PROFESSIONAL STORIES: FORMATION POLICIES AND TEACHERS' FORMATIVE PATHWAYS

HISTÓRIAS PROFISSIONAIS: POLÍTICAS DE FORMAÇÃO E PERCURSOS FORMATIVOS DE PROFESSORES

HISTORIAS PROFESIONALES: POLÍTICAS DE FORMACIÓN Y CURSOS DE FORMACIÓN PARA PROFESORES

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ABSRACT: The article presents an investigative study on professional histories in interfaces with teacher formation policies. The objective of the research is based on the prerogative of analyzing teachers' histories and the reverberation of formative policies in their formative paths. For this purpose, a theoretical dialogue was held with the contributions of Nóvoa (1999) and Saviani (2009). The biographical narratives constructed from oral interviews were analyzed highlighting the analytical categories followed by the application of a semistructured questionnaire, characterizing this study of a qualitative nature in which one takes from the narratives the subsidies for dialogue with bibliographical elements. The findings of this research indicated that teacher formation policies, current legislation and the social demands of a given time have a direct influence on the individual trajectories of teachers. However, these policies are not uniform in the formative paths since each teacher builds his or her professional history based on the ways of recreating the work culture. It has also been highlighted that in the history of teacher education, given the objective conditions of practical reason, professional culture incorporates legal and formative requirements, in many circumstances, in an uncritical way, justifying that the normative is to be incorporated and not questioned, which highlights the hierarchical weight of policies in our modes of teaching when it consists of our primary occupation.

KEYWORDS: Professional stories. Formation Policies. Formative pathways.

RESUMO: O artigo apresenta um estudo investigativo sobre histórias profissionais em interfaces com as políticas de formação docente. O objetivo da pesquisa parte da prerrogativa de analisar histórias de professores e a reverberação das políticas formativas em seus percursos formativos. Para tanto, dialogou-se teoricamente com as contribuições de

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Nóvoa (1999) e Saviani (2009). As narrativas biográficas construídas a partir de entrevistas orais, foram analisadas destacando as categorias analíticas seguida da aplicação de questionário semiestruturado, caracterizando este estudo de natureza qualitativa em que se toma das narrativas os subsídios para dialogar com elementos bibliográficos. Os achados desta pesquisa sinalizou que as políticas de formação de professores, a legislação vigente e as demandas sociais de um determinado tempo influenciam diretamente nas trajetórias individuais dos professores, entretanto estas políticas não se uniformizam nos percursos formativos, uma vez que cada professor constrói sua história profissional a partir dos modos de recriação da cultura laboral. Destacou-se ainda que na história da formação docente, dada as condições objetivas da razão prática, a cultura profissional incorpora as exigências legais e formativas em muitas circunstâncias de forma acrítica, justificando que o normativo é pra ser incorporado e não questionado, o que evidencia o peso hierárquico das políticas em nossos modos de exercer a docência quando esta consiste em nossa ocupação primária.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Histórias profissionais. Políticas de Formação. Percursos formativos.

RESUMEN: El artículo presenta un estudio de investigación sobre historias profesionales en interfaces con las políticas de formación docente. El objetivo de la investigación parte de la prerrogativa de analizar las historias de los docentes y la reverberación de las políticas formativas en sus trayectorias formativas. Para ello, se dialogó teóricamente con los aportes de Nóvoa (1999) y Saviani (2009). Se analizaron las narrativas biográficas construidas a partir de entrevistas orales, destacando las categorías analíticas seguidas de la aplicación de un cuestionario semiestructurado, caracterizando este estudio cualitativo en el que se toman las narrativas de los subsidios al diálogo con elementos bibliográficos. Los hallazgos de esta investigación señalaron que las políticas de formación docente, la legislación vigente y las demandas sociales de un momento dado inciden directamente en las trayectorias individuales de los docentes, sin embargo estas políticas no se encuentran estandarizadas en las trayectorias formativas, ya que cada docente construye su historia. de las formas de recrear la cultura laboral. También se destacó que en la historia de la formación docente, dadas las condiciones objetivas de la razón práctica, la cultura profesional incorpora requisitos legales y formativos en muchas circunstancias de manera acrítica, justificando que la normativa sea incorporada y no cuestionada, lo que demuestra el peso jerárquico de las políticas en nuestras formas de ejercer la docencia cuando se trata de nuestra ocupación principal.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Historias profesionales. Políticas de formación. Cursos de formación.

