

Teachers' compensation and fiscal austerity: an analysis of municipal education networks in the states of Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzed teacher compensation in municipal networks in two Brazilian states, Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, according to the Annual Social Information Report (*Relação Anual de Informações Sociais*), from 2008 to 2018. The period was characterized by fiscal austerity policies implemented after the approval of Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016. The data were extracted from *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* and relevant educational legislation was consulted. The approval of the Amendment interrupted a cycle of teacher appreciation policies that had been in place at the intersection between the federal government's education policy and that of each Brazilian state. Although the educational sector, through its entities, has shown resistance to ensure recent achievements, the context of fiscal austerity has led to significant losses in terms of teacher compensation, which has put the maintenance and expansion of the right to education at risk.

KEYWORDS

education policy; fiscal austerity; *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais*; teacher compensation.

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REMUNERAÇÃO DOCENTE EM CONTEXTO DE AUSTERIDADE FISCAL: UMA ANÁLISE DAS REDES MUNICIPAIS DE ENSINO DOS ESTADOS DE MATO GROSSO DO SUL E DO PARANÁ

RESUMO

O artigo objetivou verificar a remuneração docente em redes municipais de ensino de dois estados da federação brasileira, Mato Grosso do Sul e Paraná, mediante os registros da Relação Anual de Informações Sociais, em anos selecionados (de 2008 a 2018), período entrecortado pelo contexto da austeridade fiscal implantada pela aprovação da emenda constitucional n. 95/2016. Trabalhou-se com os dados registrados na Relação Anual de Informações Sociais e com a legislação educacional. Verificou-se que a aprovação da emenda em questão interrompeu um ciclo de políticas de valorização docente que estava em curso na interseção da política educacional da União com as unidades federativas. Ainda que o setor educacional, por meio de suas entidades, tenha apresentado resistência para garantir conquistas recentes, o contexto de austeridade fiscal já conduz a perdas significativas no que tange à remuneração docente, que colocam em situação de risco a manutenção e a ampliação do direito à educação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

política educacional; austeridade fiscal; Relação Anual de Informações Sociais; remuneração docente.

REMUNERACIÓN DOCENTE Y AUSTERIDAD FISCAL: UN ANÁLISIS DE LAS REDES MUNICIPALES DE ENSEÑANZA EN LOS ESTADOS DE MATO GROSSO DO SUL Y PARANÁ

RESUMEN

El artículo tuvo como objetivo verificar la remuneración docente en las redes municipales de enseñanza de los estados de la federación brasilera, Mato Grosso do Sul y Paraná, mediante los registros de la Relación Anual de Informaciones Sociales (*Relação Anual de Informações Sociais*), en años seleccionados, de 2008 a 2018, período entrecortado por el contexto de la austeridad fiscal implantada por la aprobación de la Enmienda Constitucional no. 95/2016. Se trabajó con los datos registrados en la *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* y con la legislación educacional. Se verificó que la aprobación de la Enmienda en cuestión interrumpió un ciclo de políticas de valorización docente, que estaba en curso en la intersección de la política educacional de la Unión con las unidades federativas. Mismo que el sector educacional, por medio de sus entidades, haya presentado resistencia para garantizar conquistas recientes, el contexto de austeridad fiscal ya conduce a pérdidas significativas en lo que se refiere a la remuneración docente, que colocan en situación de riesgo la manutención y la ampliación del derecho a la educación.

PALABRAS CLAVE

política educacional; austeridad fiscal; *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais*; remuneración docente.

INTRODUCTION

This article outlines an analysis of the compensation conditions of teachers in municipal education networks based on the Annual Social Information Report (*Relação Anual de Informações Sociais — RAIS*)¹ database. This article focused on two Brazilian states: Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, during a specific period.

The approval of Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016 imposed a ceiling on public spending concerning primary federal expenditures on social policies, effective for 20 years (Brasil, 2016), and ended a cycle of policies that valued teachers through compensation and better working conditions, especially concerning the work shift. As pointed out in a joint Technical Note by the National Association for Research in Education Financing (*Associação Nacional de Pesquisa em Financiamento da Educação — FINEDUCA*) and the National Campaign for the Right to Education, the 18% budget constitutionally linked to the Maintenance and Development of Education (*Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino — MDE*), under the responsibility of the Federal Government, at the end of 20 years, will become only 10.3% (*Associação Nacional de Pesquisadores em Financiamento da Educação, Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação, 2016*).

In this context of budget restriction, imposed by the Federal Government through fiscal adjustment, the federative entities (states and municipalities), which are responsible, in a collaborative and concurrent regime, for offering basic education in a decentralized manner, are also responsible for paying the mass compensation² of teachers (Brasil, 1996).

