Representations of non-teaching workers in daily school life

Diogo Lopes da Silva
Federal University of São Paulo. Guarulhos, Sao Paulo. Brazil. Guarulhos Campus. School of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences
Master of Science from PPG Education and Health in Childhood and Adolescence (2012-2014)
E-mail: lopesitalian23@gmail.com

ABSTRACT
This text articulates the results of investigations on the representations of non-teaching workers in the relationships established with other agents in the school environment. The object and subjects of this study are workers who do not work directly in the pedagogical field at school, but who support it. This is research of ethnographic inspiration, added to the qualitative instrument of the interview that helps in the reading of the social figurations of the school community (N. Elias) in the light of the theory of Social Representations (S. Moscovici) and the concepts of Working Class and Relational Work, as found in Ricardo Antunes and Tardif and Lessard respectively. It is considered here the dynamics of the relations and the perceptions about the conditions for the execution of the work, the structure of organization of the school space as a workplace and legal documentation that names, regulates and prescribes the actions in this space.

Keywords: Workers not teachers, Social representations, Basic education, School culture, Sociology of Education.

1 INTRODUCTION

This work represents an effort to understand the division and organization of work in the school environment from the performance of employees who perform the work of technical and operational support and who contribute directly and / or indirectly to the realization of educational work. We highlight as our subjects and object of research, the School Agents (servants, general helpers, janitors/cleaners), School Cooks (lunch girls), Secretary Assistants (management assistants, assistants and school secretaries), School Activities Assistants (student inspectors), among others", since they have functions to support the pedagogical work and contribute to give solidity and structure to the school routine, They also constitute a significant part of the institutional dynamics, that is, of the environment of human relations that is part of the socialization process that students live in school. In this sense, we will approach the theme from the representations that these employees have of the work they perform, paying attention to the educational dimensions of the same, describing the relationships they maintain among themselves and with the other participants of the daily school life.

To understand the situation of non-teaching staff in the school context, we turn to Tardif and Lessard (2008, p.55) for whom the school is an organized, spatial and socially separate place from other spaces of social and daily life, it is an environment produced by social and historical conventions that translate into relatively stable organizational routines over time. They also describe it, as a socio-

organizational space that functions from the performance of several individuals linked to each other by different types of more or less formalized relations, the school is a place that houses tensions, negotiations, collaborations, conflicts and circumstantial or deep readjustments of their relations, socialization, exchange of experiences, and work that is characterized by a formatting and structure – closed spaces of standardized measures with specific furniture such as chairs, tables arranged in rows and columns facing a blackboard - and by particular technologies that are its own, such as programs, disciplines, subjects, speeches, ideas, objectives, etc. It uses different instruments (books, notebooks, manuals, paintings, etc.) that have in common the fact that they are artifacts that transmit written culture and written, codified, objectified knowledge (Tardif and Lessard, 2008, p.58).

Therefore, the school rests first of all on a certain number of devices that are at the same time institutional, spatial and temporal that delimit and structure an autonomous social space, closed and separate from the community environment and that since its emergence has been dedicated to achieving quite ambitious purposes such as the dissemination of the *Lights* through literacy, to promote a new social ethic, to form enlightened citizens and balanced people, as well as to improve the fate of the working classes (Tardif and Lessard, pp.57, 77).

It is also a space that supposes special criteria of organization that must be established from the very nature of the work that is developed in it. However, for the actions carried out in this environment to be organized with a view to fully meeting the demands and goals, a process of interdependence of its agents is necessary, and so we conceive here the school, each day in its routine, alluding to Elias, as a "figuration". Was this the concept that the author used – especially from 1970, after publishing Was ist Soziologie? – to think about human societies, for Elias the concept of figuration helps us to look at social formations in a more realistic way and not in a reified way, because we have to consider from this concept, the individual in his multiple social relations while not losing sight of the social formations where he is inserted.

When we look at the school, it is clear the presence of networks of interdependence on the part of its agents, through their needs and inclinations, and these relationships can be voluntary or not (Elias, 1994, p.77). In fact, Chartier quoting Elijah also helps us in this understanding:

> A figuration is a social formation whose size can be very variable (the players of a card game, the tertulia of a café, a class of students of a school, a village, a city, a nation) in which individuals are linked to each other by a specific mode of reciprocal dependencies and whose reproduction supposes a mobile balance of tensions. (CHARTIER, 1990, p.100)

When Elijah makes use of the word figuration, he is evidencing that there is no individual independent of society, but that both are constitutive of each other. "The concept of figuration serves as a simple conceptual instrument, which will help to soften the social pressure to speak and think as if individual and society were different and antagonistic figures" (Elias, 2004, p.141). In this

perspective, the individual is no longer seen as an autonomous driver of his life and society is deprived of the conception of who submits and determines the life of the same.

Therefore, both inside and outside the school there is an individual and collective work with human beings that leads first of all to relations with people and therefore to all the subtleties that characterize human relations such as negotiation, control, persuasion, seduction and promise, which evokes activities that are configured as means in view of ends such as instructing, supervise, serve, help, entertain, heal, care, amuse, control, among others and that demand components such as empathy, understanding, open-mindedness, undeniable assets of interactive work to achieve some success (Tardif, 2007, p.33).

2 SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND THE DYNAMICS OF RELATIONSHIPS IN THE WORKPLACE

Each of us has a vision and understanding of what we see, feel and hear, perceptions arising from the relationships we maintain in society, which organize and guide social conduct and communications and manifest themselves both collectively and individually, that is, they function as a system of interpretations to which we give the name of representation. We can say that the collective representations are those disseminated historically in society and that have great weight and value in it, while the individual representations, are the interpretations of each particular subject, not generalized, are interpretations of personal value.

