

**CONSTITUTION OF CAREERS IN NONEXISTENT CAREERS: A READING
FROM MAX WEBER**

***CONSTITUIÇÃO DE CARREIRAS INEXISTENTES, UMA LEITURA A PARTIR DE
MAX WEBER***

***CONSTITUCIÓN DE CARRERAS EN CARRERAS INEXISTENTES: UNA LECTURA A
PARTIR DE MAX WEBER***

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ABSTRACT: The article discusses, in the light of Max Weber's concepts of social action, bureaucracy, power and domination, the constitution of the "school management career" in public schools in Curitiba/PR. The expression was coined from the research about the choice, through consultation to the school community, of the management functions of these schools. It was verified, from the result of the disputes occurred since 1983, that a group of professionals, who had been admitted to teach in the municipality, constituted their careers in a distinct function from that they were admitted in: the direction. Once elected, many in the first election process to school management in the Municipality in the early 1980s, only left the function to retire.

KEYWORDS: School direction. Democracy. Director's election. Public school.

RESUMO: O artigo discute, à luz dos conceitos de ação social, burocracia, poder e dominação, de Max Weber, a constituição da "carreira de direção escolar" em escolas públicas de Curitiba/PR. O termo foi cunhado a partir da pesquisa sobre a escolha, por meio de consulta à comunidade escolar, das funções de direção e vice-direção das escolas. Constatou-se, a partir do resultado dos pleitos ocorridos desde 1983, que um grupo de profissionais, concursados para a docência no município, constituiu suas carreiras em função distinta àquela dos concursos que prestaram: a função diretiva das escolas. Uma vez eleitos, muitos no primeiro pleito ocorrido no Município, no início dos anos 1980, só saíram da função de direção para aposentar-se.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Direção escolar. Democracia. Escolha de diretores. Escola pública.

RESUMEN: El artículo discute, a la luz de los conceptos de acción social, burocracia, poder y dominación, de Max Weber, la constitución de la "carrera de dirección escolar" en escuelas públicas de Curitiba. La expresión, inexistente en el Ayuntamiento Municipal de Curitiba, fue acuñada a partir de la investigación sobre la elección, por medio de consulta a la comunidad escolar, de las funciones de dirección de estas escuelas. Se constató, a partir de una serie histórica construida con el resultado de los pleitos ocurridos desde 1983, que un grupo de profesionales de la educación, concursados para la docencia en el municipio, constituyó sus

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carreras en función distinta a la de los concursos que prestaron: en la función directiva de las escuelas. Una vez elegidos, sólo salieron de la función de dirección para jubilarse.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Dirección escolar. Democracia. Elección de directores. Escuela pública.

Introduction

§ 16. Power means the probability of imposing one's own will, within a social relationship, even against all resistance and whatever may be the basis of that probability.

Domination must be understood as the probability of finding obedience to a command of a certain content among given persons; discipline should be understood as the probability of finding obedience to a mandate by a group of people who, by virtue of ingrained attitudes, is prompt, simple and automatic.

1. The concept of power is sociologically amorphous. All the imaginable qualities of a man and all sorts of possible constellations can put someone in the position of imposing his will in each situation. The concept of domination has, therefore, to be more precise and can only mean the probability that a command will be obeyed.

2. The concept of discipline encompasses that of "habitual obedience" by the masses without resistance or criticism. (WEBER, 2002, p. 43, our translation).

Domination is a special case of power. The above concepts, in advance, help us to understand a little the relationships that are imposed on the groups that constitute the public school institution. Along with the concepts, we need to think about the concern not with who imposes power or is the dominator, but with the other, with why the other obeys such imposition and is dominated.

Perhaps this is the big question that will be attempted to be drawn: how and why school communities elect the same education professional for a position that should have a rotational nature - that is why its provision as a community consultation? Will some always be dominated and others dominating?

School culture is permeated by political relations and, consequently, by the exercise of power and domination. In essence, this is because the school is not an institution isolated from society, but because the actions of that society are reproduced in it. Even in "democratic" processes, as consultations with the school community should be made to choose school leaders, it was found in previous research by this author the constitution of "careers in non-existent careers"², through the maintenance of power in a function that has, by nature and form of provision, rotation as a characteristic (FINATTI, 2016). The research, entitled "Elections as

² Expression indicated by Prof^a Dr^a Teise de Oliveira Guaranha Garcia during the qualification exam of that research, immediately incorporated into the dissertation for portraying what was drawn in the research.

a way of providing school management in the Municipal Education Network of Curitiba”, analyzed the consultation processes with the school community “as a way of providing school management in public schools in the city of Curitiba/PR, considering the possibilities and limits of this instrument - election - as a tool for democratic management of public schools” (FINATTI, 2016, p. 16, our translation). The process has been regulated in that municipality since 1983, when the first election took place, whose mandate began in January 1984.