Therefore, on a federative scale³, fiscal adjustments have already been ongoing according to the imperatives of the Federal Government. The changes, at the local level, that have been made to meet the Federal Government's induction in the

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- 1 The basic characteristics of the RAIS database include: "Income: represents the average nominal compensation or in minimum wages, in the current period of the base year of the employed workforce. For statistical purposes, compensation referring to the 13th salary is not considered" (Brasil, 2014b, p. 2).
 - 2 It is worth noting: "it is necessary to conceptualize the terms 'salary', 'retribution' and 'compensation' [...]. Salary is legally defined as compensation paid directly by the employer to the employee for the time worked. [...]. The term 'retribution' is legally defined (Law no. 8,112, of December 11, 1990, art. 40) as 'pecuniary compensation for the exercise of public office, with a value set by law'. The retributions of effective positions are irreducible and, for positions with the same or similar attributions in the same administrative sphere, equality is guaranteed. The concept of 'compensation', in turn, refers to the amount of money and/or goods paid for the service provided, including amounts paid by third parties. Compensation is the sum of financial benefits, including salary, agreed upon in a contract signed between the employee and the employer. The salary is, thus, a part of the compensation" (Camargo *et al.*, p. 341-363, 2009).
 - 3 The state of Mato Grosso do Sul, for example, approved the Amendment to State Constitution no. 77 in 2017 "to institute the Spending Limitation Regime, and other measures", adapting to Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016. Although the State Amendment does not cause public spending freezes, among other measures, it increases the social security contribution rate for State civil servants from the salary cap of BRL 5,000.00 (Mato Grosso do Sul, 2017).

current context, include implementing labor restrictions and restrictions on other social rights to manage the financial crisis.

Teacher appreciation is a constitutional principle defined in an unprecedented way in 1988 (Brasil, 1988). Compensation has been one of the strongest elements of dispute since that time, putting collective social actors in confrontation, who have sought to influence the actions of the State, through national and local legislation, given the decentralization of the employment bonds of teachers in different the public education networks in Brazil.

State administrations, as a rule, claim to be faced with “a budget restriction that imposes itself as the dominant criterion in the definition of absolute wage levels” which, in turn, raises the question that “most teachers fit into salary categories established within the public sector” (Morduchowicz, 2003, p. 16). It should be noted that, in the case of Brazil, the objective of universalizing basic education as a right of the population is still a challenge for educational policymaking and, therefore, requires both the maintenance and expansion of the teaching workforce, year after year.

Faced with the challenges of guaranteeing and expanding the right to education, the period ranging from the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 until the approval of Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016 (Brasil, 1988, 2016) was marked by significant changes in the field of educational policy to reproduce the teaching workforce.

In the period in question, already in 1989, the gains planned by the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988) were postponed, given the political option of administering the State under a neoliberal perspective. In 1996, after a fund policy had been implemented, although the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and Teaching Appreciation (*Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e de Valorização do Magistério* — FUNDEF), approved by Law no. 9.424 (Brasil, 1996), had imposed, as a national obligation, for the first time in the country's history, a Plan for Positions, Careers and Teachers' Compensation (*Plano de Cargos, Carreira e Remuneração Docente* — PCCR), in the federative context, the legal provision was being postponed by several Brazilian states (Gatti and Barreto, 2009). FUNDEF, however, followed a neoliberal logic, allocating a significant percentage of constitutionally linked funds, focusing on elementary education only and disregarding the concept of basic education. It made use of the logic that the problem of a poor-quality education would not be associated with insufficient funds, but rather with poor management (Amaral, 2001; Davies, 2006; Pinto, 2007).

As the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Appreciation of Education Professionals (*Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica e de Valorização dos Profissionais da Educação* — FUNDEB), approved by Law no. 11.494/2007 (Brasil, 2007), was instituted in a context of social rights being expanded, the concept of basic education was rescued through financing, as it included all enrollments of its stages in the distribution of constitutionally linked funds (Pinto, 2007; Cury, 2014). FUNDEB also

set a deadline to define, in a specific law, the national professional salary floor for public teaching professionals, it also made it clear that the Federal Government will be responsible for complementation in pecuniary values, improved Fund Control Boards, reaffirmed the obligation of having career and compensation plans with professional training in which continuing education should promote the quality of education. (Cury, 2014, p. 1.062)

Law no. 11.738/2008 (Brasil, 2008), which resulted from FUNDEB provisions, could, in fact, only take effect from 2011, after the victory of a federative dispute promoted by state governors against the Federal Government (Fernandes and Fernandes, 2013). The approval of Law no. 11.738/2008 (Brasil, 2008) expanded teaching rights. Above all, the approval of the National Professional Salary Floor Law (*Piso Salarial Profissional Nacional* — PSPN) and a work shift in which a third of it provides for no interaction with students represented a great agreement to associate the reproduction of teaching work with the quality of education. These were items that were part of a historic struggle of the teachers' movement, organized nationally through union representation. Since then, guaranteeing such precepts in a decentralized way and a federative context has been a great challenge.