Thus, when proposing the study of the representations of the non-teaching workers of the school, it is known that there is the coexistence of individual and collective aspects, in the work environment, there is the employee and the person simultaneously. There are several groups of professionals, but they all integrate into a single group: "employees". In this sense, it is that the theory of social representations will be used, because it allows us to weave a link between such groups that with their particularities allied to the individuality of each component establishes an effective interaction so that there is a feeling of common belonging between the "individual" and the "collective".

The concept of representation emerged from the studies of Émile Durkheim in the early twentieth century, understood as forms of social integration built by men in order to maintain group cohesion. Representations expressed in various forms, institutions, images, discourses, norms, etc. and construct a reality parallel to the existence of individuals so that it does not annul such reality and is not annulled by it.

The French sociologist made a great contribution to the studies and understanding of representations, but he raised some limitations. In an attempt to make sociology an autonomous science, he advocated a radical separation between individual and collective representations and

suggested that these should constitute the field of sociology while those constituted the terrain of psychology (Moscovici, 2012, p.13).

Durkheim placed social psychology in a crisis that lasts to this day, because from the rupture he instituted between the terms mentioned, he came to consider that social psychology had no more direct connection with sociology and that therefore social phenomena are different from psychological phenomena and even formulated ideas explicitly in his aphorism that "whenever a social phenomenon is directly explained by a phenomenon We can be sure that the explanation is false" (Durkheim, 1895/1982, p.129, apud Moscovici, 2012, p.12).

Moscovici adopted the sociopsychological perspective, however, the distinction between the terms "individual" and "collective" was not successful since the issue became problematic due to the recognition of individualism as a powerful collective representation in modern society (Farr, 1998, apud Moscovici, 2012, p.14). Durkheim conceives of collective representations as a concept, while Moscovici conceives them as socially constructed phenomena based on common sense. For him, to understand them as a phenomenon is to give priority to their condition as an object that must be understood in the dimension of the complexity of their structure and in the dimension of the scope of their influence, as content to be unveiled, as a dynamic process.

> [...] If, in the classical sense, collective representations constitute an explanatory instrument and refer to a general class of ideas and beliefs (science, myth, religion, etc.), for us, they are phenomena that need to be described and explained. They are specific phenomena that are related to a particular way of understanding and communicating—a way that creates both reality and common sense. It is to emphasize this distinction that I use the term 'social' instead of 'collective'. (Moscovici in JODELET, 2001, p.59)

> Social representations emerge, not only as a way of understanding a particular object, but also as a form in which the subject (individual or group) acquires a capacity for definition, a function of identity, which is one of the ways in which representations express a symbolic value. (MOSCOVICI, 2012, pp.20,21)

Thus, I affirm that every form of interaction between individuals in the school environment constitutes what Moscovici (2012, p.49) calls "phenomena that need to be described and explained. They are specific phenomena that are related to a particular way of understanding and communicating - a way that creates both reality and common sense", since through interaction individuals transmit a little of themselves and constitute themselves with a little of others, so that we cannot say that this process is collective but social, because social relations are formed and enriched more and more in relation to communication with others and not in relation to reality, which is what happens in the collective representations disseminated by Durkheim and Levy-Brühl that end up shaping the mental life of individuals by coercion (idem, p.209). This is due to the fact that the representations have a double nature, being able to agree how to prescribe behaviors, interpretations, objects or even people and situations causing them to become familiar and to that extent act transposing an "object" of context

(geographical, temporal, social, etc.) to a reality so that this object begins to inhabit this reality and be accepted in it as if it already belonged to it.

> [...] They conventionalize the objects, people, or events they encounter. They give them a definitive form, locate them in a certain category and gradually place them as a model of a certain type, distinct and shared by a group of people. All the new elements join this model and are synthesized in it. (MOSCOVICI, 2012, p.34)

Concomitant with the act of agreeing the representations exerts its prescriptive character above all through the culture of populations, groups, societies, reaffirming a whole set of beliefs, values and principles. To be quite clear, I would say that the way a baby after birth comes to be and be in the world, how it learns to speak, to act, to think as it grows, perfectly summarizes the implications arising from the two characters of the representations, and I believe that to a greater extent the prescriptive character acts because the child receives commands, prescriptions, rules, slogans of what and how to do, of what can or cannot be, of what and how to speak, because all people are influenced by the culture in which they are born.

> Representations are *prescriptive*, that is, they impose themselves on us with an irresistible force. This force is a combination of a structure that is present before we even begin to think and a tradition that decrees what should be thought. (MOSCOVICI, 2012, p.36)

By bringing the routines and work dynamics of cleaners, cooks, access controllers, student inspectors and school secretaries to the discussion about the representations they have and give to have of themselves, their crafts and the crafts of others, as well as the due routines and dynamics, we intend to establish a link between these categories and make them explicit in their interactions in the educational work environment that is common to all. Such relationships are "formed through reciprocal influences, through implicit negotiations in the course of conversations, where people orient themselves towards symbolic models, images and specific shared values", (Moscovici, 2012, p.208) what we know to be a range of distinct representations that, however, coexist in the same space, that is,

> The distance between the first and third person plural - in the use of the pronouns "we" and "they" - (emphasis added) expresses the distance that separates the social place, where we feel included, from a given, indeterminate or, in any case, impersonal place. This lack of identity, which is at the root of modern man's psychic anguish, is a symptom of this need to see ourselves in terms of "us" and "them"; to oppose "us" and "them"; and therefore of our powerlessness to connect with each other. (MOSCOVICI, 2012, p.50)

Thinking about the motivation of Moscovici (2012) for the elaboration of the theory of social representations is of paramount importance in view of what we perceive in the quote above, because for the author, what was intended was "the attempt to build a bridge between the strange and the

familiar; and this to the extent that the stranger presupposes a lack of communication within the group towards the world." (p.207). For him