Introduction

The social history of the teaching profession is an arena made up of a set of stories that interpenetrate: History of the construction of the intellectual field of education and profession, history of the teachers' struggles and strategies in relation to the State, history of the construction of the school and knowledge that circulates in it (LELIS, 2001, p. 41, our translation).

Stories that mix and involve, meet and mismatch form this complex network that we call the history of the teaching profession. Stories that interpenetrate as Isabel Lelis signaled. It is from this field of daily struggles, from daily strategies fought in relation to the State, from stories on the school floor and from the countless ways of producing with the knowledge that we take up when we choose teaching as our profession.

Questions and many inquiries are part of this set of stories. Throughout this research it was thought to have some of the answers that led us to research. Such a prerogative worried us, after all we teachers are in a plot that has become so democratized that we suppose to know a little about everything when it comes to our work and our profession. Which is a mistake. With research, something immediately catches our attention: how are we so different in our paths? How, as a professional category, do we think so differently? How do we find ourselves in some aspects even though they are from such different generations?

This article was based on the following questions: how is the formation of teachers in a Catholic confessional school in Teresina-Piauí constituted? What is the place of the State's educational policies in the constitution of the professional identity of teachers in a Catholic confessional school context? These questions guided our reflective and analytical investment. Our goal was to understand, through professional trajectories, the formative courses of teachers at the Catholic confessional school Sister Maria Catarina Levrini in Teresina-Piauí, identifying the role of the State's educational policies, as well as institutional policy in the trajectories of these teachers.

Teacher formation policies and formative paths

In contemporary societies, one of the main keys to understanding their changes is the action of teachers in the professional field. Our analysis of professional identity was undertaken from the time frame of the 1950s in Brazil, however, we will refer to a brief understanding of the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century to think about the relations demarcated by the State on the functioning of teachers.

In the Brazilian context, the specificities of teacher formation have historically been situated in the unique constitution of the school network (its offer/expansion) which, acquiring a specific design at the end of the 19th century, created the Normal Schools for the formation of teachers for first letters.

For Saviani, the fact that we refer to the nineteenth century to demarcate the discussions alluding to teacher formation will occur because it is in this time frame that this discourse appears explicitly, but it does not mean that there were no discussions about the preparation of teachers before the first half of the 19th century. For the author,

During the entire colonial period, from the Jesuit schools, through the royal classes implemented by the Pombaline reforms to the higher courses created after the arrival of D. João VI in 1808, there is no explicit concern with the issue of teacher formation. It is in the Law of the Schools of First Letters, promulgated on 15 October 1827, that this concern first appeared. When determining that teaching in these schools should be developed by the mutual method, the aforementioned law stipulates in Article 4 that teachers must be trained in this method, at their own expense, in the capitals of the respective provinces. Therefore, there is a requirement for didactic preparation, although there is no reference to the pedagogical question (SAVIANI, 2009, p. 144, our translation).

When outlining formative/skills requirements, demands are made in this body of teachers that meet a current situation, shape a logic of power and trigger the constitution of their scientific habitus. The formative paths of teachers have an ideological relationship between the project of society that is intended to form and the dictates of the State in the form of the formation of a collective body of workers that has achieved social recognition.

When primary education becomes the responsibility of the provinces, they create the Normal Schools that will focus on the formation of teachers. Beforehand, the purpose of these formative spaces was to form specific skills for the exercise of teaching, however, what was seen was a transposition of the curriculum of the first letter schools to the teacher formation course. Thus, the reform of the Normal Schools was a condition for better teacher formation and was based on two crucial points: improvement of curriculum content and emphasis on practical aspects, which would imply better didactic-pedagogical formation.