Symptomatically, even after the approval of the National Education Plan through Law no. 13.005/2014 (PNE 2014–2024) and the State and Municipal Education Plans, basic education teachers receive lower salaries than other labor categories with the same training, about 33% less, and have a longer work shift (Brasil, 2014a). For all these reasons, Goal 17 of the 2014–2024 PNE established salary and labor equivalence between teachers and other professionals with the same training (Brasil, 2014a).

The scenario that had been designed until 2015 and promoted the appreciation of teachers, among other advances, through compensation, was questioned by a “legislative, judicial, and media coup” (Amaral, 2017, p. 102). The situation created since then, which returned with a neoliberal State, was expressed in public budgeting,

when preparing the 2017 budget found in the 2017 Annual Budget Law [*Lei Orçamentária Anual* — LOA] [...], the MEC [*Ministério da Educação*] budget totaled BRL 107.3 billion, only 1.23% higher than the budget established in LOA 2016 [...], which was BRL 106.0 billion. A very small percentage compared to the 2016 inflation, which was 6.29%, and the 2017 inflation, which is expected to be 4.5%, according to the government. (Amaral, 2017, p. 106-107)

Therefore, in the following sections, teachers' compensation is outlined based on the RAIS database for the years 2008, 2011, 2016, 2017, and 2018. The years were selected so that the effects of the teachers' compensation policy could be verified because the PSPN Law was approved in 2008 and played a strong role in inducing the compensation policy. In 2011, the Federal Court (*Supremo Tribunal Federal* — STF) decided on the constitutionality of the value of the PSPN. In 2016, Amendment 95 was approved. In 2017 and 2018, a new cycle was potentially

marked by salary losses, impacts on the teaching workday, and the implications that the restriction of rights was imposing on the quality of basic education in the current situation.

The emphasis on the PSPN is related to the importance of the legislation, approved in two directions: as a potential element towards appreciating teachers nationwide in an unequal federative context, and the centrality of the PSPN theme in the agenda of the national union movement, a unified struggle of the National Confederation of Education Workers (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação* — CNTE). As the unions that represent teachers are local and diverse⁴, it is always necessary to understand each reality to understand their struggles, resistances, and the effects of policies in the federative context.

THE CONTEXT OF FISCAL AUSTERITY: AN OVERVIEW BASED ON ONGOING DEBATES

The context of fiscal austerity arose from the impeachment process of president Dilma Vana Rousseff, re-elected in 2014 by the Workers' Party, which can be defined as follows:

A coup d'état whose meaning is a retrogression of rights, a reduction of the weight of the popular field in political decision making, and the elimination of a project to build a fairer society. Jair Bolsonaro's victory in the 2018 presidential elections was a somewhat unforeseen development of this process, which remains open and for which, unfortunately, there is no prospect of a short-term solution. (Miguel, 2019, p. 21-22)

The definition above can be confirmed in the educational field, but it is not just about that. From the beginning of the 21st century until 2016, the transformations that occurred in the Brazilian society were profound concerning educational policies. The objective was to expand the right to education, associated with a standard of quality. Likewise, this process was anchored in a perspective of broadening democratic relations which, not without social dispute, were shaped in the fabric of society. Rights were materialized through educational policies, which included, in schools and public universities, social sectors that had never been in these spaces (Dourado, 2017).

Constitutional devices of the materiality of rights that, until then, had been approached conceptually only, gained the fertile ground of social practices,

4 It is important to highlight that Brazilian basic education teachers maintain a national union organization through the National Confederation of Education Workers (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação* — CNTE). CNTE currently “has 50 affiliated entities and more than one million union members” (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação, 2019, p. 1). Given the number of union members and the number of entities affiliated to CNTE, it appears that many municipal unions are part of the CNTE base.

when they were transformed into policies for the expansion of rights. The teacher appreciation policy implemented through FUNDEB, Law no. 11.738/2008 and the PNE 2014–2024 (Brasil, 2008, 2014a), is an example of this new sociability standard that was installed in the period in question, albeit with contradictions, for being in a process of social dispute.

Immediately, in 2016, the entire framework of the materiality of rights was interrupted in the context of fiscal austerity, in all spheres of the society project.