> all things, topics or people banished or remote, all who have been exiled from the concrete frontiers of our universe always possess imaginary characteristics; and pre-occupy and annoy exactly because they are here, without being here; they are perceived, without being perceived; His unreality becomes apparent when we are in his presence; [...]. (p.56)

This is one of the reasons that leads us here to speak of representation, because it equates every image to an idea and every idea to an image, so that one thing is reality and another is the representation of it (Moscovici, 2012, p.46). In fact, the comprehension of what is and what is not but what becomes can be better apprehended by mechanisms related to memory and that Moscovici calls anchoring and objectification, mechanisms that are directly related to the ways of conception and apprehension of life in the world, both individually and collectively, because according to the author, anchoring transforms something strange and disturbing into something familiar by approximation and/or association, that is, when we deal with anchoring, we are classifying and naming something using comparison as a criterion, and thus we interrupt any estrangement and consequent threat, regardless of whether we relate such object/situation/body to something positive or negative.

The mechanism of objectification supposes transforming something abstract so that it becomes something "tangible" and in a certain way even controllable. This is, in fact, a much more active mechanism than the previous one. "To aim is to discover the iconic quality of an idea, [...] to reproduce a concept in an image, [...] to transform the word that replaces the thing, into the thing that replaces the word." (ditto, 2012, p.71).

Representation is a phenomenon that can reveal a lot to us upon close observation, since according to Durkheim, this phenomenon has specific characteristics that distinguish it from other natural phenomena (idem, p. 93). Therefore, we seek with this work to analyze how non-teaching professionals understand the social world in the context of which they are part, particularly their functions in school, and how this understanding guides/conditions their actions in daily life.

When talking about work, there are several conceptions and definitions about the term, so that many of these conceptions are directly linked to specific contexts and situations, from the first discussions, whose greatest theoretical representative is Marx, to the present day, however, in this particular study, we take the term in contemporaneity with the representation of Ricardo Antunes and in the specific area of work in school with the contributions of Tardif and Lessard, which places it beyond contemporaneity by treating and studying the working conditions of educators in today's societies, which they call Modern Advanced Societies.

Tardif and Lessard (2007, pp. 17-19) point out in their work four findings that they obtained when seeking to understand the current transformations of work societies. The authors indicate that in

all advanced modern societies the category of workers producing material goods is in free fall while workers in the service sector grow nonstop; "in the service society, professional groups, scientists and technicians are progressively occupying important and even dominant positions in relation to the producers of material goods"; the new labor activities are historically related to the professions and professionals that typically represent new groups of specialists managing economic and social problems with the help of knowledge from the natural and social sciences; Finally, in this context, the trades and professions that have human beings as "object of work" enjoy an increasing status (emphasis added).

As Antunes, he explains to us who are those who for him are not part of the class that lives from work.

> The working class today excludes, of course, the managers of capital, its high officials, who have a controlling role in the labor process, the valorization and reproduction of capital within companies and who receive high incomes, or even those who, in possession of an accumulated capital, live on speculation and interest. It also excludes, in our understanding, the small entrepreneurs, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie (ANTUNES, 2003, p. 104).

Another striking characteristic of this "new working class" (my emphasis), according to Antunes (2002, p.53) is the female presence in the world of work, so the class that lives from work is a mixed class, both male and female, and therefore more diverse, heterogeneous and complexified.

This fact adds to this work great relevance since the research was carried out in a school whose "staff" is massively female with the presence of few male workers, all immersed in the same cultural universe during their work period, but with different attributions, distinct social roles and that build their identities from the relationships established in the work environment with all the people in it, in a simultaneous process of inclusion and exclusion according to behaviors, characteristics and other factors that, from the same point of view, equate and differentiate individuals, therefore,

> Understanding contemporaneously the class-that-lives-from-work in this expanded way, as a synonym of the working class, allows us to recognize that the world of work has been undergoing important mutations (ANTUNES, 2003, p. 104).
> In the universe of the world of work in contemporary capitalism, a multiple processuality is observed: on the one hand, there was a deproletarianization of industrial, factory work in the countries of advanced capitalism, with greater or lesser repercussions in industrialized areas of the Third World. In other words, there has been a diminution of the traditional industrial working class. But, at the same time, there was a significant expansion of wage labor, from the enormous expansion of wages in the service sector; there was a significant heterogeneization of work, also expressed through the growing incorporation of the female contingent in the working world; There is also an intensified sub-proletarianization, present in the expansion of partial, temporary, precarious, subcontracted, "outsourced" work, which marks the dual society in advanced capitalism [...] (ANTUNES, 2002, p.46)

3 OBJECT SELECTION AND INSTRUMENTAL CONSTRUCTION

Having situated the main concepts and aspects of interest for the study proposed here, a bibliographic survey was carried out that recovered few titles that could offer me support for the

development of the research, namely: "Employees and non-teaching employees of public schools: in favor of the inclusion of new educators and educators". (01/12/2000-CAPES), Master's thesis from the Fluminense Federal University of Carlos Augusto Alves Duarte – this is the work of a boy who worked for some years as a Vigilante in schools in Rio de Janeiro and who, by working in the school, begins to see possibilities of contribution beyond "watching" and opening and closing the gates of the school, the author stands in defense of the valuation, visibility and recognition of himself as a person and as a professional, speaking through his dissertation also in the name of the category "Non-Teaching Staff" (emphasis mine).