Another significant milestone in the institutional perspective of teacher education is the creation of Education Institutes under the aegis of the ideology of the Escanovistas, advocated by Anísio Teixeira and Fernando de Azevedo. The Normal Schools are transformed into schools for teachers and the Institutes of Education are prepared to incorporate the demands of pedagogy. The Institutes were elevated to the university level becoming bases for higher studies. Saviani points out that

> The Institutes of Education of the Federal District and São Paulo were elevated to the university level, becoming the basis of higher education studies: the paulista was incorporated into the University of São Paulo, founded in 1934, and the carioca was incorporated into the Universidade do Federal District, created in 1935. It was on this basis that teacher formation courses for secondary schools were organized, generalized for the whole country based on Decree-Law no. 1.190, of 4 April 1939, which gave definitive organization to the National College of Philosophy of the University of Brazil. As this institution is considered a reference for other higher education schools, the paradigm resulting from Decree-Law No. 1,190 extended to the entire country, making up the model that became known as the "3 + 1 scheme" adopted in the organization of undergraduate

and postgraduate courses of Pedagogy. This formed teachers to teach the various subjects that made up the curricula of secondary schools; the latter formed teachers to teach in the Normal Schools. In both cases, the same scheme was in force: three years for the study of specific subjects, that is to say, the cognitive contents or "the courses of subjects", in the expression of Anísio Teixeira, and one year for didactic training (SAVIANI, 2009, p. 146, our translation).

When institutionalizing the spaces for teacher formation, strides were taken to incorporate and consolidate the instruction requirements of the category. The teaching profession can no longer be practiced by amateurs or holders of sophisticated knowledge, it then begins to fit into a professional culture in which the profession is understood as a profession that has a history and a consolidated knowledge network.

For Saviani (2009, p. 36, our translation), the periodization of the history of teacher education in Brazil can be summarized in

1. Intermittent teacher formation tests (1827-1890). This period begins with the provision of the Law of the Schools of First Letters, which obliged teachers to instruct themselves in the method of mutual teaching, at their own expense; extends to 1890, when the Normal Schools model prevails. 2. Establishment and expansion of the standard of the Normal Schools (1890-1932), whose initial milestone is the São Paulo reform of the Normal School with the model school as an annex. 3. Organization of the Institutes of Education (1932-1939), whose milestones are the reforms of Anísio Teixeira in the Federal District, in 1932, and Fernando de Azevedo in São Paulo, in 1933. 4. Organization and implementation of Pedagogy Courses and Degree and consolidation of the Normal Schools model (1939-1971). 5. Replacement of the Normal School by the Specific Qualification of Teaching (1971-1996). 6. Advent of Higher Education Institutes, Normal Higher Schools and the new profile of the Pedagogy Course (1996-2006).

The professional formation trajectories that will be analyzed in this article are circumscribed between the years of 1957 and 2003, which comes close to the cut of analysis proposed by Saviani with regard to the organization and implementation of the Pedagogy and Licentiate Courses and the consolidation of the model of the Normal Schools (1939-1971), the replacement of the Normal School with the Specific Qualification of Teaching (1971-1996) and the Advent of Higher Education Institutes, Normal Higher Schools and the new profile of the Pedagogy Course (1996-2006).

Chart 1 – Summary of normative/legal requirements related to the formation of education professionals

LAW No.4024/61	LAW No. 5692/71	LAW No. 9394/96
CHAPTER V	CHAPTER V	TITLE VI
From Teacher Formation to	Teachers and experts	Education professionals
Primary and Secondary		
Education		
Art.53 The formation of teachers	Art.30 It will be required as a	Art.62. The formation of teachers to
for primary education will take	minimum formation for the	work in basic education will take
place: a) in a normal junior high	exercise of teaching: a) in the	place at a higher level, in an
school, at least four years a year,	teaching of 1st grade, from 1st to	undergraduate teaching degree
where, in addition to the	4th grades, specific qualification of	course, in universities and higher
compulsory subjects of the junior	2nd grade; b) in the teaching of 1st,	education institutes, admitted, as a
high school, pedagogical	1st to 8th grades, specific	minimum formation for the exercise
preparation will be given; b) in	qualification of a higher degree, at	of teaching in early childhood
normal high school grade, of	the undergraduate level,	education and in the first four grades
three annual grades, at least, in	represented by a 1st degree,	of elementary school, the one offered
continuation to high school	obtained in a short course; c) in all	at the medium level in the normal
grade.	teaching of 1st and 2nd degrees,	mode.
	specific qualification obtained in an	
	undergraduate course	
	corresponding to a full degree.	