The analyzes developed show that, among the education professionals who, between 1984 and 2016, were elected to compose the directive team of municipal schools, only 43.77% remained in office (three years), while approximately 13% spent more than ten years in this role, reaching 25 years. Regarding these, it can be said that they constituted a career in a non-existent career, since in the city of Curitiba there is no career for “school management” and the teaching career could be concluded, until 2016, with 25 years of contribution. In other words, such people, with formation and public hiring to work as teachers in schools in the municipality, have spent their entire career in a different function, the directive. Legally, this was possible because there was a loophole in the “elections” legislation for the school management team prior to 2014, which allowed for reelection; however, it was also possible due to the circumstances involved in assuming the command team figure.

As stated, power and domination, as Weberian concepts, are the result of social action, of the relationship between different subjects. Power involves imposing A's personal will on B; it is, therefore, related to the use of force, in addition to the sources of legitimation. The sociability agreements are positivized by the law, which legitimize the actions and maintain that what is done for each one has a reason for being for all. The law, therefore, is important due to the formalism intrinsic to it.

The election to compose the school management teams is a democratic instrument. Nevertheless, democracy will not exist without bureaucracy and those who dominate it - bureaucracy - will also dominate democratic means and speak with legitimacy. All professionals, upon being approved in a competition, demonstrate knowledge about teaching. However, when one of them begins to exercise the function of principal, he/she goes through a series of experiences, participates in courses on specific aspects of administration, in addition to being present at meetings at the Department of Education and agencies of the like, which provide them with knowledge that other professionals do not have. This fact puts them in a special situation, as they start to dominate what others do not know and, in most cases, are unable, or do not want to share what gives them power. The others, for their part, are often intimidated by not having the information and experience of the acting director and end up not

competing for the role. This knowledge, of the rules of the game, allows them to exercise rational-legal domination, whose purest type would be bureaucracy, the domain of the law to which they all submit.

Whatever the so-called democratic institution, there will be, in the relations between the subjects of this institution, the dispute for the power to make decisions. In democratic spaces where consensus will try to be built from the arguments of the different parts, the opinion or perception of the subjects will only come into the agenda if it is put into dispute. It will be natural, in this process, that those who dominate the bureaucracy and have a legitimate power, will have greater and easier influence on the opinion of others. It should be noted that the dispute for power involves the dispute for possession of legitimation sources.

Social action, bureaucracy, power and domination in Max Weber: the “election” for direction under Weberian concepts

Max Weber, in his sociological analyzes, focuses on individuals, and therefore on social action:

§ 1. *Concept of sociology and "meaning" in social action.* It must be understood by sociology [...]: a science that tries to understand, interpreting it, social action to explain it causally in its development and effects. [...] "Social action", therefore, is an action in which the meaning mentioned by its subject or subjects is referred to the behavior of others, being guided by it in their development (WEBER, 2002, p. 5, our translation).

Social action and social relationship are guided by the existence of a legitimate order, which can take place in an affective or sentimental way; linked to the tradition of what has always existed in that particular way; rational linked to values; and by virtue of statutes that are positive, in legality (WEBER, 2002, p. 27-30). Social action is human conduct endowed with meaning, justification elaborated by the author of the action, human conduct with subjective meaning given by those who perform it.

Nothing, however, is consolidated outside of individuals, according to Weber. His collective character composes a cluster of people, with no single rationality. Max Weber's analysis is always constituted of meaning, starting from the material, real.

In the same way, the ideal types described by him rationally are fixed points built from materiality, to better know and explain it. Social formations “they are nothing other than developments and intertwining of specific actions of individual people” (WEBER, 2002, p. 12, our translation). When reading his writings, it is clear that his backbone of concepts is full of

empiricism, of the concrete analysis of each situation, taking the subjects as a starting point. Thus, the author builds the ideal types, based on the observed reality and the succession of events, not as desired elements, but to be superimposed on reality, analyzing how far from the reality described they are.