The title "Public School Employees: Professional Educators or Disposable Servants?" (2003) by João A. C. de Monlevade, is a book that resulted from a long work that the author as a trade unionist, active in campaigns and union struggles, published portraying the working conditions of education professionals who did not exercise teaching, but performed technical functions to support the teaching work such as educational advisors, school secretaries, among others. Both titles assume a tone of denunciation about the work situation of non-teachers, as well as discrimination, accompanied by the social invisibility of which they are victims. Another study found was the dissertation entitled: "The work of servants and lunch girls in public schools in the city of Rio de Janeiro" whose focus was to follow the work and performance of servants and lunch girls seeking to bring them visibility and professional appreciation by the very people who made up the daily life of the school where the work was carried out.

The official documents that deal with the issues of valuing the person and the professional and the recognition of the work performed are scarce, however, we find the work *"For a policy of valorization of workers in Education: On the scene, the school employees"* (2004), a document proposed by the government of the State of São Paulo advised by Monlevade that also has a markedly political and prescriptive character.

The differential of this research lies in its intention to identify and analyze both the educational nature of the work of non-teachers and the relationships and social interactions established with the school and its agents and users.

The choice of the school unit and the informants for the interviews was made for convenience, knowing that we needed a school, where there were non-teaching workers. For Guimarães (2008, p.18), convenience sampling, also known as non-probabilistic sampling, is formed by elements that the researcher gathered for specific interests.

Our research is of inspiration and not exactly ethnographic, since ethnography supposes a very considerable rigor, especially in relation to the time of observation, because it allows the dense description of the object studied. With ethnography, we verify what is apparent and what is latent in a culture, that is, what cannot be perceived at first glance, at a superficial glance. The dense description

is the practice carried out by the ethnographer with the aim of perceiving the "multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed or tied to each other, which are simultaneously strange, irregular and inexplicit, and which he has to somehow first apprehend and then present." (Geertz, 1989, p.20).

According to Geertz (1989, p.38), the goal of ethnography is to draw great conclusions from small but densely interwoven facts; support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly in complex specifications.

In fact, when one seeks to understand social relations, interactions in a configuration as we are proposing in this work and as Elias and Scotson did in Winston Parva – the village studied by the authors – it is necessary,

> [...] learn to systematically observe and conceptualize how individuals aggregate, how and why the configurations thus formed change and, in some cases, develop. [...] It is only possible to overcome the limitations of sociological research centered on statistical methods when researchers trained to discern and manipulate isolated factors or variables ally themselves (or have this qualification themselves) with researchers trained to discern and, at least conceptually, manipulate configurations as such. (ELIAS and SCOTSON, 2000, p.57).

If we do not pay intense attention to the situation researched we run the risk of losing many details that would certainly enrich the work. For Durkheim (1895/1982) in Moscovici (2012, p.93), "since the observation reveals the existence of a type of phenomenon known as representation, with specific characteristics that distinguish it from other natural phenomena, it is useless to behave as if the phenomenon did not exist."

> The main concern in ethnography is with the meanings that actions and events have for the people or groups studied. Some of these meanings are directly expressed by language, others are transmitted indirectly through actions. Either way, he says, in every society people use complex systems of meaning to organize their behavior, to understand their own person and others, and to make sense of the world in which they live. (SPRADLEY, 1979, apud, ANDRÉ, 1995, p19)

Each day of observation, I made notes in a logbook, some concomitant with observation, others when leaving the field of research, seeking to recover and preserve what I observed with the greatest possible richness of detail, later I organized the notes into better detailed and structured texts, which I called in this work "Extended Accounts" (R.A), so that it contains the marking of the time of beginning and ending of the observations, as well as the order number and the days of the week in which they were made. According to the degree of structuring placed by the observer, I can say that semi-structured observation was used, in which specific moments were defined to be recorded, such as the performance of the inspector of students at the exact moment of attending to the children, the work, attitudes and behaviors of the cooks at the time of serving the meals, the performance of the janitors/cleaners when performing their work and especially when all these categories of workers

interact with the students and each other, but also in which much information stood out outside these already established standards.

In this work the observation in question was an open observation, that is, the observer is visible to the subjects/objects that knew of my condition as a researcher and that they and their functions, my research objects.

Vianna (2003) highlights, in a summarized way, based on several authors such as Creswell (1998), Flick (1999), Bailey (1994), the different phases of the observation process:

- Selection of a "scenario", that is, establishing the place where and when the people involved in the process can be observed;
- Definition of what will be documented in the observation and in what cases, that is, identify who or what to observe, when and for how long;
- Descriptive and reflective observations that offer a general presentation of the observed field; planning and methodology for recording field notes;
- Highlighting of observations that contain aspects relevant to the research inquiries; record aspects such as the description of the informants, physical context, particular events and activities, and the observer's own reactions;
- Selective observations that intentionally intend to understand central aspects;
- During the observation, if you are an external observer, introduce yourself, establish friendly relations, start with restricted objectives in the first observation sessions; [...]
- After the observation, inform the interested parties about the use of the data and the availability of the study. (VIANNA, 2003, pp. 28-9).

In the interim, I made the selection of some informants with whom I conducted interviews following a script between 15 and 20 questions previously established in a semi-structured way, which were carried out with 7 workers who agreed to collaborate with this study.

The interviews were conducted individually on the premises of the school unit, since the interviewees were in working hours, but did not have their activities compromised with the dedication of time to the interviewer. All of them (the interviews) were recorded in audio and transcribed literally. Anyway, with regard to observation and interview, I justify its use at work because:

> The observation [...] participant [...] assumes that the researcher always has a degree of interaction with the situation studied, affecting it and being affected by it. The purpose of the interviews is to deepen the questions and clarify the problems observed. The documents are used in order to contextualize the phenomenon, explain its deeper links and complement the information collected through other sources. (ANDRÉ, 1995, p. 28)

4 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT SCHOOL WORK

4.1 EVERYDAY DOING: PRESCRIBED WORK VS. PERFORMED WORK

Given the functions/positions presented above, we inquire about who determines the work to be performed, performed in the school unit? What are the legal functions/attributions prescribed for each of the positions that make up the staff of the school? In order to seek answers to such questions, I sought to retrieve specific data about each of the positions, their requirements and specificities.