Source: Davies (2004)

According to the table above, it is possible to identify the State by taking control of the teachers' formative processes. In turn, teachers, in order not to find themselves in a formative gap and become laypeople in the face of new formative expectations, need to fit into these control devices. The State builds formation incentive policies and, at the same time, builds a fierce market of disputes in the education sector. The example,

> It was not easy to enter the selection of the Educational Institute Antonino Freire. There was a book called an entrance exam that you needed to acquire to prepare. Those who could not pass the selective competition had to pay for private pedagogical courses, which did not fit in reality for many young people from Piauí, who, like me, had to work initially in commerce to collect the money to pay for the pedagogical. If you didn't do that, you didn't have primary school qualifications, which was required by schools in the early 1980s (Magister C excerpt).

> Each one on his own initiative struggles for his education, we wanted to have our profession, to be a teacher! There were many students from the most privileged classes in Teresina and Piauí as a whole at Escola Normal, but there were also those who, like me, made a high investment in traveling, staying in the city, investing in clothing and school supplies. Being a teacher in the 1970s was a desire both from the most favored classes, especially women, and from the least favored classes, but one thing was kept in mind: to be a teacher from then on, specific training is necessary (Magister B excerpt).

Still recalling the history of teacher education in Brazil to understand the history of the teaching profession in the country and teacher education, it is important to highlight a double context characterized, on the one hand, by the process of forming modern states and, on the other, by the process institutionalization of educational sciences. Both represent a theoretical-analytical possibility to unveil the developments regarding the professional constitution of the teacher.

For Nóvoa (1999), both in Portugal and in Brazil, the functioning of the teachers in a state-supervised manner constitutes one of the milestones of both control of educational processes and the teaching profession. The latter to be thought critically not only from the recruitment of the State, but from the conformation of professional status to subversive inventive ways of operating teaching.

In the teaching universe, normative bodies, knowledge and practices have been dynamized over time in conformity to a profession and not as a profession, so we can understand the professional constitution of the teacher by state functioning, since

for many years, the genesis of the teaching profession was attributed to the action of state education systems; nowadays, we know that at the beginning of the 18th century there were already a diversity of groups that saw teaching as their main occupation, sometimes exercising it full time. State intervention will lead to homogenization, as well as unification and hierarchy at national level, of all these groups: it is the state framework that establishes teachers as a professional body, and not a corporate conception of the profession (NÓVOA, 1999, p. 17, our translation).

When teachers work, we cannot understand that it is just the construction of another profession, given the political intentionality that it presents in its core due to the projects and the social purposes that they have, this is configured as a peculiar, strategic profession. Its production nurtures a social expectation of transformation, considering the possibilities of inclusion and social ascension (XAVIER, 2013).

The production of the profession has sustained expectations of change since the beginning of the 20th century. The purpose of this profession brings in its genesis a perspective for the transformation of society, on the other hand when it comes to teaching professionalism specifically from the 1960s in Brazil, this professional choice is also the reflection of social change for those who choose it as main occupation as the author indicated when identifying that

During the military regime (1964-1985), the teaching profession ceased to be exclusively for the middle and urban classes and fractions of the elites, but also for the lower classes. Thus, there was a process of mobility, both

upward and downward, since those who originated in the upper ranks while the people of popular origin ascended to a middle class profession. The new category, formed by these two fractions, was subjected to living and working conditions determined by the wage squeeze (BITTAR, 2006, p. 1159, our translation).

In the state of Piauí, this profession is an alternative for the rise of the most popular classes and, for the middle class, it meant the conformation of a new social/life condition delimited by the wage squeeze. In the case of the five teachers who were interviewees of this research, it is observed that all were in the group that ascended socially by choosing their career.

In view of the above, our gaze turns to the formative path of these teachers from an institutional perspective. How did these teachers at the Irmã Catarina Levrini School, who ascended socially through their teaching career, prepare for the profession?

> In my early career, Escola Normal was the place where teachers were prepared to practice teaching in the mid-late 1970s and early 1980s, then the laws changed and we had to fight for admission to universities (Magister A Except).

> I joined Escola Normal aiming to become a teacher to enter the job market. In the late 1990s I started the History course at the State University of Piauí through the special period (Magister B Excerpt).

> Those who wished to be a teacher knew that they should attend the Escola Normal. Initially I attended Escola Normal in the 1980s and in the late 1990s I entered higher education in the Pedagogy course (Magister D excerpt).

The formative preparation of the teachers/magister A, B and D points to the identification of the Normal School as a privileged formative place for the teachers of the city of Teresina, between the years 1970 and 1980.