For the educational sector, when the Constitutional Amendment Proposal (*Proposta de Emenda Constitucional* — PEC) was still under analysis under no. 241 in the Federal Chamber and no. 55 in the Senate, and which would be approved as Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016 (Brasil, 2016), the following assessment of its consequences was already available, extended to other spheres of social and economic life:

Therefore, it is already possible to determine the future of Goal 20 of the PNE (2014–2024), which could only be achieved if, persistently, the GDP did not grow — that is, for a long negative period — which would lead, due to “starvation”, the same financial resources of 2016, corrected by IPCA [*Índice Nacional de Preços ao Consumidor Amplo*], to reach the equivalent of 10% of GDP in 2024. In this situation, the country would be in complete “chaos”, with a brutal increase in social inequality, dramatically higher levels of poverty, and a drop in per capita income to unimaginable values. (Amaral, 2016, p. 661-662)

From then on, the educational sector took a hard hit, also in its spectrum of republican and democratic relations built in the immediately preceding period. In 2016, interim president Michel Temer revoked, without justification and in disregard of the nomination rules, the appointment of advisers to the National Education Council. But not only: the Ministry of Education issued Ordinance no. 577, of April 27, 2017, which provided for the National Education Forum (*Fórum Nacional de Educação* — FNE), changing its composition to reduce the participation of civil society representation, as explained by Araújo (2017).

Intending to legally claim the measures adopted by the government, the Federal Public Ministry (*Ministério Público Federal* — MPF) proposed a Public Civil Action, with a request for urgent relief, for the Federal Government, since the Presidential Decree of April 26, 2017 and Ordinance no. 577/2017 of MEC violated social, diffuse, and collective rights by modifying the structure, as well as the attributions and powers of the FNE. This Public Civil Action had the purpose of

[...] seeing the composition of the National Education Forum (*Fórum Nacional de Educação* — FNE) reestablished, in order to exercise its functions with autonomy and independence, in accordance with the principle of democratic management of education and the articulation of the National Education

System in a collaborative way. For this, the declaration of nullity of the Presidential Decree of April 26, 2017, which contradicts articles 206, VI and 214 of the Federal Constitution, and Ordinance no. 577/2017, of the Ministry of Education, for violation of article 6 of Law no. 13.005, of June 25, 2014, which expressly grants FNE powers to coordinate the holding of National Education Conferences. (Brasil, 2017, p. 1)

In the corpus of the aforementioned Action, the Prosecutors of the MPF argued that participatory processes, in education, are combined with a consistent effort to put into effect the principle of social participation defended by democratic reforms and enshrined in the Federal Constitution of 1988. It is precisely this principle that has enabled, over the last two decades, hundreds of national conferences that, in turn, encompassed several sectoral areas, whose debates and proposals affect public policies (Brasil, 2017).

Under these conditions, there is a movement of resistance by the FNE, in repudiation of the control exercised by MEC, which culminated in the collective resignation of 20 participating entities of the Forum and the creation, by these same entities, of the National Popular Education Forum (*Fórum Nacional Popular de Educação* — FNPE)⁵, understood as

[...] an instrument of resistance in defense of advances and spaces for dialogue conquered after decades of struggles and which are now being destroyed and/or usurped by the current political coup, which is not interested in strengthening a public, laic, democratic, inclusive, and critical education system with socially referenced quality. (Fórum Nacional Popular de Educação, 2017, p. 2)

Upon assuming the coordination of the National Conference on Education (*Conferência Nacional de Educação* — CONAE), the Ministry of Education changed the dates established by the FNE, leaving uncertainty as to their realization, which further strengthened the organization of the FNPE, which proposed, as an alternative to the weakening of CONAE, the organization of the National Popular Conference on Education (*Conferência Nacional Popular de Educação* — CONAPE).

This scenario of ruptures with the public space for negotiating educational policies adds to a scenario of reduced funds for social policies in general, imposing an inflection in the perspective of the legitimacy of social rights. In this sense, it is worth considering Lebaron (2018), who argues that austerity, in addition to being an economic belief focused on the single ratio of fiscal stability indicators, is also a worldview against the economic imbalance, which affects public spending related to the poorer parts of society. With this background, valuing the compensation of teachers in municipal schools, historically a group with the lowest average compensation, is the main focus of analysis in this article.

5 The Civil Society entities that make up the FNPE and the documents produced can be accessed at its electronic address (Fórum Nacional Popular de Educação, 2020). Available at: <http://fnpe.com.br/entidades/>. Access at: May 25, 2020.