Regarding research, the concept of the ideal type proposes to form the attribution judgment. It is not a “hypothesis”, but it intends to point the way for the formation of hypotheses. Although it is not an exhibition of reality, it intends to give it univocal expressive means. It is, therefore, the “idea” of the modern and historically given organization of society in a market economy, an idea that evolves according to the same logical principles that served, for example, to form the “urban economy” of the Middle Ages in a way of a “genetic” concept. It is not by establishing an average of the economic principles that really existed in all the cities examined, but rather, by building an ideal type, that in the latter case the concept of “urban economy” is formed. An ideal type is obtained through the unilateral *accentuation of one or more* points of view, and through the chaining of a large number of *isolated*, diffuse and discrete phenomena, which can occur in greater or lesser numbers or even be completely absent, and which are ordered according to unilaterally accentuated points of view, in order to form a homogeneous framework of *thought*. It becomes impossible to find this picture empirically in reality, in its conceptual purity, because it is a utopia (WEBER, 2003, p. 106, our translation).

The ideal types are not concepts in themselves, they are rationally constructed and therefore come close to the “idea”. The ideal types are comparative instruments for seeking explanations, they are not safe points for detecting reality, such as concepts, but the search for logics and regularities within phenomena, as an internal rationality for the observed phenomenon (WEBER, 2003). Thus, there will be no pure ideal types corresponding to concrete reality, as they will occur in a mixed form since they were built from the regularities found, and not in the conceptualization of reality itself. The ideal type, therefore, is an instrument of categories created from empiricism to formulate hypotheses about certain social phenomena.

In this way, Weber typifies three forms of domination, with different legitimacy foundations, found from the observation of human relations: rational-legal, charismatic and traditional. Domination is, in truth, a

State of affairs by which a manifest will (“mandate”) of the “dominator” or “dominators” influences the acts of others (of the “dominated”), in such a way that to a socially relevant degree, these acts take place as if the dominated had adopted for themselves and as the maxim of their action the content of the mandate (“obedience”) (WEBER, 2002, p. 699, our translation).

Based on the above concept, which explains the idea that the dominated act as if it were their will to act the way the dominators command, we can try to briefly describe the legitimacy foundation of each of the forms of domination.

Rational-legal domination is expressed, as stated, in bureaucracy as the purest type. It is impersonal and universal, subject to tests and contests for testing; it involves the rule of law to which all others are subject. Its legitimacy is based, therefore, “in the belief in the legality of statutory ordinations and of the command rights of those called by those ordinations to exercise authority (legal authority)” (WEBER, 2002, p. 172, our translation).

The charismatic domination, in contrast to the presented before, is very personal, belongs to the subject and therefore has an extraordinary character, with unstable succession. The foundation of legitimacy, in this form of domination, “rests on the extra-daily dedication to the holiness, heroism or exemplarity of a person and to the ordinations created or revealed by him (called) (charismatic authority) (WEBER, 2002, p. 172, our translation). Charismatic domination has an element of faith attached to it, the belief that that subject has something heroic related to it. This form of domination breaks linear processes with heroism, but in order to maintain it, it will need to create a routine, making it a process of rationalization (legalization) or traditionalization (WEBER, 2002, p. 197).

Finally, traditional domination would be a routine of charismatic domination. It is based on tradition and, therefore, can be "inherited".

[...] a domination is traditional when its legitimacy rests on the sanctity of ordinations and powers of command inherited from distant times, "from time immemorial", believing in it on the merits of that holiness. [...] The "association of domination", in the simplest case, is primarily an "association of piety" determined by an educational community (WEBER, 2002, p. 180, our translation).

As stated, the forms of domination typified by Weber do not materially exist as described. They are ideal types that, in objective reality, mix. “[...] any typical form of domination by virtue of a constellation of interests, and especially by virtue of the possession of a monopoly, can gradually be transformed into an authoritarian domination” (WEBER, 2002, p. 697, our translation). A subject - principal or school director, can win a first election to which he competes for exercising a charismatic domination over his voters, however the routinization of this domination originally personified, can become traditional domination. Exceptions aside, it is often observed that the principal, once elected, has a great chance of trying to be re-elected and of succeeding, in most cases, without opponents. In addition to the insecurity in relation to their own competence to perform a function touted as complex and inaccessible, the fear of

facing the already established direction, losing and facing retaliation causes few people to risk entering the dispute (FINATTI, 2016).