We were able to better visualize and understand the composition of the positions and nature of the functions from the attributions that the employees have prescribed for them, based on the description present in the notice of the public tender of 2010; of the work routines collected in the field days before we started the observation period at school, and finally from what we were able to observe during our visits to the school., and from what the interviewed informants tell us about their work routine.

Thus, we propose the analysis of the working conditions, of the non-teachers, above all, from the angle of the real demands of daily work before the dichotomy that pervades the worker in the exercise of his functions that move fluidly between the intellectual and the manual. We understand with regard to the teacher the non-equivalence of the modalities of work due to the nature of each one, especially because it is concomitantly objective and subjective work, our effort is to approximate what reflects in the workload of both groups when immersed in the same environment, in the same institution, in the same workplace, Of course, without disregarding all the variables that we know exist between the act of teaching and that of serving snacks, washing, cleaning, sweeping.

The considerations we propose also emerge because there are workers in the school environment who interact directly with students, and the nature of their work is close to the teaching work, for example, the work of school monitors, student inspectors and school activity assistants, functions that have a degree of prescription and specific and pedagogical knowledge requirements such as those that teachers must master, For just like the teachers, the work of these subjects is carried out together with a "living object" of work and not inert matter, – such as the paper, the computer, the pots, the squeegee, the broom and the physical environment that are completely submitted to the control and action of the worker – therefore, it is a work on the man himself so that both the teachers and these workers daily "confront with the irreducibility of the individual in relation to the general rules, to global schemes, to collective routines. It is a work whose product or object always escapes, in various aspects, the action of the worker." (Tardif and Lessard, 2007, p.43).

It is important to consider that the school is an educational institution also outside the classroom, to the extent that all the experiences of students and teachers there constitute the curriculum. Thus, according to Tardif and Lessard (2007, p.49), such people act "in a certain context in function of a goal, acting on any material to transform it through utensils and techniques".

Having as premise that the context we are talking about is the school, can we say that the work performed by them is an educational work? Certainly, provided that we take – according to Tardif and Levasseur (2011, p.12) – by "educational work" (emphasis added) the set of tasks and functions performed by all the subjects who work in the school contributing, according to the various modalities and purposes, to the realization of the schooling process, in close interaction with the students through both direct and indirect interventions.

> Today, with the progressive expansion of schooling, it is perceived that, more than being instructed by teachers, the population needs to be educated by educators, understanding that all those who have a permanent presence in the school environment, in contact with students, are educators, regardless of the function they perform.
> In this scenario, lunch girls also need to take care of food education, librarians, help in the construction of the habit of reading and literary education, secretaries should collaborate with the evaluation process of teaching and learning, configuring the institution of new functional identities. (BRAZIL, 2004, p.16)

4.2 WORKING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

> The term *working conditions* involves physical facilities, materials and available inputs, equipment and means of carrying out the activities, but also concerns labor and employment relations. The forms of hiring, remuneration, career and stability also have effects on the well-being of workers [...]. (CNTE, 2012, p.302)

We can analyze the working conditions according to three axes:

4.2.1 a) Physical Conditions

We consider here as physical conditions of work, the facilities, the physical structure of the workplace and in the workplace, therefore, the school building with all its dependencies. From all that we have seen in our field of study, we note that there is a considerable territorial extension, access ramps and stairs, a cafeteria of size and accommodations disproportionate to the number of students who use them daily, a large number of railings and gates, the absence of adequate spaces and furniture for pedagogical meetings in the teachers' room, large classrooms, non-slip bases on the floors etc. One hypothesis is that these physical working conditions are naturalized by the subjects, who do not consider ways in which their action can be favored by the organization of the physical space.

4.2.2 b) Means of carrying out the work

The second axis concerns the way of doing, the instruments that one has for the accomplishment, execution of any tasks. It is possible to better understand these conditions from the questioning made about those involved in the research having had some specific training or preparation for the exercise of the function.

By declaring that they do not have any kind of preparation or training to perform their work and, even so, do so without the need for those, the interviewees lead us to understand that they have familiarized the work performed through the processes of anchoring and objectification because, according to Moscovici (2012, p.20), in these processes "the unfamiliar begins to occupy a place within our familiar world", which justifies the fact that they say that they perform the work at school from the experiences they obtained doing something similar or the same work elsewhere, that is, when the interviewees identify that what they do at home or did in the office can be used in their task at school, they were able to anchor their actions, And to the extent that they place this association in favor of the practice and perform the activity, they are objectifying the action, therefore making it tangible, palpable, that is, reproducing a concept in an image." (Ditto, p.71)

The different situations observed in the configuration of this research show that workers reinvent themselves daily, in an attempt to create operative modes to fulfill the daily prescriptions of the school organization. For the school worker,

> the characteristics and requirements of the task it needs to perform and the function it must perform depend in part on the set of elements of the context, some of which are not very stable, since it faces pressures and manages resources that are its own, from the biological and psychological point of view, as well as also depend on subjective mobilization, which conditions its functional state at a given moment, can modulate the situation considerably. (TEIGER, 1998, p8, apud, CHAVES, 2004, p. 22)

Thus, we can say that these findings corroborate what Tardif and Lessard (2007) affirm as determinants of workload and help us understand some of the aspects that directly influence the working conditions, described in the table of answers to the interview questions and in the observations.