TEACHER COMPENSATION IN MUNICIPAL EDUCATION NETWORKS IN THE STATES OF MATO GROSSO DO SUL AND PARANÁ

Understanding teacher compensation in a federative context is a considerable challenge in Brazil, although national analyses are always interesting for obtaining an overview of the general context. The degree of decentralization of our system and the fact that the rules for protecting public servants are dependent on the entity that hires them imply that the weight of local systems is highly relevant in the actual life of teachers. Thus, observing two Brazilian states, such as Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, it is less useful to compare them with each other and more profitable to deepen the analysis of two cases. In other words, the analyses, without comparative purposes, reveal that diversities in the Brazilian context are not exhausted and show how complex they are.

When using RAIS data, the first issue to be taken into account is the nature of this database. According to publications by Fernandes, Gouveia and Benini (2012), and Alves and Sonobe (2018), it is an administrative source of the Ministry of Labor and Employment used to monitor the Brazilian formal market. The first article highlights the limitations of the source in terms of coverage of the public sector. The work by Alves and Sonobe (2018) refers to the 2013 RAIS data. Among their conclusions, the authors once again indicate challenges in data coverage concerning the public network. Thus, the first issue to be considered is the coverage of RAIS data, when looking at a historical series, with a specific focus on the municipal networks of two Brazilian states as in the case of this article. Another challenge is that the historical series is interesting to understand the political movement, so it is also necessary to check whether the coverage is the same in the selected years.

Table 1 shows the number of employment contracts reported in the RAIS for basic education teachers, using 31 specifications contained in the Brazilian

Table 1 – Number of employment bonds reported in *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais*: Teachers in municipal networks – Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, in the selected years.

State	Capital and no capital cities	Year of RAIS				
		2008	2011	2016	2017	2018
Mato Grosso do Sul	Not a capital	15,763	19,759	24,121	27,342	15,507
	Campo Grande	8,178	8,916	14,363	14,165	–
Paraná	Not a capital	66,945	71,914	89,671	91,399	36,382
	Curitiba	10,711	11,079	17,149	16,434	1

*Due to the lack of data for 2018, a frequency was generated for that year's data referring to employment bonds, specifically for the cases of Curitiba and Campo Grande. No more records were found in the general public category.

RAIS: *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* (Social Information Annual Roll).

Source: Prepared by the authors (2020), based on RAIS, microdata (2008, 2011, 2016, 2017, 2018).

Code of Occupations (CBO 2002) and the identification of the legal nature of the employer aggregated as an administrative dependence⁶.

The first alarming finding is that the historical series of RAIS had a high loss of data in 2018, in both states. The two capital cities did not report data on teachers in their education network in 2018; in municipalities that are not capitals, the number of reported employment bonds fell by half. From 2008 to 2017, the growth in the number of jobs reported in the municipal public sector made RAIS an interesting source for analyzing teachers' compensation profiles. RAIS has the specific characteristic of being an administrative record made by the employer. However, it contains a set of elements about the personal profile of professionals and the type of contract, which expands the possibilities of understanding the working conditions of teachers.

The break in the historical series raises great concerns as to the transparency of federal government data, and it seems not to be an element detached from the scenario of challenges posed by a restricted conception of the State. Due to this rupture, it was decided to keep the 2018 data, but highlighting the analyses on the conditions of compensation from 2008 to 2017 and indicating the movement from 2017 to 2018, considering that these are partial data.

Also, to understand the coverage of the data reported, the information from CBO 2002 was added by the teaching stage. It should be noted that there may be a difference between the CBO 2002 registration and the actual performance of teachers. For example, early childhood education considered codes 231105 — higher education teacher in early childhood education (4 to 6 years); 231110 — higher education teacher in early childhood education (0 to 3 years); and 331105 — high school teacher in early childhood education. However, many municipal networks run the same competition for teachers in Kindergarten and early grades of elementary school and may have rules that allow teachers to move between these stages, in their annual performance. Another dimension is the absence, in this option, of professionals who work in early childhood education as teachers, but are called educators, assistants, nannies, or defined otherwise by the literature (Santiago, 2018; Heck, 2019). Despite the limitations, the data in Table 2 are intended to give an approximate overview of the information coverage.

Again, the criterion of being a capital city or not was used to try to build an overview that takes into account the internal diversity of states and their municipal networks. The lack of information about special education teachers in the two capital cities and a modest number in the other municipalities draw our attention. An optimistic interpretation could be the inclusion process, which discontinued the presence of exclusive special education classes. However, there is an entire special education policy in the modalities of specialized educational support, which were expanded during the period. Therefore, the most realistic interpretation is one of low precision in specifying the employment bond.

6 Among the options for the legal nature of the employer, RAIS has three general codes for 'public'. As this article focuses on the municipal networks specifically, cases where public information was not specified by governmental sphere were not included in the selection.

Table 2 – Employment bonds of teachers by stage/modality of education, municipal networks – Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná.

