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Evasion or permanence in the profession: educational policies and social representations of teachers

Evasão ou permanência na profissão: políticas educacionais e representações sociais de professores

Romilda Teodora Ens^[a], Ana Maria Eyng^[b], Maria Lourdes Gisi^[c], Marciele Stiegler Ribas^{[d]1}

- [a] PhD in Education: Educational Psychology at Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP), associate researcher at the Fundação Carlos Chagas, CIERS-Ed (International Centre for Research on Social Representations and Subjectivity Education), professor of the Graduate Program in Education and of the Pedagogy course at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Paraná (PUCPR), Curitiba, PR Brazil, e-mail: romilda.ens@gmail.com
- [b] PhD in Innovation and Education System at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), Spain, professor of the Graduate Program in Education and of the Pedagogy course at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Paraná (PUCPR), Curitiba, PR - Brazil, e-mail: eyng@pucpr.br
- PhD in Brazilian Education at Universidade Estadual Paulista Júlio de Mesquita Filho (UNESP), professor of the Graduate Program in Education and of the Pedagogy course at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Paraná (PUCPR), Curitiba, PR Brazil, e-mail: maria.gisi@pucpr.br
- [d] PhD Student of Graduate Program in Education at Pontificia Universidade Católica do Paraná (PUCPR), Curitiba, PR Brazil, e-mail: marci.stiegler.ribas@gmail.com

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Abstract

This paper considers the interference of changes in contemporary society in the teaching profession, especially in relation to the value attributed to teacher and his choice to continue in the profession. The research is based on the representations of teachers of elementary school regarding the choice of following or not the profession, and to do so, we take the context of teacher training in Brazil, in relation to the appreciation and professionalization of the teacher, to support the analysis of their representations. The results indicate that the representations about the profession related to permanence arise from problems such as: devaluation, low wages, difficulties concerning students' behaviour and lack of working conditions for practicing the profession, because low investment in education. Such aspects may be reasons that justify why there are less people interested in teaching for basic education and many more abandoning education courses. Teachers who intend to continue in the profession reveal affective reason, without a critical analysis of policy issues and lack of objective conditions of work.

Keywords: Educational policies. Teacher appreciation. Teaching professionalization. Social representations.

Resumo

Este trabalho considera as interferências das mudanças ocorridas nas sociedades contemporâneas na profissão docente, em especial, em relação à valorização do professor e sua permanência na profissão. A pesquisa tem como base as representações de professores do Ensino Fundamental II sobre continuar ou não na profissão, e, para isso, tomamos inicialmente o contexto da formação docente no Brasil, em relação à valorização e à profissionalização do professor, para subsidiar a análise das representações dos professores. Os resultados indicam que as representações sobre a profissão relacionadas à não permanência decorrem de problemas como: desvalorização, baixos salários, dificuldades em relação ao comportamento dos alunos e falta de condições de trabalho para o exercício da profissão, em razão do pouco investimento na educação. Tais questões podem ser motivo da diminuição da procura pela docência na Educação Básica e da grande evasão dos cursos de licenciatura. Os professores que pretendem continuar na profissão revelam razões atreladas a aspectos afetivos, sem uma análise crítica dos aspectos políticos e da falta de condições objetivas de trabalho.

Palavras-chave: Políticas educacionais. Valorização do professor. Profissionalização docente. Representações sociais.

Introduction

Economic globalization presents, according to Silva and Lima (2009, p. 75), "[...] as a process that feeds back the current movement of capital significantly focusing on the real world conditions of work in accordance with the rise of neoliberalism, with state reform and restructuring of production". It is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon, with impact on various social areas among them, the education, in particular, the teaching practice, redefining their sense of the training process by giving primacy to a profile that meets the requirements of the market.

Globalization is analyzed by Silva and Lima (2009) from two angles: the casualization of teaching and forms of homogenization of culture. In fact, in the economic sphere, globalization has strongly influenced the organization of work and turning precarious the working conditions and this has had an impact on the work of the teacher. It has been noted the existence of temporary contracts, work intensification, accountability for results obtained by the students, in addition to low salaries, which have led to double shifts, leading to high levels of stress.

The appreciation, or rather, the projection made in relation to education in the international economic environment in recent decades shall focus on the teaching profession. It is quite often the discourse on the importance of teacher training for professional staff in order to meet the requirements for economic development. In this sense, the initial and continuous training of teachers become strongly influenced with regard to its professionalization.

