

School Census (2011 - 2020): Labor relations and the "de-blackening" of Bahia's teachers

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Abstract

This article aims to discuss the importance of the School Census (INEP) in the construction of public policies. It also aims to problematize the methodology of ethnic-racial relations and labor relations expressed in the official data, focusing on Bahia, at the meso level, and Brazil, at the macro level, from 2011 to 2020. The analysis is supported by documentary research and collates the Census with other sources, such as IBGE. Thus, precariousness and racism are privileged analytical categories in this analysis.

Keywords: Educational Politics. School Census. Global White Supremacy. Work's Relations.

Censo Escolar (2011 - 2020): Relações de trabalho e o “desenegrecimento” dos docentes baianos

Resumo

O presente artigo tem como objetivo debater a importância do Censo Escolar (INEP) na construção de políticas públicas. Visa-se, igualmente, problematizar a metodologia das relações étnico-raciais e das relações de trabalho expressas nos dados oficiais, focalizando, a Bahia, a nível meso, e o Brasil, a nível macro, de 2011 até 2020. A análise sustenta-se em pesquisa documental e coteja o Censo com outras fontes, como o IBGE. Assim, a precariedade e o racismo formam categorias analíticas privilegiadas na presente na análise.

Palavras-chave: Política Educacional. Censo Escolar. Supremacia Branca Global. Relações de Trabalho.

1 Introduction

This article aims to discuss the methodological construction of the School Census, conducted by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio



Teixeira (INEP) and, particularly, the interrelationship between the forms of employment and the race/color registry of education teachers working in elementary II and secondary education in the state of Bahia. It is assumed that the records concerning race/color receive limited attention from those responsible for filling out the Census.

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The context in which these reflections are made is related to the political option on the part of the INEP autarchy that suspended the data released from the School Census in February 2022, under the influence of the federal government, preventing the diffusion to all of Brazilian society of the main national instrument of data regarding education at the federal, state and municipal levels (ISTO É DINHEIRO, 2022).

It was reported by the mass media that the explanation for such a measure resulted from budget cuts, which would make unfeasible recent surveys, such as those promoted by ICMBio (Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation), as well as by IBGE and, in what directly concerns the research under discussion, the exclusion of the publication of microdata from the Basic Education School Census and deletions of data from the National High School Exam (ENEM), of INEP, under the allegation of the necessary adaptation to the General Law of Protection of Personal Data, aspect that results in a contumacious absence to public policies and scientific research. (UOL, 2021; VALOR ECONÔMICO, 2021, THIS IS MONEY, 2022).

However, it is worth considering whether the real motivations lie exclusively in the financial plan and in the exposure of personal data, especially given the fact that private companies quickly adapted to the law and continued to provide similar services. Data protection should certainly be defended, but it is important to emphasize that it should not become a shield to conceal data that is essential to the realization of the population's rights.

2 Methodological procedures and theoretical discussion

The research, of a documental nature, analyzed the microdata of the historical series of the School Census, from 2011 to 2020. The temporal delimitation occurred





because 2011 was the first year that Inep started to collect information about the forms of hiring education professionals; in 2020, because it is the last year of data disclosure.

Precariousness in labor relations and relations of raciality were chosen as privileged analytical categories.

In order to think about the precariousness of labor relations, it is first necessary to understand that the transformations of capitalism, according to Marcellino (1988, p. 61-70), in its pre-monopolistic and monopolistic era, went from the end of the Middle Ages until the present day, through a history of excessive and improper use of labor power.

Castel (1998) analyzes precariousness and defines it as the social phenomenon that suggests devaluation of work and instability to the worker, as it compromises his means of subsistence, which results in degradation of living conditions. Linhart (2009) adds layers to the concept of precariousness: the objective one, associated with labor relations, i.e., the types of contracts that suggest instability to the worker through flexibilities; and the subjective one, experienced even among those who have stable employment bonds - such as civil servants - caused by the feeling that activities are constantly changing and, therefore, the worker is considered unfit for work. Such aspects, according to the author, trigger a sequence of sufferings that not rarely lead to quitting the profession.