State	Location	Stages	Year of RAIS				
			2008	2011	2016	2017	2018
Mato Grosso do Sul	Not a capital	Other	–	–	–	–	–
		Basic education	2,683	3,587	4,630	5,521	3,207
		Elementary/Middle Education	10,779	13,883	16,910	18,698	9,476
		High School	2,012	1,829	2,241	2,698	2,700
		Professional Education	264	319	229	305	–
		Special Education	25	141	111	120	124
	Campo Grande	Other	–	–	–	–	–
		Basic education	11	8	5	6	–
		Elementary/Middle Education	8,166	8,903	14,358	14,159	–
		High School	–	–	–	–	–
		Professional Education	1	5	–	–	–
		Special Education	–	–	–	–	–
Paraná	Not a capital	Other	–	–	–	–	–
		Basic education	5,408	6,914	16,910	17,762	4,735
		Elementary/Middle Education	57,560	60,973	71,190	71,809	30,710
		High School	3,042	3,266	795	1,144	842
		Professional Education	676	592	440	382	–
		Special Education	259	169	336	302	95
	Curitiba	Other	–	–	–	–	1
		Basic education	–	–	4,514	4,458	–
		Elementary/Middle Education	10,711	11,079	12,635	11,976	–
		High School	–	–	–	–	–
		Professional Education	–	–	–	–	–
		Special Education	–	–	–	–	–

RAIS: *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* (Social Information Annual Roll).

Source: Prepared by the authors (2020), based on RAIS, microdata (2008, 2011, 2016, 2017, 2018).

As the teaching modality of teachers can affect the differences in their paychecks and as most employment bonds concern elementary education, it was decided to consider this set as the most suitable for analysis in this article. Thus, compensation data are treated for the collective of teachers from municipal networks only, reported as elementary school teachers.

There are elements that the specialized literature (Camargo and Jacomini, 2016) has already mapped, like those that make a difference in compensation, such as working hours, training, and time of service. Thus, it is important to address these aspects as control variables to read compensation data.

Table 3 shows compensation data, considering the hours of elementary school teachers, according to the weekly workload of the contract.

Table 3 – Work shift, average compensation, and number of teacher employment bonds in elementary education in the municipalities of Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, in the chosen years (actual values – IPCA/IBGE 2019*).

Weekly work shift	Mato Grosso do Sul										
	Year of RAIS										
	2008		2011		2016		2017		2018		
	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	
Up to 19 hours	1,660	2,422	1,734	3,141	2,108	4,993	2,056	5,202	2,307	1,177	
20 hours	2,477	9,952	2,738	12,702	3,546	17,873	3,365	18,734	2,894	5,649	
21 to 39 hours	1,998	2,130	2,661	1,904	4,011	3,062	3,481	2,951	2,989	1,882	
40 hours	2,992	3,517	3,109	3,902	4,000	5,033	3,692	5,728	3,847	634	
More than 40 hours	1,823	924	2,324	1,137	3,177	307	3,808	242	5,294	134	
Weekly work shift	Paraná										
	Year of RAIS										
	2008		2011		2016		2017		2018		
	Mean	n	Mean	n	Mean	n	Mean	n	Mean	n	
Up to 19 hours	2,079	4,676	2,191	4,569	2,642	3,785	2,779	4,177	2,891	1,693	
20 hours	2,414	35,957	2,705	44,425	3,119	59,609	3,204	59,719	3,107	21,455	
21 to 39 hours	1,976	18,936	2,037	14,196	2,720	10,356	2,911	10,241	2,926	4,038	
40 hours	1,861	3,295	2,509	4,181	3,024	6,145	3,295	7,127	3,287	2,750	
More than 40 hours	2,042	5,407	2,318	4,681	2,812	3,930	2,879	2,521	3,408	774	

n: number; IPCA: *Índice Nacional de Preços ao Consumidor Amplo* (National Broad Consumer Price Index); IBGE: *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics); RAIS: *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* (Social Information Annual Roll).

*Data were updated with the following deflators: IPCA/IBGE 12/2019: 1,8442639 (2008); 1,5708871 (2011); 1,1173642(2016); 1,0868894 (2017) and 1,044625 (2018).

Source: Prepared by the authors (2020), based on RAIS, microdata (2008, 2011, 2016, 2017, 2018).

The data in Table 3 lead to some reflections regarding appreciation policies when read horizontally, but also some setbacks in appreciation when read vertically. Observing the actual values from 2008 to 2017, where the volume of data from RAIS is consistent, there was an increase in mean compensation in all work shifts, in both states. The most common workload, in both cases, was 20 hours a week — the mean salary increase was 36% in Mato Grosso do Sul and 33% in Paraná.