However, the search for the profession and the permanence in it have constituted a historical problem, reason why it is the focus of the concerns of education policy in recent years due to the discovery of the huge shortage of licensed professionals and growing decline of enrollments in undergraduate programs, as verified by the data of Synopsis of Teachers in 2009, updated 12/17/2012 (Table 1).

Table 1 - Number of Teachers of Basic Education by schooling in 2009

Total teachers of Basic Education	Under- graduate	Under- graduate in teaching	Under- graduate in other areas	Under- graduate in teaching or not	Teachers with- out proper schooling
1.977.978	1.341.178	1.264.949	62.379	13.850	713.029

Source: INEP. 2012.

Another finding, also worrying, is the high dropout rate in undergraduate courses, as can be seen in the huge difference between the total enrollment and graduates in recent years (Table 2).

Table 2 - Degree in Brazil – Number of entrants and graduates (2005–2011)

Vara	Enrollments	Graduates	
Year	Total	Total	
2005	1.248.404	257.053	
2006	1.234.789	235.393	
2007	1.190.882	231.231	
2008	1.147.899	227.131	
2009	978.061	188.807	
2010	1.354.989	233.306	
2011	1.356.329	238.107	

Source: BRASIL, 2013b.

Such findings have led to the creation of programs linked to the Directorate of Present Basic Education (DEB)² which integrates the Coordination of Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - CAPES, which now operates in two lines of action: "in the induction and logistic and finance support to the initial training of teachers for basic education and encouraging the study projects, research and innovation that contribute to the advancement and enhancement of the teaching of basic education" (CAPES, 2012, p. 2).

In attending to these actions, Capes, together with the Ministry of Education (MEC), creates and consolidates programs, such as: OBEDUC (2006); PRODOCÊNCIA (2006); PARFOR (2007); PIBID (2007) and New Talent Program (2010), which in the words of Jorge Almeida Guimarães (2011, p 7-8, our emphasis), President of Capes, these programs:

> [...] seek to meet the challenge of enhancing the teaching space and bring the primary school to the interior of academic practices of knowledge construction, encouraging a scientific look at the complexity of school dynamics and promoting a rapprochement between basic education and higher.

These are programs which focus on the enhancement of teaching for Basic Education, however, are inadequate, because they are intended for a portion of the contingent of teachers, disregarding the objective conditions of work. In this respect, it remains the ambivalent discourse with regard to training and professionalization. As denounces Imbérnon (2010, p. 57), this professionalization occurs "[...] in the context of an ambivalent speech, paradoxical or simply contradictory, on one hand, of a rhetoric historical importance of this training, another speech, the reality academic and social misery that granted them".

The DEB was created in mid-2007, when Law 11,502 of July 11th, 2007, granted the Coordination of Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes) assignments of inducing and encouraging the initial and continuing training of basic education professionals and stimulate the appreciation of teaching at all levels and types of education (CAPES, 2012, p. 1).

The institution of national occupational wage for professionals in the public teaching of basic education was established as another attempt by Law n. 11.738/2008 with mandatory from 2011 (Table 3).

Table 3 - Occupational wage for teachers who work 40 hours a week – Brazil

Year	Occupational wage
2009	R\$ 950,00
2010	R\$ 1.024,67
2011	R\$ 1.187,08
2012	R\$ 1.451,00
2013	R\$ 1.567,00
2014	R\$ 1.697,00

Source: Brasil, 2014.

Based on the framework described in the teacher profession, it was performed a reflection on aspects related to the appreciation of the teacher and his/her stay in the profession or not based on the social representations of teachers working in basic education on the question: "What factors contribute to whether to proceed with the teacher in the profession?".

Teacher's appreciation: a way to professionalization?

When considering the teaching profession, particularly in regard to professional appreciation, we are faced with a shed much discussed since the 1990s in Brazil: the search for professionalization. That is, the recognition of "being a teacher" as a profession and not as a vocation or the priesthood. However, the search for such recognition under the influence of the current economic system has brought other consequences: "They [teachers] now go to the other extreme: they are considered primarily responsible for student performance, school and system, taking over their back responsibility for the success or failure of programs" (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 25).

The professionalization is linked to the characterization of the teacher as expert, as questions Macedo (2003), making his/her instrumental work by the demands of the school to be taken to meet the production market, by the powers set out in the National Curriculum Guidelines aimed at "controlling of the teaching-learning process in the classroom and the dominion of contents" (p. 47), aligned to the prospects do not guarantee that the analysis goes beyond the classroom as a basis for training that raises a comprehensive understanding of society and the world of work. What shows us that the guidelines do not subsidize the requirements of teachers' professionalization.