> As I was unable to enter the Normal School, I did the private teaching in the 1980s. In the 2000s I felt the need for a higher education, so I went to a private college and graduated in philosophy (Magister C excerpt)

The popular classes were not always successful in their search for training spaces, for example, the aforementioned speech by magister C. It was then up to other attempts such as formation in private teaching spaces. This typical evidence of a class society with unequal opportunities for access to education will be perceived until today, a significant part of the popular classes that aspire to social ascension via studies resort to the private initiative to carry out their formative experiences.

Still on the paths taken by teachers in their formative search, after the 1980s and two laws of guidelines and bases (Law no. 4024/61 and no. 5692/71) with definitions on the normative requirements for teacher formation, it is in the decade of 1990 that will combine the formation of teachers with the entry into higher education courses offered by universities (initial formation), more specifically with LDBEN no 9394/96.

I decided to become a teacher in the 1990s. In this period, I already saw access to university courses. Studying pedagogy at the Federal University of Piauí was my first professional decision, teacher in formation for teaching in the initial grades of elementary school (Magister E excerpt).

In the speeches of the teachers about their formative trajectories, we identified that the formative project of teaching in a social, political and economic context both presents the normative evidence of the State as well as presenting very particular plots of operations undertaken by the subjects who adhere to teaching as a profession.

The formative paths required institutionally by the school under study in this research were not different from those required by the current regulatory context. The admission rules signaled that the school was attuned to the legal contexts recommended by the law of guidelines and bases of national education, however, by the teaching narratives, it became evident that the normative requirements were not the only conditions for the analysis of the teacher profile:

When I was hired to work at Catarina Levrini I was already graduated from Escola Normal. The sisters demanded training but, together with their diploma, they made other demands such as being a woman, being a Christian and living close to the school (Magister A Excerpt).

When I was hired by the school, I was already a state employee. The sisters asked for an indication in the teaching management, they wanted good teachers, until then the sisters were the teachers of the school, but with the changes in laws and also because the sisters are already quite old, a partnership was signed with the state government that gave teachers and school lunches so that the school would not stop working. The sisters demanded from the hired teachers a diploma and conducted interviews to talk about their personal life, their beliefs and, of course, their skills. The sisters were very demanding, they wanted to build a team of teachers with excellence, so they selected both for their training and for the personal qualities of the teacher (Magister B excerpt).

In both teachers' narratives, it is clear that the recruitment mechanisms were linked both to the normative provisions of the State when they refer to being qualified according to the law, as well as to personal qualities. The school as an institution hiring the teacher makes demands in addition to formative aspects such as: having the skills to compose a team of excellence in terms of teaching, being a woman and living close to the school. Such requirements signal that the normative issues for the hiring of teachers will be conditions for entering the teaching career, but the subjective requirements will also have enormous weight as gender, housing and pedagogical skills/knowledge and some personal and religious attributes.

The form of institutional admission was at the beginning of the history of the school associated with the State, which granted people from its workforce to the school, followed by recruitment via an interview conducted by the sisters.

The admission ritual was a demanding screening of personal and professional qualities understood as prerequisites for the constitution of the teaching staff that had been part of the team of teachers of the sister school Maria Catarina Levrini for many years.

Throughout the initial selection and the first years of experience at the school, teachers were subjected to in-service formative provided by the school itself, which aimed to raise their potential in relation to the work they performed, as well as to prepare the spirit for the accomplishment of the noble mission of educating.

"Teachers, in turn, are cultural agents and political agents", according to Nóvoa (1999), with teachers "being the protagonists in the field of the great historical operation of schooling, assuming the task of promoting the education value; in doing so they create conditions for the enhancement of their functions". According to the author, a perception of professionalization is accentuated in this perspective, which circumstantially provokes a discussion about the teaching identity given the social requirements.

For teachers subjected to this type of recruitment, it was speculated that a teacher formative model was formed to work in Catholic confessional schools linked to philanthropy. In the teaching imagination, an institutional professional profile was built that emphasized teaching skills, gender issues, the religious option and social behavior in favor of those who most needed it.

> In order to be a teacher at a school like IMCL that was going to deal with the supervision of the sisters and their socialized beliefs at every moment, it was necessary to be a Christian, to be preferably a married woman, to live nearby due to exclusivity and full time and, preferably, that children study at school with the aim of always ensuring quality (Magister A excerpt).