Based on Harvey (2004), we can see the presence of precariousness in Brazil throughout its history. Imperialism, derived from spatio-temporal adjustments of capital reallocation, is precipitated, in order to mitigate crises of over-accumulation, in periods with high unemployment rates, and work without rights is a form of reallocation of this capital to another territory.

Thus, the economy of a late capitalist country like Brazil is defined in order to serve the market of the advanced capitalist countries. The process of dependence of the Brazilian economy, sometimes as a colony, with the exploitation of natural resources and slave labor, sometimes as an empire, due to the transfer of the metropolis, with a capitalist mode of production inexistent in the colony's history, but without abandoning the slave regime, but rather continuing the previous period; and now as a republic, serving of





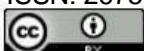
territory to which imperialism relocates capital and continues exploiting labor and the country's natural resources (PRADO JR., 1953).

In this way, the Brazilian social structure inherited from the colony is reproduced. In other words, according to Braga (2012) and Fernandes (1978), we live in a society in which individuals fight to conquer their rights and not to preserve them, as is done in central capitalist societies, they still experience other oppressions at the social and legal levels, such as being excluded from the most intimate nucleus of coexistence of white people, that is, the family (IANNI, 1972) and having the highest mortality rate among victims of police actions, as shown by the Brazilian Security Forum of 2020, which revealed that 78.9% of the people killed were black and mixed race.

Thus, if in Brazil, since the post-abolition period, "the economic situation of the Negro element has kept him constantly at the lowest social level of society" (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955, p. 91), it means that the inequalities faced by Africans and their descendants in diaspora are being produced directly or indirectly by the State.

But what would be the purpose of this state action? To answer it is necessary to understand the concept of race, which, according to Guimarães (2003), has a historical and specific meaning for a given group in a given society. Thus, in Brazil, it is evaluated that this meaning is directly associated with racism, since: "by transforming the African into a slave, it defined the black as a race, demarcated his place, the way to treat and be treated, the patterns of interaction with the white, and instituted the parallelism between black color and inferior social position" (SOUZA, 2021, p. 48).

Thus, racism is understood here not only as an element that infringes consequences to non-whites, but as the global white supremacy itself, which is configured, from the fifteenth century, with the beginning of greater contact between whiteness and other non-white people, as a system of domination maintained and reproduced by a set of practices whose goal is to impose cultural, economic, moral, aesthetic, religious values of Eurocentric origin (MILLS, 1997). Therefore, this system, as spread all over the globe, has allowed that in any space where there is the presence of white bodies, such as in Brazil, to maintain:





[...]a racially organized society, a racial state, and a racial legal system where the status of whites and non-whites is clearly demarcated, either by law or custom. And the purpose of this state, in contrast to the neutral state of classical contractualism, is, inter alia, specifically to maintain and reproduce this racial order by securing the privileges and advantages of all wholly white citizens and maintaining the subordination of non-whites." (MILLS, 1997, pp. 13-14).

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In view of this, it is understood that Brazil is a racially organized society and will adopt a state gestated by global white supremacy, aimed at conferring privileges to whites and, consequently, suppressing rights to non-whites. According to Grada Kilomba, the lack of rights in the subjective dimension can be understood as the "otherness" since "I am inevitably experiencing racism because I am being forced to become the embodiment of what the white subject does not want to be recognized with" (KILOMBA, 2019, p. 78).

What is intended to be argued here is that, given the centrality of labor in social organization, the onslaught of white supremacy begins to impose on most black populations more flexible jobs, with lower incomes and more expropriated rights, as guided by Gonzalez and Hasenbalg (1982) who show that social ascension among non-whites is lower than that of whites and, in contrast, downward social mobility is more common among non-whites. The research also shows (op. cit., 1982) that, still, the proportion of whites in higher social strata is considerably greater than that of non-whites, as revealed in the research conducted by the IBGE in 2022 (CNN, 2022), when it states that whites have, on average, 40% more income than blacks and mixed race, besides occupying, in the majority, the higher positions among formal workers, even though among those formally employed 53.8% are black and mixed race.

3 The School Census

The purpose of this point is to weave a line of reasoning about the methodological production of the School Census, especially since I believe that the public policy agenda should, in principle, be guided by the results of surveys of this type nature.