The State and Politics do not work, in the long run, with a single expression of domination typified by Max Weber. "The decisive instrument of the politics is violence" (WEBER, 2011, p. 144), and the State is the one who detains legitimate violence over a given territory. It should be added that often the municipal administration itself, when it remains in power, has an interest in the people who were loyal to them, to remain in office, contributing, whenever they can, to make this happen. However, it is also impossible to rise to power or maintain it without the mastery of some bureaucracy, without the mastery of the machine. In addition, when we talk, for example, about ascending to elected positions in the country, it is necessary to know the party machine and, to maintain power, it is necessary to maintain control of the spaces that help to maintain themselves.

The development of instrumental rationality in the West, according to Max Weber's analysis, was imposed with the strength of its instrumental effectiveness. Rationality permeates all areas of life. This rationality is what we could call the search for means to reach certain ends. Bureaucracy is understood by Weber as a necessary mechanism to govern complex societies.

Likewise, at school. The person applying for the directive function will need to keep under control the spaces or dominated subjects who have chosen it. An example of this is the reluctance that they have to stop being in control of everything that happens in and around the school, including the School Council, a collegiate body that oversees their function, and of which, according to current legislation, the directive team is still a natural member and president.

The issue of maintaining power can also be strong in school institutions in Curitiba when we perceive the organization of the calendar of consultations with the community itself for the choice of management teams in relation to the calendar of organization of internal removal competitions. The annual removal processes of the Municipal Secretariat of Education take place, in an election year for the management team, always after the elections are held, allowing the losers dissatisfied, or fearful of retaliation, to seek other places of work. The need to move away from the institution in which there was an electoral defeat does not seem to be characteristic only of Curitiba, having been reported by Castro (1998, p. 18) about the electoral process in a state school in Belo Horizonte.

Weber treats science as the one that accompanies the development of human rationality, through the technical domain - logical and rational explanations - of the phenomena of life. In "Science and Politics: two vocations", the author distinguishes science, as a vocation, as

scientific knowledge and experience, based on specialization, from politics as a vocation, whose autonomous activity has passion and vanity as strong elements. This science and politics, as vocations, are typified in the light of the Modern State, in which elements such as power, legitimacy, authority and truth are present. This State is a political group, which is distinguished from the others by having a monopoly on legitimate violence, domination of man over man. It is the state that has the “right” to violence.

Violence is, of course, not the only instrument that the State uses - there is no doubt about it - but it is its specific instrument. At all times, the most diverse political groups - starting with the family - resorted to physical violence, using it as a normal instrument of power. In our time, however, we must conceive of the contemporary state as a human community that, within the limits of a given territory - the notion of territory corresponds to one of the essential elements of the state - claims a monopoly on the use of physical violence. (WEBER, 2011, p. 66-67, author’ highlights, our translation).

We also say that the State is a political group, for Weber. The politics, in this sense, is “the set of efforts made with a view to participating in power or influencing the division of power, either between States, or within a single State” (WEBER, 2011, p. 67, our translation).

Knowledge is the central element of politics and science as a vocation, which keeps them accessible to a few. From the two vocations derive the ethics of conviction and responsibility. In the ethics of responsibility, the idea of keeping the game “being played” prevails; the consequences of decisions in this ethic are analyzed, since agreement between the two sides is more important than conviction. For the scientist, the answer will never be definitive, being opposed at all times. Thus, science does not have to say about the ultimate questions, it describes the ways to achieve certain ends, without judgment of value, because it is in people.

The ethics of conviction, in turn, has individual belief as its central element. It is not equivalent to the absence of responsibility, as it may seem beforehand. Whoever acts under the ethics of conviction fails to recognize in his action justification for certain results contrary to the intended ends and will place the responsibility for these unpleasant consequences on the other. “It seems, therefore, that it is the problem of justifying the means by the end that, in general, calls into question the ethics of conviction” (WEBER, 2011, p. 145). For the author, the two ethics - conviction and responsibility - are not opposed, but add up and “together, they form the authentic man, that is, a man who can aspire to the political vocation” (WEBER, 2011, p. 155, our translation).