The second set of employment bonds per work shift, in the case of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, was 40 hours per week. In this case, the average salary growth

in actual values was 23%, significantly below the average for the 20-hour contracts. In the case of the state of Paraná, the second group with more employment bonds declared was teachers who worked between 21 and 39 hours, which had a 47% salary increase. This could mean that the teachers worked more hours over the period.

In the case of teachers with a 40-hour workload, in the state of Paraná, the salary increase was much higher than that for the 20-hour group, a cumulative of 77%. However, when reading the table vertically, it is quite worrying that the average compensation for 40-hour workdays, in none of the years, in both states, was double the 20-hour work shift. This problematizes the standardizations that are often used to analyze teachers' compensation. For example, a procedure that outlines the calculation of hourly wages tends to project that, for 40 hours, the compensation will be two-fold higher than that for 20 hours, which the data in Table 3 do not confirm.

This downward variation in wages for 40-hour contracts can be explained by training or length of service, for example. Teachers working 40 hours may have less training and less time of service. Or they may be concentrated in municipalities that pay less. It will not be possible, in this article, to address all the variables, but they should always be considered when comparing the compensation of teachers and other professionals, seeking data homogeneity in a system marked by municipal inequalities.

Regarding Table 3, it is also worth noting that the transition from 2017 to 2018 suggests wage losses among the 20-hour group, where most of the jobs reported were concentrated. This could be an indication that austerity policies quickly broke the cycle of compensation appreciation.

One of the elements with a strong impact on pay differences, and which constitutes a policy of valorization, is the salary increase in accordance with working time. In career plans, this factor can be called seniority pay. This is always a very controversial point. If, on the one hand, it means recognizing the experience, which helps to keep professionals in the profession, on the other hand, it is accused by more conservative critics, with the debatable argument of being an automatic mechanism, which rewards bad teachers, who just remain in the profession without improving their performance (Morduchowicz, 2003; Goldstein, 2015).

Tables 4 and 5 show a summary of the compensation of elementary school teachers, specifically related to the 20-hour workload, which is predominant in the public teaching networks, although not exclusive, and the length of service. Given the volume of information, the data were divided by state. Table 4 summarizes data for Mato Grosso do Sul.

Considering especially the group with a 20-hour workload, where the highest number of reported employment bonds in RAIS for all years was observed, between 2008 and 2017, there was an actual increase in the average salary for teachers of all length of service groups. The fact that the increase in the average of teachers working for up to three years (therefore, at the beginning of their careers) was 17% is quite noteworthy. This is the set of teachers who are directly related to the PSPN, as the values of the initial salaries would need to be readjusted according to the national variation of the floor. However, the adjusted PSPN value, according to IPCA, the deflator used here,

Table 4 – Mean Compensation of Elementary School Teachers, 20 hours per week and length of service, in the chosen years – Mato Grosso do Sul, municipal networks.

Lenght of service	2008		2011		2016		2017		2018	
	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n
Up to 3 years	2,304	6,753	2,307	7,359	2,968	10,354	2,689	11,338	2,622	3,982
3 to 5 years	2,325	536	2,978	1,589	3,407	801	3,534	697	2,939	134
5 to 10 years	2,316	761	3,136	1,693	4,209	3,054	4,402	3,124	3,273	550
10 to 20 years	3,208	1,745	3,639	1,493	4,194	2,466	4,109	2,426	3,467	675
More than 20 years	3,089	156	4,110	560	5,624	1,187	5,586	1,131	4,503	303

n: number.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2020), based on RAIS, microdata (2008, 2011, 2016, 2017, 2018).

Table 5 – Mean Compensation of Elementary School Teachers, per week and length of service, in the chosen years – Paraná, municipal networks.

Lenght of service	2008		2011		2016		2017		2018	
	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n	Actual	n
Up to 3 years	1,874	7,681	1,887	7,692	1,949	11,428	2,021	10,409	2,014	3,369
3 to 5 years	1,885	3,560	2,078	3,573	2,369	6,739	2,517	5,705	2,250	2,112
5 to 10 years	2,041	7,391	2,427	11,520	2,680	9,899	2,683	12,492	2,530	4,778
10 to 20 years	2,710	12,132	2,885	13,056	3,226	16,934	3,358	17,300	3,088	5,965
More than 20 years	3,421	5,158	3,806	8,541	4,574	14,472	4,672	13,742	4,717	5,199

n: number.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2020), based on RAIS, microdata (2008, 2011, 2016, 2017, 2018).

had a variation of 46%, significantly higher than that found in the municipal networks of Mato Grosso do Sul. Although training should be included, it would be reasonable to have some difference between the two values, but not that much difference.