- Material and environmental factors, such as the nature of workplaces and the material resources available. For example, the insufficiency of adequate material, [...] the dependence on transport schedules (in distant regions), the insufficiency of financial resources [...].

- Social factors, such as the location of the school (in a rural or urban environment, in a rich or poor block, etc.), the socioeconomic situation of the students and their family, the violence prevailing in the block, the sale of drugs among children, etc.

- Factors linked to the "object of work", such as the size of the classes, the diversity of the clientele, the presence of students with special needs and difficulties of adaptation and learning [...]

- Phenomena resulting from the organization of work: working time, - [...] the amount of tasks to be fulfilled - the employment relationship (regular, precarious, by contract, etc.). [...]).

- Formal or bureaucratic requirements to be met. [...]

- Finally, there are also the ways in which workers deal with these phenomena and the strategies they devise to assume or avoid them. Here we have to take into account the age and time of profession of the workers, their experience, how they see their role and their mission. Their sex, because women, who are the majority of the body of work, often have to face a double task, at work and at home etc. (TARDIF & LESSARD, 2007, p.113, our emphasis).

4.2.3 c) Labour and employment relations

According to the data obtained in the interviews, the hiring regime of the workers who make up this study and other employees of the City Hall of Suzano, was initially through the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT) lasting until the year 2010, when all municipal employees began to be governed by Complementary Law No. 190/10 that provides for the Statute of Public Servants of the Municipality of Suzano, i.e. statutory regime.

According to article 231 of that document, we have the identification of education professionals:

> § 1. For the purposes of this Law, Education Professionals are all employees of the Staff of the Municipal Department of Education under the terms of its own legislation.
> [...]
> Art. 232. The career positions of Education Professionals are accessible to all Brazilians who meet the requirements established in Law. (PMS, 2010, p.35)

4.3 SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

When talking about working conditions we must take into account much more than wages, the workload, the status of the function that is exercised, there are other variables that include in the understanding of working conditions a set of dimensions also personal and social that converge in the work environments and cause diverse effects, sometimes positive, sometimes negative, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit in performance, among these variables, there are social and/or interpersonal relationships, therefore, we understand here the school as

> A social organization derived from secular collective practices, whose modes of organization and functioning weigh heavily on the personal and social destiny of millions of individuals. Like other contemporary social organizations, it is linked to a system (formal or informal) of functions and tasks performed by agents depending on various trades and professions. [...] The school is effectively no different from other large public service organizations. It is anchored in a collective work simultaneously shared and divided among innumerable categories of agents that intervene in various places and moments of the work process: shared, because all these agents contribute, in principle, to a common work, which is the instruction and socialization of students, through the school continuum, which necessarily requires the activities of coordination among themselves, as well as the mechanisms and controls that govern them; divided, because these agents are responsible for different tasks and, finally, because they occupy specific spaces and working times and different institutional positions

and, ultimately, because they have different formations, competences, knowledge, functions and statutes in their relations with students. (TARDIF AND LEVASSEUR, 2011, p.19,20)

Given the field observations and answers obtained from the interviews, we can say that there is little room for interaction with the students, partly because of the school's own organization as an institution, partly because of the specific demands of the work of each segment.

Regarding the interactions between the workers themselves, we found that there is also little interaction when it comes to the interaction between different categories of work, because among those who perform the same task, there is a greater degree of interaction, of conversation, even because it is necessary that there is communication so that everyone does and knows what to do.

5 CONCLUSION

Our work detected the almost inexistence of systematic studies on workers who work in the school environment and who do not perform functions directly linked to teaching or school management, and the few works found during the bibliographic research for the composition of this work were focused on specific categories of workers. We began this investigation by questioning the treatment of non-teaching workers as educators.

Now, in order to be educators, it is necessary that the non-teaching workers of the schools perform, perform, do work that is educational. We hypothesized that the work carried out by these employees could present an indirect educational content that was not even perceived by the subjects themselves and other members of the school community. So we seek to define what is the educational work relying on Tardif and Levasseur (2011, p.12), which proposes to be "the set of tasks and functions performed by all the agents of education [...].", and that, therefore, takes place in a specific space, that is, the school, described by Tardif and Lessard (2007, p55) as an organized, spatial and socially separate place from the other spaces of social and daily life, as an environment produced by social and historical conventions that translate into relatively stable organizational routines through time and space that functions from the performance of several individuals linked to each other by different types of more or less formalized relations.

From the comprehension of the aforementioned definitions, the question we proposed became even more potent: *If non-teaching workers are equally educators, how does the execution of their tasks position them before the function of the school institution?* Thus, the hypothesis that there is some educational effect on the work of these subjects attracted new questions: *What makes the actions of these workers have such an effect*? *How are these actions characterized? Are the educational effects perceived? How and by whom?*

The answers to these questions came through observations and interviews, through which we were able to reach our objectives, that is, to map the representations of non-teaching school employees

about their work, as well as the social relations and interaction in the school environment, discussing the dynamics of action and working conditions.

It would not be possible to talk about the work and non-teaching workers without taking into account the nature and specificity of the work they perform, therefore, we seek in the analysis of the public tender notices and in the Statute of Public Servants of the Municipality of Suzano to capture such aspects and we found that in the tender notices themselves the workers are appointed as educators, because in the attributions placed to them there is the prerogative to have as a principle the educational character of their functions, as well as for various positions it is established that the employee must eventually collaborate in the direct care with the student, therefore, the PMS through its SME is the one who says first that the non-teaching worker is an educator through the description of the job attributions.

We found that, even unconsciously, the workers perform the educational work, however, some do it intentionally as was the case of the cook, when calling attention to the health benefits of food. And the and of the school agent, when passing in the classrooms talking to the students about the conservation and maintenance of the cleanliness of the rooms. In the same way, there is also the work that, regardless of the perception or not of the worker, has an educational content, as occurs with the work of the School Support Agents (inspectors of students), because it is a work of human interactions, and that consists of advising, guiding, accompanying the children during all the time in which they are not under the care of the teachers, Being that the main moment of performance is the interval / recess.