In the democratic process in which the public-school institution claims to be guided, rational-legal domination has a marked presence. Without the rules, there is no democracy. Even in the other forms of domination described by Weber, when exercising power, there are limits to the rule. History, faith, tradition and rule have an influence on people for domination, power and obedience. “In any case, each time you ask questions about the fundamentals that “legitimize” obedience, these three “pure” forms that we have just indicated are found always and without any contestation” (WEBER, 2011, p. 69, our translation).

Domination, therefore, has its constitution in charge of obedience, since, if the subject doubts tradition, charisma or rationalization, that domination ends. Obedience involves a willingness, to believe in something that mythifies the dominator. The greater the belief, the more legitimate obedience, and the more domination, without any form of contestation.

About this, and in the light of what we see at school and in the figure of school management in their relationship with the group, some situations demonstrate the mythical/superior position in which the principal is placed, which can be exemplified with the gifts purchased on the principal's birthday or “school principal's day”, even if they do not respect or appreciate it. Why are gifts only for the director? If it was for the pleasure of giving, shouldn't others receive it too? What is the intention of the gift, or of the cake specially brought for a special snack, or of the "Happy Birthday" sung by all the students in the patio? Who takes charge of these initiatives? Why are they accepted by everyone? Why did it always happen? For being part of the relationship of those who hold power with their subordinates? Why do such demonstrations happen in some schools and not in others?

The basis of what is at stake is power, related to the government regime of the school institution, yes, but it is still a form of domination, since, for Weber, “every government regime needs dominance in some way, because for its performance imperative powers must always be placed in the hands of someone” (WEBER, 2002, p. 701, our translation). The author adds that the

Power of command can have a modest appearance and the boss can be considered as a "servant" of the dominated. This almost always occurs in the so-called directly democratic government. [...] However, no matter how limited the sphere of power is, certain powers of command must always be entrusted to an official, with which their situation will pass insensibly from a simple administration to an authentic and express leadership (WEBER, 2002, p. 701, author' highlights, our translation).

This is not always the foundation of the public school, although, as a small institution that has, in the State of Paraná, a collegiate body - School Council - as a manager, it could

correspond to this last description. Nevertheless, the power delegated to the head of the school office, historically, the non-qualification and empowerment of the people who compose the managing collegiate, and the presidency of this collegiate under the command of the head of the office itself, end up concentrating even more power over management teams.

At school, not unlike other institutions, rational-legal domination is attested by diplomas. At the same time, the belief in authority, interest and legitimacy that involve forms of domination, are mixed with the need to express power. When the principals were appointed, the authoritarian relationship with them was common, which gave rise to the desire for elections as a more democratic way of occupying the role, which could "naturally" have been reflected throughout the school. However, the change in the way of providing leadership does not alter social action, nor would it exclude the forms of domination typical of human and political relations. Whoever has or has come to have a legitimated power, by the various sources, will have influence over the others, since the dispute for power involves the dispute for the possession of legitimate sources (WEBER, 2002) and the existence of power and domination (although not perceived as such) presupposes obedience.

In this sense, how do the roles of the presidency of the Republic and the School Directorate differ? Why can't we both defend that any subject should apply? If, at the top of democracy, there is a demagogue, who should preside over each of the institutions?

We must stick here to the purpose of these devices, these institutions and the functions of those who put themselves at the "top", in the direction. The School has a very evident purpose, inducing us to have a subject, at the top of its democracy, capable of conducting a political-pedagogical process. For the presidency of the Republic, the political character stands out from the technical one, since the ministerial structure and advisory services will constitute the most technical character.

That subject who will be at the top of the school organization, needs to have rationality-legality (recognition of merit), in a democratic way, of a function that is also technical. However, as it is not just technical, it needs to have other attributes. The school management is made up of bureaucrats of the rational-legal structure, with technical attributions; however, at school, an institution where people spend so much time, there is a complexity of interests and disputes. Therefore, the person who coordinates that process coordinates such disputes, operating in the field of politics.

There are several forms of provision for the directive function of schools. The appointment or free indication, consultation with the community, the contest, to speak of the

best known. The nomination or free indication considers only the political nature of the function, while the competitions take into account only the technical characteristic.

Being the directive function intended by politics, the combination of the two forms of provision is defended here: competition (technique) and election/consultation to the community (politics), through which the subject proves his ability to dialogue, listen, mediate.

That said, it is understood that democracy presupposes rule, and therefore will always be bureaucratic. Democratic management, therefore, is a continuum, a point of arrival that involves much power struggle and does not eliminate forms of domination.