The second element to be highlighted when analyzing the table is the differences between the length of service ranges. The ratio between the average compensation of teachers with over 20 years of service and beginners — teachers who have been working for up to three years — in the municipal networks of MS, in 2008, was 1.34. This ratio rose significantly throughout 2018, reaching 2.08. However, once again, there seems to be a sign that the effects of austerity froze career plans, as the ratio dropped to 1.72, despite the evident decrease in the available data.

In the case of Paraná (Table 5), the same elements are observed. Again, checking the case of teachers with a workload of 20 hours per week, there was an

increase in the average salary between 2008 and 2017, in this case, 8%. This is again very distant from the average variation of the PSPN in the period. There was a very slight drop in the average value, moving to 2018, however, again, with a third of the employment bonds reported. One of the questions that remain unanswered is: are the networks that most deeply froze career plans those that failed to inform RAIS?

When evaluating the movement throughout the career of teachers, in the case of Paraná, recognizing the length of service in the average salary is identified again, with a ratio of 1.83 in 2008 and 2.31 in 2017.

As shown by the data recorded in RAIS, in both states, for their municipal education networks, the similarities detected are due to an intersection of the Federal Government with federal entities in terms of educational policy. The policy cycle of the period in question, although in dispute by different social and collective actors, materialized constitutional provisions that valued the teaching workforce. For this, the induction of the Federal Government was fundamental, both in maintaining the obligation of PCCR, and approving FUNDEB, which guaranteed funds for teacher compensation and an association with the PSPN.

Particularly concerning the PSPN, both in its initial value and in its impact on the teaching career as well as in regulating the working hours, according to RAIS data, there were real gains for teachers in the municipal networks of both states.

The period was also marked — and was part of the cycle of teacher valuation policies — by the approval of the 2014–2024 PNE, which aligned educational planning in a federative context and which may also have been responsible for the similarities found in the RAIS data, in both states, for their municipal education networks, concerning teacher appreciation through compensation.

It would not be an exaggeration, therefore, to state, in light of these data, that the Federal Government's induction to a policy of valuing teachers in a federative context through compensation promoted federative coordination policies to balance regional asymmetries.

Likewise, RAIS data — or the absence of them for 2018 — seem to indicate an opposite scenario, in the context of the Federal Government's induction. Data recorded in RAIS in 2018 indicate that the context of fiscal austerity promoted by the Federal Government has already had significant effects on teachers' work and compensation.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article verified the conditions of compensation of teachers working in municipal schools in two states of the Brazilian federation, Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, based on data recorded in RAIS, whose informants are the corresponding public spheres, in this case, the municipalities.

Without intending to make comparisons of any kind, the study concludes that, although the Brazilian central State has a strong induction power, the degree of educational policy decentralization, which is expressed in its multiple education systems, makes the reality of each system, which is of great diversity, for the materiality of quality and the right to education.

The data recorded by RAIS, while expressing this diversity, also point to issues that refer to the commitment of the State through its administrations, when it presents itself with a greater or lesser degree of transparency in its relationship with the public sphere and civil society. The years 2008 to 2017 were years in which the public authorities' concerns about the transparency of their actions were materialized in the database. Thus, the high loss of data in RAIS in both states, in 2018, seems to be an indication that the Brazilian central State has eliminated its concerns about making this database effective in its republican character.

The analysis of RAIS data suggests that, from 2008 to 2016, there was a cycle of valorization policies through compensation in the municipal networks, even though regional differences have weighed in, as evidenced in the case of municipal education networks in the states from Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná.

A salary increase of 36% in the case of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul and 33% in the state of Paraná was observed in the municipal education networks of the two Brazilian states, for the most common work shift of teachers, that is, 20 hours a week. Above all, RAIS data show a lot of variation between one network and another and between each one of them, when the work shift is used for measurement. Data also show that, as of 2017, the context of fiscal austerity promoted through Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016 (Brasil, 2016) has been interfering and negatively influencing the immediately previous scenario that valued the teaching workforce and their working conditions. The final objective of the teaching workforce is the quality of education, articulating the expansion of this right, which remains unfinished in our society for huge portions of the population.

The fact that the Brazilian State, as of 2016, has chosen to relate to broad social sectors, restricting rights and, at the same time, reducing the weight of the popular field in policy decisions, has been building a new type of sociability, including resistance, like the one that led to the construction of the FNPE, which is focused on maintaining the recent achievements in the educational field.

Therefore, the multiple education systems across the country, including the municipal education systems of the two states highlighted here, in the face of the new cycle of fiscal austerity, will certainly have to face multiple challenges, which will test the degree of teaching organization and large sectors of the population, to ensure both its reproduction as a workforce, and the permanence and expansion of the right to education.

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