Statistical data result in social indicators, numbers that represent the occurrence of a given social phenomenon, easy to understand and of interest for academic research and for the formulation of public policies, in order to enable the evaluation and monitoring of adopted programs, with a view to contributing to a greater social impact (JANUZZI, 2002; 2014).

The first educational data were published in 1939 called "Ensino Brasil", a result of the IV National Conference on Education and, throughout its history, it was under the responsibility of several agencies and, in some periods, with risks of extinction and only in 1997 it was definitely transferred to Inep.

It is worth mentioning that, until then, this survey contained data strictly on regular education and with recurrent inconstancy in production and, therefore, outdated and incapable of assuring sufficient information to enable a glimpse of the educational scenario (DINIZ, 1999).

With Inep, the School Census gains periodicity and rigor in the collection and systematization of data, starting a period of regularity of educational statistics, with due importance to reliable records for the support of the Brazilian education panorama. In such a way that:

(...)The programs and projects executed by the MEC began to rely on the diagnoses resulting from statistical surveys of basic education. This strong connection between the information system and policy management is most noticeable in programs involving intergovernmental transfers of resources (DINIZ, 1999, p. 158).

Thus, the School Census becomes the basis for the Education Development Plan (PDE), a program of actions of the National Education Plan (PNE) created by the MEC in 2007 (FLEURI, 2015).

Updated annually and with national coverage, the School Census collects statistical data on school institutions, such as location, characterization of the physical space, number of students and teachers, according to sex, age, race/color, levels of education offered, number of classrooms, number of approved and disapproved students, people with disabilities, school infrastructure, from receipt of electricity and piped water and sewage to computer equipment, among others information that together, make it





possible to know the overall and particular reality of education in the country, which is fundamental to the preparation of diagnoses of the situation and implementation of public policies (RIGOTTI; CERQUEIRA, 2004).

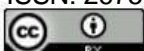
The School Census started to include the functional classification of teachers as of 2011 in its surveys, adding to the other information already collected on teachers, such as: education, training, working hours, gender, race, remuneration, the stage of basic education they work in, and the type of school, whether municipal, state, federal, technical or private.

In the data collection referring to the identification of race/color, carried out since 2005, the options are the same used by the IBGE census: black, brown, white, yellow, indigenous, and undeclared. This is because it was considered, within Inep, that replicating them would allow, on the one hand, a comparison with the Brazilian or local population as a whole and, on the other hand, because it considers the accumulation of theoretical debates made by the body and, therefore, considered the categories sufficiently consistent for the School Census.

The MEC and INEP point out in one of their documents (undated) the existing resistance to filling in data on race/color.

This is a field that eventually faces some resistance in being collected. Why collect color/race? What for? Aren't we a miscegenated country? To provoke some reflections, we will analyze some data from the Brazilian educational reality, disaggregated by color/race (INEP, s/d, p.2)

A possible attempt to get around the problem identified by the body was the publication of Ordinance 156 of 20/10/2004, in its article 1º, § 3º, which aims to regulate the collection of data by requiring the presentation of a supporting document or the self-declaration of students, when over sixteen, or a declaration by the person responsible. About the teachers, the document: "points out the inclusion of this item in the student and school professional forms in the classroom" (idem, p.4). And, therefore, it is assumed that in schools the data has been collected through self-declaration of the teacher.





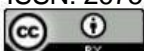
It is noteworthy that since the ratification of Law 12.288 of July 20, 2010, known as the Racial Statute, under strong pressure from black movements, all teachers who self-declare black or brown will be understood as black.

As for the types of employment relationship, since 2011, Inep has adopted four categories: permanent, temporary, outsourced and contracted by the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT). The microdata systematization revealed two significant incidences: permanent and temporary. Thus, for the purposes of analysis, we proceeded to add up the three distinct forms of entry by public competition. Therefore, the following will be used in this article: concursados and não concursados.

The logistics of school census production are articulated with the Secretaries of Education of the federated entities, and promote campaigns for schools to fill out the questionnaires, under the responsibility of the principal. These questionnaires are filled out in a specific system, the Educacenso (DINIZ, 1999).