A hypothesis that we had at the beginning of this work and that was a very strong representation in the view of this researcher, is that the non-teaching workers of the schools are stigmatized or suffer prejudice because of the work they do, the schooling they have and, when arriving with this vision in the school studied, the researcher was confronted with an environment where, Despite little interaction, workers do not exclude or are excluded. It was possible to witness a complicity between them during the fraternization party that took place at the school and the researcher was able to participate and see that the various population groups of that figuration talked among themselves. However, in view of the interviews, it was clear that the degree of interaction between employees is somewhat restricted because of the work dynamics that they have, that certain groups maintain contact only at specific times, as occurs with teachers who interact more with these workers to the extent that they depend more directly on their work.

The relationship with the students is more restricted to the moments in which they are conditioned to observe them, that is, time of entry, exit and interval. Although there is interaction between the different categories of workers, it was possible to notice that the work in the school environment considered by Tardif and Lessard as collective work is not in fact collective. It is noticed, throughout the analysis of the interviews and in the face of the observations, that the collectivity of the

work only appears among the components of the same work group and that when this occurs between the different groups, it occurs by request or order of the school management. We then have a typical scene of schools that in part confirms the initial hypothesis of the researcher: despite the feeling of collectivity and friendship that exists between people who perform different tasks in the school environment, each one will do only his part without caring about the work of the other, no matter how much the other has some form of damage to his work. This situation is apparent when the school agents claim that they help in the break, that they look at children, but that they have no return of help from the other employees when it comes to the work of cleaning. They also point out that not even the school management realizes that they "help everyone" and by "no one" are helped.

We found that the physical conditions and the means for carrying out the non-teaching work are still seconded by the school management and the SME itself, which is clear when the cooks declare that they receive last-minute food and that they often take seasonings from home or buy to increase the food, when the cleaners (School Agents) say that the material sent by the city is sometimes insufficient and that they need to ration what they have, when the assistant secretary says that the information arrives with little of the last minute, that teachers are missing and / or late without notice, that sometimes they run out of material to support the teaching work. Finally, working conditions, in general, are fickle.

The universe analyzed by us confirmed that the devaluation of the work of technical, support and operational staff, in which non-teaching workers participate, is the result of a perverse logic of work, because according to Chaves (2004), many of these jobs, especially the work of cooks and cleaners/janitors are considered "natural" and the domain of any woman, Thus, it is not taken into account that cooking for many people and cleaning various environments in short and predetermined periods of time constitute works with a specific logic and knowledge, which would distance, in ideal conditions, from the logic of domestic work by the simple fact that they are performed on a large scale. Thus, the precariousness to which they are subjected ends up constituting forms of devaluation of work and the worker in several aspects.

In fact, our research showed that the work activities of non-teaching employees of schools contribute to the educational process that is characterized by the socialization of habits, values and attitudes, and its effect will occur when it makes sense to the student, when he realizes that everyone in the school values the clean environment, the organized room, when everyone treats another employee at school with respect, when they help each other, etc. However, it is necessary to draw attention explicitly to these issues and, in this sense, the main responsible is the teacher, both for the speech and for the example.

This work reveals the need for the non-teaching worker to be perceived and also to perceive himself to a greater extent as an educator Finally, we conclude that, although the policies of

valorization of the non-teaching worker have the intention of projecting to all the members of the school their functional identity and pointing them out as educators, evidencing the educational dimension of their work, It is necessary that the worker can be seen, valued and recognized in order to understand the educational dimension of what he does.

REFERENCES

ALVES, R. C. Representações Sociais e a construção da consciência histórica. (dissertação de Mestrado em Educação). São Paulo:FEUSP, 2006.

ANDRÉ, M. E. D. A. Etnografia da prática escolar. 16.ed. Campinas, SP: Papirus, 1995.

ANTUNES, R. Adeus ao trabalho? Ensaio sobre as metamorfoses e a Centralidade do Mundo do Trabalho. 8. Ed. São Paulo: Cortez; Campinas, Unicamp, 2002.

BRASIL. Por uma política de valorização dos trabalhadores em Educação: Em cena, os funcionários de Escola. Brasilia:MEC, SEB, 2004. Disponível em. http://portal.mec.gov.br/seb/arquivos/pdf/em_cena.pdf. Acesso em 15 abr. 2014.

BRASIL. Política Nacional de Valorização dos Trabalhadores da Educação. Brasília: MEC, SEB, 2005. Disponível em: http://portal.mec.gov.br/seb/arquivos/pdf/valtrabedu_pol.pdf. Acesso em 15 abr. 2014.

BOURDIEU, P. (Coord.). A Miséria do Mundo. 7. ed. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2008.

CÁSSIA. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

CERTEAU, M. A invenção do cotidiano: artes de fazer. 3.ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1998.

O mundo como representação. In: Revista Estudos Avançados. São Paulo. Instituto de Estudos Avançados da USP, vol 5, nº11, 1991, p.173-191.
CHARTIER, R. A História Cultural: entre práticas e representações. Lisboa: Difel. 1990.

CHAVES, F. M. O trabalho de serventes e merendeiras de escolas públicas da cidade do Rio de Janeiro. (Dissertação de Mestrado em Educação). Niterói-RJ: UFF, 1998.