If, for Weber, domination somehow involves “faith”, obedience, we have in the school relations of belief between the community of education professionals and family members and the school administration. The dominated must believe in something: tradition, magic, heroic action or the law, merit.

Magali Castro analyzes, in “A study of power relations in the public elementary school in the light of Weber and Bourdieu: from formal, impersonal and symbolic power to explicit power”, the

power relations in two public schools on the outskirts of Belo Horizonte, in two moments: in the day-to-day routine interaction, when symbolic power is exercised and, in certain moments, when the struggle for positions of power or for the imposition of ideas unveil power, making it manifest and revealed (CASTRO, 1998, p. 9, our translation).

Although power relations in schools are not so dichotomous, as they are understood here to be permeated by one or another expression of power or domination, and not in isolation in each of them, given the specific situation, the author brings some important reflections to assist in understanding the maintenance of power at school, or, as stated at the beginning of this study, the construction of “careers in non-existent careers”.

Castro (1998) presents an analysis that meets this understanding, that school relationships are, in fact, permeated by different interests and, therefore, can be read under different perspectives, as an expression of power - symbolic, from Bourdieu - or as an expression of domination or use of violence - Weber. Regarding the interactions and relationships between the subjects of the school institution, the author states that,

[from] the moment they enter school until the time of departure, they are subjected to a series of rules for the exercise of their activities, which they abide by, as a sign of collusion with the established order, even if they do not conform very much to it. In this routine, the bosses place the responsibility for the inconvenience of the orders they always issue in the most distant authority (CASTRO, 1998, p. 13, our translation).

Or else:

Some critical moments, experienced by the Institution, reveal all the incompatibilities and divergences between the actors and reveal the power that, instead of existing in its symbolic form of everyday life, becomes manifest and revealed, expressing itself in the struggles for the imposition of ideas that are no longer professed behind the scenes, but openly. In such struggles, the use of force, the appeal to legal legitimacy, the use of situations and skills for their own benefit and the social, political or ideological influence put forward by Weber replace the power of day-to-day, at the same time formal, impersonal and symbolic (CASTRO, 1998, p. 14-15, our translation).

The school's management team assumes this place of power and domination in the school institution, in front of the community, in the electoral processes and carries it into the day-to-day of the unit. The formation of “school management” careers, if we can call them that way, can be seen by this privileged place assumed and by the silencing of this unveiled power, mentioned by Castro (1998). However, it is also built on the belief of the dominated in that dominator, who has the knowledge of legitimate instruments and knows how to use them, which would place the Weberian typifications in greater evidence, differently from what the aforementioned author does.

When describing power relations at the time of the election of directors, Castro (1998) highlights the formation of opposing groups and processes that can be healthy or, sometimes, painful. In the author's words, the process is healthy when professionals maintain the dispute at a “civilized level”, but it can be painful and with irremediable consequences if “the power, salary and prestige that are at stake, allied to the already existing feuds in state of latency, awaiting the moment of hatching, prevent [...] experiencing the positive aspect of the elections” (CASTRO, 1998, p. 17, our translation).

The constitution of “school management careers” may have its roots in the ignorance of other sources of domination within the school. Castro says that

Amid the guidance of supervisors and administrators, the concern with the fulfillment of programs, attendance at constant meetings, preparation of classes and correction of works and attendance to parents of students, teachers receive the reflection and reflect the existing power relations. Key elements of the institution's contacts, teachers have much more power within the school than they can even imagine (CASTRO, 1998, p. 20, our translation).

The author further states that

The study carried out allowed us to conclude that symbolic power is experienced, in the day-to-day activities of schools, by actors who seek to transform into symbolic capital the other types of capital they have, in the

sense of "winning" people, in order to count with them: administrators and specialists, holders of positions of greater hierarchical power and greater cultural capital expressed in school titles, transform this capital into currencies of competence and skills that will allow them to exercise symbolic power at school. As employees and service colleagues of their subordinates, with whom they share the bus seats or with whom they share their car, they unconsciously use their personal qualities and their relationship skills to win them over as supporters in the veiled struggle to impose ideas (CASTRO, 1998, p. 20, our translation).

If read from the Weberian framework and from the typifications made by him, such a description of administrators who have greater “cultural capital expressed in school titles” could also be related to the rational-legal domain that they now exercise over other subjects at school.