Although, as mentioned, the filling out of the questionnaires is the responsibility of the school board, the quality control of the 2017 School Census, carried out by an external company, found, through sample interviews, that in 48.2% of the cases the filling out is done by the school secretary and in 26.5% by the school board. Among the respondents, the report indicates that 63.7% said they had participated in training - given by technicians from the Regional Teaching, State and Municipal Secretariats for the task.

It is emphasized that it is undeniable that the production of social indicators and the performance of regular censuses have assumed a historical importance for the social evolution of the country and that without them, the coverage and social impact of public policies would have been lower (JANNUZZI, 2018). However, it is noted that indicators can imprint the idea of that these reflect reality in numbers, when, in fact, they reflect a reality filtered by the interests that one aims to achieve and possibilities of indicator construction, and observed under specific lenses determined by the phenomenon being investigated (BESSON, 1995). In other words, the data must be critically analyzed, because vulnerabilities are found, such as those presented below.





4 Results and Discussion

Addressing the vulnerabilities of the School Census does not mean invalidating the data produced by INEP. On the contrary, it aims to point out the importance of the survey and seek to contribute to its improvement, with a view to reflecting reality.

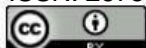
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Regarding the forms of hiring teachers, it is important to note that flexible forms of hiring have always coexisted in the country. But, it is from 1970 on, that the State intensified the hiring of teachers without the need for public competitions in Brazil (SOUZA; BARROS; DUTRA; GUSMÃO; CARDOSO, 2021). However, this hiring model only became consolidated in basic and public education schools in the country in 1988 through Article 37 in paragraph IX of the Civilist Federal Constitution, which stated that "The law will establish the cases of hiring for a determined time to meet the temporary need of exceptional public interest" (BRASIL, 1988).

For Venco (2018), the consolidation of this hiring model is a result of the adoption of the New Public Management in the country. This management model is based on the conception, on the part of the public power, that the "prevailing logic was the inadaptability of public administration to the demands of a modern society that broke with rigidity and adopted flexibility as the motto for the development of capitalism" (VENCO, 2018, p. 100).

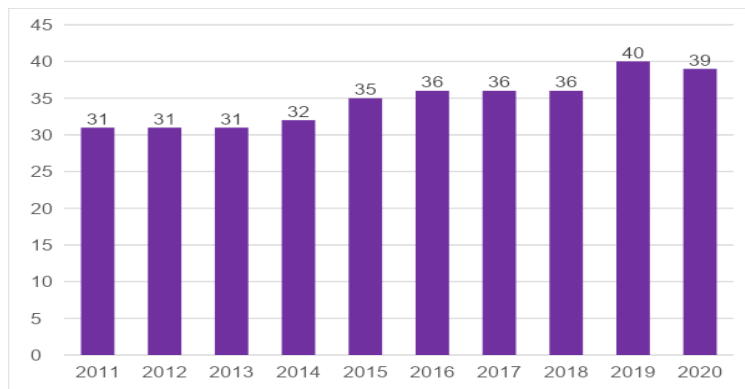
Thus, the teaching category of non-competees is marked by a flexible hiring model guided by economic rationality, which suppresses labor rights to a portion of male and female workers, even if they work in functions similar to those of concurrentees (RIGOLON; VENCO, 2013).

For the purposes of analysis, this article considers only working teachers in the state networks and the Federal District, except those who work in professional education and youth and adult education. The comparison of the data in Table 1 indicates that between 2011 and 2020, the competitive examination is still the prevalent form in Brazil, even though it is still the most common form in the country that at the end of the second



half of the 2010s, the number of non effective has increased and in 2019 this group will register 40% in the country.

Graph 1 - Distribution of basic education teachers **unsuccessful** linked to the state networks - Brazil. 2011 to 2020 (in %)



Source: School Census, Inep. 2011-2020.
Own elaboration.