In this context, the economic, political and social issues are not considered factors that affect teaching practice, falling upon the teacher the responsibility to promote the school as a "[...] institution of regeneration, salvation and repair of society" (NÓVOA, 2009, p. 50). In contrast, the teacher assumes many tasks, even without the proper training to do so, focusing on what Nóvoa (2009, p. 50) defines as "spillover" of missions. Given this assertion, we question whether this accumulation of functions would be contributing to the mischaracterization of the teaching profession and, therefore, increasing its deprofessionalization.

From this perspective, Oliveira highlights (2010, p 19.) that the professionalization of teacher is

> [...] as a process of historical construction that varies with the socioeconomic context that is submitted, but, above all, has defined types of training and expertise, career and remuneration for a particular social group that has been growing and consolidating.

The teaching, traditionally, according to the author, is seen as a low prestige profession because the media themselves proliferates the idea that to be a teacher is not required to obtain a specialty, may rely on volunteers to carry out teaching.

In this respect, it is not uncommon to find emergency campaigns promoted by the government to offer education to the people, urging the participation of volunteers to "be a teacher". As an example, we cite the Literate Brazil Program³, which relies on the help of volunteers to teach literacy to young people, adults and the elderly, which may explain the fallacy of initiatives to reduce the illiteracy rate in Brazil, which accounts for a total of 13.163 million people over 18 years (IBGE, 2012). This is just an example which, added to many others, contributes to the constitution of the social representation on the teaching career as a field with deprofessionalization.

Although educational policies⁴ confirm the need for a formation in higher level for teaching, we found some differences between the stated and accomplished. It is not possible to separate the professionalization from the formation, because as clarify Gatti, Barreto and André (2011, p. 93), "[...] there is no consistency in a professional without the formation of solid knowledge base and forms action. Therefore the importance of a solid initial training, strength which also requires recognition of the corporate assembly". In the representations of teachers, as we shall see, is the current complaint that this recognition is one of the greatest hindrances to the appreciation of the teaching profession.

The struggle to value the teaching profession has an additional hindrance arising from the neoliberal logic, under which are established at the same time, decentralization and centralization in contemporary educational policies. Decentralization, derived from the downsizing of state responsibilities, generated an excess of accountability for schools without the necessary support, such as infrastructure and financial resources. On the other hand, strategies of centralization are adopted,

³ Can join the program by means of specific resolutions published in the Official Gazette, states, municipalities and the Federal District. The literacy framework should consist preferably by public school teachers. These professionals receive a scholarship from the Ministry of Education to develop this work in the opposite shift of their activities. But any citizen with complete secondary school can become a literacy program worker (BRASIL, 2013c, our emphasis).

The LDB 9394/1996 stipulates in Article 62 that teacher training needs to be at a higher level.

through external control, standardized tests, in large scale, from which the action of the teacher is considerably affected. This issue is well illustrated by Charlot (2008, p. 20), "[t]he teacher gained a wider professional autonomy, but now is held accountable for the results, in particular the failure of the students [...], being the evaluation a logical balance of the professional autonomy of teachers".

Scheibe (2010, p. 985) also points decentralization as one of the problems that corroborate to the devaluation of teachers, in the words of the author with "the principle of decentralization [...] the educational field and all actions that concern teachers of basic education come to rely, increasingly, on the organization of the various federal entities under the collaboration". However, this "collaboration" is often not effective. Thus, the diversity of political referrals established in different local, state and federal levels just exacerbating the problem of "non professionalization".

In general, education policies leave many gaps in relation to the appreciation of the teacher, still need to report the value of these professionals; measures for their fulfillment are at the mercy of the "interpretation" of different instances.

In the context of educational policies, we have the new National Plan for Education⁵, which highlights the appreciation of teachers in at least two among its 20 goals for the decade that has already begun (2011– 2020). Especially wages and career plan, namely:

> Target 17: To value the public teaching of basic education, in order to approximate the average yield of the teaching professional with over eleven years of schooling, to the average income of other professionals with equivalent education.

> Target 18: To ensure that, within two years, the existence of career paths for professional teachers in all education systems (BRASIL, 2010).

⁵ PNE planned for the period 2011-2020, not yet approved.

