusted response to continue this model of exclusionary society. Such strategy is not new. However, it must be reiterated that these periods of political and economic crisis are the result of a much broader and more complex process of financial capitalism, which “used” to accumulate, does not accept the division of social production of labor (MALANCHEN; SANTOS, 2017, p. 188, our translation).

This is a moment, therefore, of a very big onslaught against democracy, against the rights of Brazilians, against the improvement of the basic living conditions of workers and, just as capital reinvents itself and tries to overthrow everything we have already achieved, we also need to reinvent our way of resisting and fighting all forms of manipulation, exploitation and exclusion to which we have been subjected more and more strongly.

Final considerations

We conclude that the PNE and the National Curriculum Guidelines for Initial and Continuing Education for Professionals in Basic Education Teaching can be constituted as alternatives to mediate actions that encompass different, but inseparable, aspects of basic education professionals. A Policy of valuing these professionals must be conducted based on some fundamental pillars, through an articulated discussion that includes issues of formation, remuneration, career and working conditions.

To this end, it is essential to make greater efforts by governments, in order to ensure, in a regime of collaboration between the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, appreciation policies that guarantee the offer of initial and continuing education; entry into the career through public examination; the existence of job and career

plans consistent with the National Career Guidelines; compliance with the Floor Law and improvement in working conditions.

In this sense, the discussion presented on professional development makes the institution of the National Education System essential, with a view to implementing the guidelines, goals and strategies provided for in the PNE in force. We also emphasize that between 2016 and 2020 many other attacks were carried out against Brazilian education.

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