Outros olhares em escolas públicas: relações sociais sob a ótica de merendeiras e serventes. Trabalho e Educação, 7:38-46. Belo Horizonte:NETE/UFMG. Disponível em http://www.portal.fae.ufmg.br/seer/index.php/trabedu/article/viewFile/1687/1280. Acesso em 13 dez. 2013

Vidas negras que se esvaem: Experiências de saúde dos funcionários escolares em situações de trabalho. (Tese de Doutorado em Saúde Pública). Rio de Janeiro: s.n, 2004. Disponível em http://www.arca.fiocruz.br/handle/icict/4490. Acesso em 13 dez. 2013.

CHESTERTON. G. K. O homem invisível e outras histórias do padre Brouwn. Rio de Janeiro: Imago Ed., 1997.

CNTE. Condições de Trabalho e Saúde dos Profissionais da Educação. Retratos da Escola, Brasília, DF, v.6, n.11, p.295-526. Jul./dez. 2012.

COSTA, F. B. Homens invisíveis: relatos de uma humilhação social. São Paulo. Globo, 2004. 104

DOMINGOS, M. A. A escola como espaço de inclusão: sentidos e significados produzidos por alunos e professores no cotidiano de uma escola do sistema regular de ensino a partir da inclusão de alunos portadores de necessidades educacionais especiais. (Dissertação de Mestrado em Educação). PUC-MG. Belo Horizonte, 2005. Disponível em http://www.biblioteca.pucminas.br/teses/Educacao_DomingosMA_1.pdf. Acesso em 23 jan. 2014.

DUARTE, C. A. A. Funcionários e funcionárias não docentes das escolas públicas: a favor da inclusão de novos educadores e educadoras. (Dissertação de Mestrado em Educação). Rio de Janeiro: UFF, 2000.

ELIAS, N. O processo civilizador: Uma história dos costumes. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 1994 (vol. I).

Was ist Soziologie? In: Ribeiro. L. S. Processo e figuração: um estudo sobre a sociologia de Norbert Elias. (Tese de Doutorado). Campinas, 2010.

ELIAS, N. & SCOTSON. J. L. Os estabelecidos e os outsiders: Sociologia das relações de poder a partir de uma pequena comunidade. Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 2000.

FERRAZ, R. O. A classe trabalhadora brasileira no livro didático: Memória e História. Vitória da Conquista: UESB, 2011. Disponível em: http://www.uesb.br/ppgmemorials/dissertacoes/Ferraz-R-O.pdf. Acesso em 13 mar. 2014.

GEERTZ, C. A Interpretação das Culturas. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara Koogan, 1989.
GOFFMAN. E. A representação do Eu na vida cotidiana. 18.ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2011.

ESTIGMA: notas sobre a Manipulação da Identidade Deteriorada. 2.ed. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1978.

GORZ, A. O imaterial: conhecimento, valor e capital. São Paulo: Annablume, 2005.

GUARULHOS (cidade). Planejamento das Escolas da Prefeitura de Guarulhos. PMG, SME, 2013.

GUIMARÃES, P. R. B. Métodos quantitativos estatísticos. 1.ed. Curitiba, IESDE BRASIL S.A, 2008. Disponível em:http://www.inf.ufsc.br/~verav/LIVROS/LIVROS/Metodos%20Quantitativos%20%20Estatisticos%20Paulo%20Ricardo%20BittencourtGuimar%E3es.pdf. Acesso em 10 jan. 14.

HELLER, A. O cotidiano e a História. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2008.

JODELET, D. As Representações Sociais. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2001.

MARTA. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

MINAYO, M. C. O. O desafio do conhecimento: Pesquisa qualitativa em Saúde. São Paulo. Rio de Janeiro: Hucitec-Abrasco. 1992.

MONLEVADE, J. A. C. Funcionários das Escolas Públicas: Educadores Profissionais ou Servidores Descartáveis? Edição Particular do Autor, 1995.

MOREIRA H. A. e GRISHCKE, P. E. Trabalho imaterial e trabalho docente In: Educação. Revista do Centro de Educação, vol. 38, núm. 3, septiembre-diciembre, 2013, pp. 507-522 Universidade Federal de Santa Maria Santa Maria, RS, 2013.

MOSCOVICI, S. Representações Sociais: Investigação em psicologia social. 9. Ed. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2012.

NADIR. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

NOEMI. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

OFÉLIA. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

PATTO, M. H. S. Mutações do Cativeiro: escritos de psicologia e política. São Paulo: Hacker Editores/Ediusp, pp. 187-221. 2000.

RENATA. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

RIBEIRO, L. S. Processo e figuração: um estudo sobre a Sociologia de Norbert Elias. Campinas, SP: [s.n], 2010. Disponível em: http://www.bibliotecadigital.unicamp.br/document/?code=000479342. Acesso em 15 abr. 2014.

ROSELI. Entrevista. Suzano: EMEF Professora Ignez de Castro Almeida Mayer, dez. 2013.

SILVA JÚNIOR, C. A. A Escola Pública como local de Trabalho. 3. ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 1995.

SUZANO (cidade). Lei Complementar nº 190/10. Dispõe sobre o Estatuto dos Servidores Públicos Municipais de Suzano e dá outras providências. PMS/SME. Suzano, 2010. Disponível em: http://www.sservidores.org.br/pdfs/estatutodoservidordesuzano.pdf. Acesso em 09 mai. 2014.

TARDIF, M. & LESSARD, C. O trabalho docente. Petrópolis, RJ:Vozes, 2007.

TARDIF, M.; LOUIS L.V. Divisão do trabalho e trabalho técnico nas escolas de sociedades ocidentais (in Educ. Soc., Campinas, vol. 25, n. 89, p. 1275-1297, Set./Dez. 2004). Disponível em: http://www.scielo.br/pdf/es/v25n89/22621.pdf. Acesso em 28 mai. 2014.

VIANNA, H. M. Pesquisa em Educação: a observação. Brasília, Plano, 2003.