We cannot deny the possible advances in valuation of professionalization, if these targets become effective and corroborate with

> [...] The need for an effective national policy for formation and valuation of education professionals, which incorporates, in addition to elements of professional development linked to career, pay and working conditions, a joint, more institutionalized, with the formation of non-teaching professionals, defining strategies for initial and continuing education and effective appreciation of all professionals (AGUIAR; SCHEIBE 2010, p 86).

Given the complexity of what is meant by valuation and professionalization of teaching, it is necessary to "hear" the voices of those, who are often silenced, the representations of teachers.

They are social representations of a group of teachers from the same town, different schools, but all act as teachers of the 6th to 9th grade of elementary school. Whereas social representations are "[...] a form of knowledge, socially elaborated and shared, with a practical purpose, and that contributes to the construction of a common reality to a social group" as Jodelet (2001, p. 21) explains.

In this sense, the use of TSR is important to give voice to teachers, raising their representations of teachers' work, revealing the individual representations that engender social processes of communication that Jovchelovitch (2008, p. 80-81) defines as "processes of social mediation". That is, "[...] communication is a mediation between a world of different perspectives", that reveal the human intersubjectivity, which contribute to the formation of a particular representation.

The TSR enables the interpretation of individual behavior and social groups, in other words, the "picture" of reality itself, according to Moscovici (1978). For, "[...] the social representation is neither collective nor unconscious, but the action, movement, interaction between people" (COSTA; ALMEIDA, 1999, p 253.). From this perspective, it is here alluding to the thought of Moscovici (2011, p 46.), which exemplifies the social representations as "[...] a specific way to understand and communicate [...]" through images created in our minds, to give meaning to ideas, to understand reality. Because "[...] there is a continuous need to reconstitute the 'common sense' or way of understanding establishing the substrate of images and meanings without which no society can operate" (MOSCOVICI, 2011, p. 48). The need to understand and explain the facts that surround our reality, to make available knowledge, challenges are made by the study of the phenomenon of social representations.

Evasion or permanence in the profession in the social representations of teachers

This research is part of CIERS-ed and UNESCO Chair on professionalization, which analyzes the psychosocial processes that allow us to understand professionalization. In this study, the articulated social representations to the theoretical frameworks of educational policies have become a significant mean to the understanding of the processes for the appreciation of the teacher and his/her stay in the profession.

For this article, we used the data contained in the profile questionnaire in research which used the Q Technique (STEPHESON, 1964 apud GATTI, 19726), taking as a criterion of choice of the 25 (twenty five) teachers participating in the research: be acting as teachers of 6th to 9th grade of Secondary School of public and private institutions; have between 5–10 years of profession experience time; be of a same city; composed of men and women, splitting the application between female and male teachers with signing of the consent form⁷.

⁶ About Q Technique, we rely on Gatti (1972) which describes the Stephenson's proposal (1964) on the use of Q technique in research.

Research approved by the Research Ethics Committee in conjunction with the Platform Brazil, Opinion n. 554 921.

The data collection was individual and after the application of Q Technique was asked that the teacher completed a profile questionnaire with 11 questions, with 6 open, 5 closed, justifying the choice between yes or no . The standardized data were categorized relying on Bardin (2011) and analyzed in the light of the theoretical framework of social representations and educational policies from the 1990s.

Given the criteria for participating in the survey of 25 teachers, 24% are male and 76% female; 38% are between 21 and 30 years, 50% between 31 and 40 years and 13% are more than 40 years. The formation of the participants is the specific graduation to the area of knowledge in which they are gazetted. Of these, 24% took or is taking other college course and 76% did not take.

From the total of 25 teachers, six (6) said to be attending new undergraduate course; one (1) teacher said he will take the exam to another area and the other two say they are dissatisfied with the profession by saying: "[...] *I hope the changing area give me more motivation* because I am dissatisfied with the field of education" (P. 17). "Because I believe that the area of teaching is not valued as it should be" (P. 22). Although 3 seek to improve teacher training to continue working in the area of education. As one of the justifications: "Because of its diverse clientele in the room and some students with learning disabilities" (P. 12).

Teachers, who reported not to be attending another under graduation course, mostly indicate a lack of time and financial conditions as the main obstacle. The minority mentioned they were satisfied with the profession. Among the justifications include: "Just did postgraduate and master's in my area, since I have always been sure that I chose the right profession" (P. 23.); "I graduate in my area and I try courses that help me in the classroom" (P. 24.).