Martin Lawn⁴ (2001) points out that identities are constructed and manipulated through discourses, since it is generated over time and shaped in adjustments to the economic and social context. In the specific case of teachers in which the teaching work is socially constructed and where identity is an important aspect of work technology, this is adjusted to the educational project of the State, translating into a sophisticated method of control and in an effective way to manage changes. For the author,

identity is produced through a discourse that simultaneously explains and builds the system. The teacher's identity symbolizes the system and the nation that created it. It reflects the nation's imagined community, at times when it is crucial for the establishment or reformulation of its economic or social objectives, as defined by the State (LAWN, 2001, p. 118, our translation).

I add to Lawn (2001) that identity is also adjusted by the institutional educational project. In the mid-1970s, confessional schools in Piauí had a bold social status that had a recognized place in the project of society. Most teachers wanted to build a career in their interiors because they recognized the social importance of these spaces and also because, for most teachers, these schools were also the place par excellence for their children's school experience.

'The management of the identity of teachers is a crucial point for understanding educational systems' (LAWN, 2001, p. 118). Identifying the meanings attributed to teaching over time allows us to understand a project of nation, civility and expectations in relation to the desires emphasized by the unfinished project of modernity.

Corroborating with Lawn (2001), we highlight excerpts from the teachers' statements to legitimize the idea that identity reflects the system and the nation that created it, they are:

We teachers have a mission that is to transform people, to form citizens. Our remuneration is not much, but it is enough to live with dignity, a teacher is

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⁴ Biographical/professional note background: Martin Lawn is a professor at Brighton College of Education. He became a researcher at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, a researcher at the Center for Educational Sociology, both at the University of Edinburgh. He was Academic Secretary of BERA and Secretary-General, European Educational Research Association. He was a visiting professor at the Faculty of Teacher Education, and formerly at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Umea, Sweden, and at the University of Edinburgh, and currently at the University of Turku, Finland. He is an associate specialist, European Institute of Education and Social Policy, Paris and was a Visiting Professor at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciências Sociales (FLACSO), in Buenos Aires. He is the editor of the 'European Educational Research Journal', the academic journal of the European Union Educational Research Association and a member of the editorial boards, Revue Française de Pédagogie and the Sociology of Education Italian Journal and a member of the Academy of Social Sciences.

not a profession that one chooses to think about getting rich, to earn money, one chooses to be a teacher primarily on a mission (Magister B excerpt).

We teachers, as time goes by, we don't have time for anything anymore, which is why we find union involvement the action of those who have nothing to do, although they know its importance. We are always so busy, we don't have time to take care of our studies beyond school or even our cultural activities. I don't even remember the last time I did nothing at all for a whole day, it's proof, it's planning, it's class, it's graduate school, it's continuing education, in short, extremely overloaded (Magister E excerpt).

We teachers are charged with everything, for everything and by everyone. One day I was wondering if our profession is so important for the transformation of the country because the bus drivers 'strike has more impact than the teachers' strike. It is unfortunate to see what the public authorities in our country do with the category of teachers. Here in Teresina, the police are ordered to beat the teachers. In the city council, teachers are disrespected every time. I keep thinking that in the speech it is one thing and in reality it is another, I also know that the lack of respect with the category is strategic, the objective is to weaken the group of teachers. And the worst thing is that the State succeeds (Magister D excerpt).

Our category is really disunited, no one comes to a consensus, some strike, others don't, some are satisfied with their wages and others are not, some denounce the precarious working conditions, others don't. The city hall of Teresina, in recent years, has done atrocities like standardizing the lesson plans of teachers, the same didactic sequence for everyone, I have heard teachers saying that this is too certain, others refusing to such a requirement. I keep imagining that, for education systems, a good teacher is one who does not argue and who agrees with everything that comes from top to bottom (Magister A excerpt).

In a private school you dance to the music, you can't always be against it, of course we have the right to have our opinions, but working in the private sector means to shut up more than talking, I learned that over time (Magister C excerpt).

In the excerpts of the speeches of the five teachers, we identified that the discourse produced coincides with the dilemmas of the profession outlined by Lawn regarding the fabrication of the teaching identity. The identity of teachers has striking traces of the State's maneuvers as perceived by its sophisticated methods of control, such as the fact that teachers are not part of the priority agenda of State and government policies, as well as specific guidelines for improving education, however, in the measured political speeches, it is believed that this category is responsible for the most significant changes in society.