It is also important to clarify the analysis of the constitution of careers in management careers that, in fact, do not exist in the framework of the civil service of the municipality of Curitiba, to talk about the legality of the action. Finatti (2016) states that the rules tried to prevent infinite reelections in exactly the same role, but differentiated the role of principal from that of vice-principal, allowing what was known in the Municipal Education Network of Curitiba as “double” - professionals assumed the function of principal, were reelected in the same function, and in the third election they changed places with their vice to be able to run again, and so consecutively, until completing more than two decades in directive functions. It is understood, however, that in both functions (management and vice-management), the person occupies a position of power in the school, as he assumes the Management Team. It is, therefore, advancement, from the democratic point of view and inducing the rotation of people in the function, the understanding of the new legislation (2014) that limits to a single reelection in the management team, regardless of whether director or vice.

Final considerations

In view of the above, it is possible to affirm that this “constitution of a career in a non-existent career” occurred due to different factors, among which we highlight:

- a) The legality of the action; no legislation that dealt with consultations with the school community to choose management teams prevented reelections from happening;
- b) Whoever takes on the role having won an election stands out in front of the others and starts, if he has not done so before, to exercise some kind of domination - be it charismatic, traditional or rational-legal over the school community;

- c) Once on the job, the professionals acquire other specific knowledge of school administration, which distinguishes them from other school professionals;
- d) Whoever starts to dominate bureaucracy, starts to exercise greater rational-legal dominance over others, expanding “obedience”;
- e) Once under the domination of others, the dominated do not question authority. When they do, they leave the function of dominated and start to dispute the power and the sources of legitimation;
- f) Dominators do politics, act in politics and have legitimate technical knowledge (for their diploma, for the actions they implement, and it works, etc.);
- g) The dominated ones assume the role of “true employees”, described by Weber:

The true employee [...] must not make politics exactly because of his vocation: he must manage, first of all, in a non-partisan way. This imperative also applies to the so-called “political” officials, at least officially and insofar as the “reason of State”, that is, the vital interests of an established order are not at stake. He must carry out his mission *sine ira et studio*, “without resentment and without prejudice”. Consequently, he must not do what the politician, be the leader, be followers, is compelled to do incessantly and necessarily, that is, to fight. Indeed, taking sides, fighting, falling in love - *ira et studio* - are the characteristics of the politician. And, first of all, political leader. The latter's activity is subject to a principle of responsibility that is totally foreign, and even opposite, to what guides the employee. The employee's honor resides in his ability to conscientiously execute an order, under the responsibility of a higher authority, even though - disregarding the warning - he obstinately follows a false path. The employee must execute this order as if it corresponded to his own beliefs. Without this moral discipline, in the highest sense of the term, and without this selflessness, the entire organization is in ruins (WEBER, 2011, p. 96-97, author’ highlights, our translation).

Although, in practice, the above description is not always true with all professionals. In schools, there is a false obedience, in the sense that the teacher may not even expose his contradiction in relation to certain norms, or decisions, which does not prevent him from doing what he wants, whenever he can.

- h) If the “honor of the political leader” is in the personal responsibility for what he does, perhaps not all education professionals want that responsibility; they may not want to take sides about things;
- i) He who established, throughout the history of the RME of Curitiba, a career in “school management”, may aspire to the Weberian political vocation, since, in order to “democratically” remain in power, he must have learned to balance the ethics of conviction and

the ethics of responsibility, constituting the authentic man (WEBER, 2011), at least in the eyes of the community that he started to represent for decades.

Finally, it is worth noting that the professionals who formed a career in this function, which should be transient, did so with the consent of the school community - education professionals (teachers and non-teachers) students and their families. Thus, his forms of domination may have been different for each of the segments he represents, as an elected director. Still, if they possess, by nature of the function, technical and political apparatus to remain in the function, they constitute authority in the unit, which will not be questioned unless the routine imposed is broken, in some way, and someone is willing to dispute the sources of legitimation.

If there was no possibility of opposing those in power, there would be no fierce disputes in any school and the directive functions would have been made up of a greater number of professionals. But they were not. Now, with the possibilities of reelection over, since there is a restriction on that possibility in the current legislation, who will put up for the race? How will the current directions be placed, given the impossibility of reelection? Will they leave the scene? Will they return to the classrooms? Will they retire? Will the current dominators make their heirs?

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