Unfortunately, due to the high workload, financial conditions and limited supply of these courses, many teachers do not have the opportunity to obtain training in *stricto sensu* level. Although, nationally, the challenge is still to reach the higher level of training for all teachers working in primary education, since according to the school census of 2012: 36.4% of teachers working in kindergarten, 25.0 % working in the early years of primary school, 9.6% who work in the final years of primary education and 4.6% who work in high school have no training in higher education (BRASIL, 2013a), in addition to evasion in degrees (Table 2).

In relation to the question about permanence in the profession, 80% want to continue being a teacher. The stay in the profession, in most cases, is justified by representations related to the affective aspect, as they argue: "Because I love what I do and believe in education" (P. 10). "I like what I do — try to do better — to pass on the knowledge" (P. 12). "I love what I do and believe that what little I can pass on to my students will ever make them a better person" (P. 21). "I love my profession, I have had experiences in other areas, but I feel accomplished in what I do" (P. 24). "Despite all the obstacles, I love what I do" (P. 25).

Among the justifications for not staying in the profession, 20% of respondents teachers, highlight issues of wages, working conditions and, especially, indiscipline, as shown by their statements: "Because I see how several colleagues end their career and I do not want to finish aside like them" (P. 13). "I face a lot of difficulty in relation to indiscipline among students, lack of interest, disrespect to teachers and consequently no learning. There are times that I pass my class time solving issues of fights, indiscipline, etc." (P. 14). "Through difficulties encountered in the classroom with respect to students (indiscipline, interaction, salary)" (P. 15).

The "overflow missions", highlighted by Nóvoa (2009) in relation to teaching, the teachers end up demotivated to stay in the profession. It is true that not only the working conditions and wages affect this decision. Researches nationally and internationally demonstrate that teachers' work becomes increasingly complex; however, would the teacher be trained to work with this complexity? Do our training courses cover topics such as coexistence and indiscipline? And what are the referrals from schools and their managers in relation to these dilemmas?

In relation to the question about the accumulation of another function, only four teachers (16%) work in other areas and one of the reasons is the complement in income. There are teachers (84%) who did not accumulate other functions, mostly attributed to lack of time as well, the lack of opportunity. However, before working as teachers, 68% indicate that they acted in other areas.

Regarding the happiness as a teacher, justifications also converge more affective aspects linked to feelings of satisfaction, joy at getting his/her students to access knowledge. As statements like: "I am happy to know that what I teach my students learn" (P. 23). "In my class students present much difficulty, it is good when they understand and think you're getting the most for teaching" (P. 24). "Sometimes the will is to leave everything as indiscipline of students increases every year. But I try to focus on those who really need me" (P. 25).

It is significant the number of teachers who do not feel as accomplished teachers (36%). At least three aspects are recurrent in these representations: devaluation, wage and difficulties in teaching practice. Thus they justify: "I feel lost, because there are few teachers who love what they do, most are in the area because it's easier that bothers me" (P. 5). "I still face challenges in teaching practice that make me insecure and I'm not happy with the pay and workload. Without this I would be happy" (P. 6)". "Because it is sad to see how we, teachers, are increasingly devalued" (P. 13). "Because there is no appreciation from parents, students, school, society and political" (P. 22).

The representations of these teachers confirm the "[...] casualization of teaching in the context of loss of identity, proletarianization, and devaluation or non-professionalization of teachers' work" (ENS et al., 2013, p. 39). Although policies aimed at emphasizing meritocracy issues, valuation of profession only through premiums and wages, the representations of these teachers also denounce other dilemmas that underlie the formation of the teacher. For this reason, we refer back to Gatti, Barreto and André (2011) to highlight the inseparability between professionalization and training.

This inseparability is also confirmed in the representations of teachers in relation to not stay in the profession because of the reasons

given is precisely the fragile formation received: "Lacking adequate preparation in undergraduate course" (P. 11). "Fragile training that prevents quality offer of work" (P. 4). These representations corroborate with Imbernon's finding (2010, p 43.) when he says: "The kind of training that teachers often do not receive sufficient preparation offers [...]" and adds, "this initial training is very important, since it is the beginning of professionalization, a period in which the virtues, vices, routines, etc., are assumed as usual processes of the profession", confirming the inseparability between training and professionalization.