Issues highlighted in the statements of the teachers above, such as: precarious working conditions, institutional impositions of the private school system, devaluation of status, wage gap, impositions of authoritarian pedagogical actions, signal, among many others, the perception of an educational project that guides certain control policies educational.

In the model of analysis of the teaching profession sketched by Nóvoa (1999), the historical process of professionalization of teachers circulates around four stages, two dimensions and a structuring axis that can be studied both in a diachronic and synchronic perspective. The four stages are: main occupation, state leave, formation and associations followed by two dimensions (knowledge/technique and norms/values) and a central axis called social and economic status. This outline has a historical dimension that circumscribes it over time and makes it possible to perceive changes and permanences over time.

The elements of the aforementioned analytical model are socially identifiable because the teacher's professional work has become so democratized that the agents who are immersed in this process clearly identify it. The identification uses socially available and more or less legitimate categories at different levels of official state designations, ethical, regional, professional designations, even diverse idiosyncrasies (DUBAR, 2005).

It is noteworthy that studies of many natures on the teacher constitution were, since the 18th century, evidenced in newspaper notes, circulation pamphlets, personal records of intellectuals and ordinary people who lived the professorial shapes or who wrote their impressions about them in memorials, chronicles or personal diaries, but these evidenced the existence of a trade. It is on the threshold of the 20th century that we will identify initiatives of studies on the teaching profession supported by analyzes on the route/itinerary and dilemmas of the profession.

The historical process of professionalization, as it is linked to the formation of modern states and their school systems, comes close to experiences undertaken in other countries, giving this idea a transnational character. This justifies an analytical approximation of our realities with that of other countries to cite the example of Portugal.

The 1980s were marked by constant research initiatives around teacher education; allowed us to identify in the studies of identities, especially in the educational field, a discussion about the preparation of teachers for teaching, the forms of selection for the profession, working conditions, salary issues, the teaching career, the professionalization movements a cite Catani (1998), Bittar (2006) and Xavier (2003).

The understanding of the term professionalization as the process of forming the subject in a profession was taken as an element of problematization during the analysis of the trajectories of teachers, since we understand that

when choosing or entering a profession a person defines a way of life. He begins to belong to a group that, according to his degree of identification, benefits him by meeting one of the basic human needs, belonging. The daily

experience in a profession and institution generally interferes vigorously in the development of one's own identity or "identity of the self". In this sense, it is possible to understand the word professionality as a fusion of the terms profession and personality. The term professionalization indicates the process of formation of a subject in a profession, which begins with initial formation and goes through all moments of continuing formation (PENIN, 2009, p. 3, our translation).

Thus, we go into the teachers' reminiscences about their formative processes, understanding that the profession designs a way of life and that the way of life designs the profession. In this way, we understand that the State, by working with teachers, launched a bold project of homogenization, but the facts that make each teacher unique bring about a new arrangement. Thus, we have teachers building teaching between strategies and tactics.

Considerations

This analytical study aimed to understand, through their professional trajectories, the formative paths of teachers at the Catholic confessional school Sister Maria Catarina Levrini in Teresina-Piauí, identifying the role of State educational policies, as well as institutional policy in the trajectories of these teachers, at the end of this, we understand that the teachers' formative paths are based on objective causes that bear the marks of a historical scenario. The profession is date in time and has the singularities of the contexts in which it is inserted. State policies shape collective professional behaviors when teachers work and place them in a vertical normative regime that institutes rules, values and standards regulated by a curriculum, by educational public policies, by large-scale institutional evaluations and by engendering the imaginary alluding to teaching conduct.

From the point of view of formative paths based on institutional experience, we emphasize that Catholic confessional schools build based on the ideological principles of the church, a body of institutionalized knowledge that guide their daily characteristics in the dynamics of maintaining the Christian faith and in conforming an ideal quality of educational services offer to two distinct segments of society: elite and popular strata. Both, although supported under the Christian faith with distinctive social mechanisms that are so transparent.

Thus, institutional and state policies can be understood as two devices of power that inculcate contextual forms of social, cultural and political understandings according to a declared logic or not. On the other hand, teachers in their singularities activate daily by their inventive tactics that embody changes, daily transformations and a set of authentic repertoires that characterize the professional terrain of teaching as something so dynamic in its nature.

Paths are evidence of this professional dynamism that makes teaching as a plural profession!

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