Besides the fragile formation, other representations emerge in relation to motivation and/or reason for not staying in the profession. The more applicants are related to salaries, devaluation, indiscipline, working conditions, lack of participation of those responsible in the school life of students. As statements like: "The salary and pessimism of the class" (P. 1). "The violence and disrespect against teachers, low salaries, lack of family involvement in the lives of students, lack of discipline" (P. 3). "Working conditions" (P. 13). "Lack of appreciation, class disunited and low wages" (P. 17). "Devaluation in our country" (P. 20). "The lack of respect for the profession (society, family, students). Low pay. The lack of infrastructure in schools" (P. 2). "Low salaries. Excessive workload" (P. 6). "Salary. Stress. Working conditions" (P. 13). "Salary, disrespect and devaluation" (P. 23).

The salary issue is a very strong element in the social representations of these teachers, which is justified by the "shameful" pay to which they are subjected. In this sense, we understand as Ferreira Jr. and Bittar (2006, p. 16), as pointed out by Flach (2013, p. 64), the wage condition cannot be placed as unimportant because, as the authors state, "[...] no reform or educational proposal that aims to improve the quality of teaching in Brazilian public schools get good results without the teachers' salary condition be treated with dignity" (FERREIRA Jr.; BITTAR, 2006, p. 16).

In the analysis of questions about whether or not to remain in the teacher profession, we consider three points: the consolidation of the globalization process; the redefinition of the forms of reorganization of the State and strengthening of the role of international agencies, according to Vieira (2002, p. 20), "these arguments do not exclude each other, on the contrary, are articulated with each other".

Alongside these issues, we believe that in Brazil we have the implementation of a managerial state, which contributed to a "greater efficiency or reduced costs", according to Bresser-Pereira (2010, p. 116). Towards cost reduction, are proposed for the teaching career and remuneration of teachers, in which they propose graduates in higher education, continuing education. However, this advance "shows contradictory when one contrasts the training requirement at the college level with the starting salary for teachers in freshman career, with the mismatch between the required and the offered" (FLACH, 2013, p. 81).

Thus, we consider how disturbing the issue of permanence or not of the teacher profession has been consolidating since the representation that social groups have about the teachers (parents, students, etc.) is confused with representations of teachers themselves in relation the teaching profession, which has set the low level search for training courses for teachers. In this sense, the discontent criticized in representations of the teaching profession enunciate what explain Placco and Souza (2011, p. 130), supported by Moscovici⁸: "[...] the individuals designs themselves in what they represent, build themselves from their representations of the objects in the same way that their shape representations from what they consider as belonging to their identity". This fact leads us to the training of these teachers, in other words, those representations must be present in the study of training courses in an attempt to deconstruct the "old" representation of the teaching profession as a mission/vocation to form a new representation, anchored in professionalization: the "be a teacher" within a profession.

Placco e Souza to explain the social representations of the teaching profession sought guidance in the work of MOSCOVICI, S. (Org.). Psycologie sociele. Paris: Press Universitaries de France, 1996. p. 5-24. (Introduction).

To continue the debate...

We found that staying in the profession, leading the search for professionalization, in the case of the teaching profession, is more linked to professional development through better wages than the recognition, in other words, awards received, as emphasized by policies aimed at meritocracy

Regarding meritocracy, an analysis of various international researches⁹, noting that improving basic schools is not linked to the logic of market competition by little evidence of merit based pay for teachers, has pointed out about the improvement in the quality of education, since this is the result of teamwork, school and educational policies.

However, in Brazil, educational policies anchored in international mechanisms reiterate meritocracy and performativity to "be a teacher" when addressing issues such as: improved training, working conditions and teaching career, together with control strategies and professional performance evaluation, or qualified teacher with a view to quality education, besides proposing the involvement of teachers aiming the success of educational reforms without salary improvement.

We emphasize that the valuation of Career Plans with wage improvement, not simply a policy grounded in meritocracy, is one of the representations of teachers, as applicant for the stay in the profession or not.

In the teachers' representations regarding evasion of the profession, it was possible to identify a speech riddled with complaints, such as: the profession is seriously undervalued, wages are not consistent, and students' indiscipline interferes with work. This discourse is not new and has become even more common, although an extremely low minimum wage, as already shown, this is not being met by the sponsors in different federal entities, mainly because of little investment has been approved education. Such issues are identified in the research as one of the reasons for the decline in the demand for teachers in basic education and the large evasion of undergraduate courses, the non-attractiveness for teaching.

Observe studies such as Minhoto and Pena (2011).

In summary, teachers who manifest themselves in favor of staying in the profession evidence representations strongly linked to affective bond with the students and the purpose of their work as a mission. Accordingly, the teachers' representations are marked by a romanticized vision without a critical analysis of policy issues and the lack of objective conditions of work that is still a reality in the country.

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