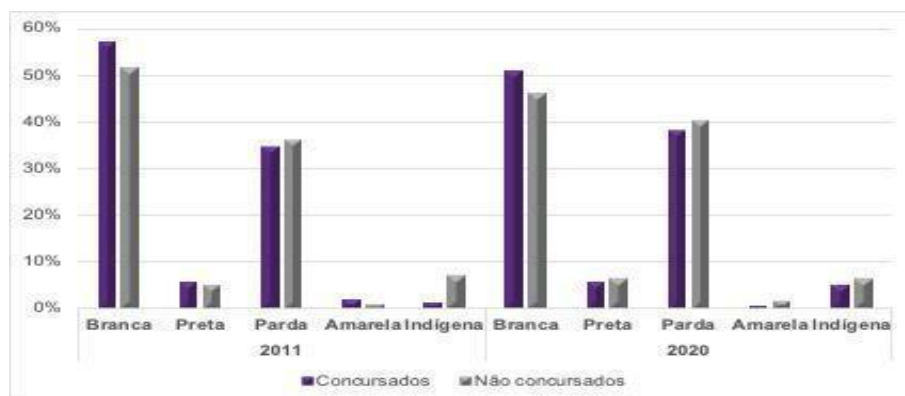
Therefore, it is understood that non permanent teachers perform the same function as permanent ones, but are subjected to objective precariousness. This data articulated with the racial composition in the country, points out, as shown in graph 2, that the only racial group that grows is the black one, composed of black and brown people, according to item IV, article 1 of Law 12.288: "black population: the set of people who self-declare black and brown, according to the questionnaire color or race used by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics Foundation (IBGE), or who adopt analogous self-definition" (BRASIL, 2010).

According to graph 2, in 2011, blacks, the sum of black and mulattoes, accounted for about 40% of all non-tenured teachers, and in 2020 this number grew by approximately 5%, that is, this group now accounts for 45% of temporary teachers.

It is observed that the growth of blacks among non-contracted teachers does not reflect the reality of racial composition in the country, since the last Demographic Census (IBGE, 2010), blacks represented more than half of the population Brazilian (50.7%). On

the other hand, it shows that there is a growing presence of black bodies occupying the profession with male and female workers tied to flexible and, therefore, precarious hiring.

Chart 2 - Distribution of basic education teachers by race/color and type of contract, state networks and the Federal District. 2011 e 2020. (%)*



Source: School Census, Inep. 2011-2020.

Own elaboration. * non-respondents excluded

This fact exposes the daily consequences of the Euro-Christian colonization (white and patriarchal) undertaken against African people and their descendants in diaspora, who, from the fifteenth century on, began to be enslaved and began to experience various other violence in the name of global white supremacy. This system, also understood as racism, allowed that in spaces where there is the presence of white bodies, such as in Brazil, a society is maintained, legally and morally, structured by racial inequalities to blacks (MILLS, 1997), which subjectively submits blacks to "otherness" (KILOMBA, 2019).

In this sense, it is perceived that teachers, both white and black experience objective precariousness in the country. White male and female teachers make up the majority of the category, regardless of race/color. These represented respectively 41% and 47% and, therefore, it is reaffirmed that race/color can privilege certain segments in Brazil, represented here by more educated people.

Also decreasing is the number of people who do not declare their racial identity. That is, in 2011, 32% of temporary teachers did not declare themselves, while in 2020, only 17% of them did not answer. Regardless of the reduction, having a portion of the category without registration prevents an accurate understanding of the racial-ethnic composition and the implications of racism about the place that blacks occupy in basic and public education.

Regarding the decrease, one of the possible justifications lies in the campaign undertaken by Inep, which since 2015 has sought to raise awareness among teachers and school principals about the importance of self-declaration, with a view to increasing the reliability of the data and, consequently, improving public policies and research that reflect on the theme.

Finally, the comparison of national data with data from Bahia reinforces the strangeness of the situation reported by Santos (2021) regarding the reality of temporary teachers in the state of Bahia in that state, as revealed in table 1:

Table 1 - Distribution of basic education teachers, Bahia state network, according to type of contract and race/color and general demographic census. 2011 e 2020 (%)

UF	Contestants		Non-payrollers		Demographic Census
	2011	2020	2011	2020	2010
White	27	22	22	25	22
Black	15	22	13	14	17
Brown	58	55	56	52	60
Yellow	0,6	0,3	1,1	0,3	1,2
Indigenous	0,0	0,3	8,3	8,2	0,4

Source: School Census, Inep, 2011, 2020; IBGE, 2010.
Own elaboration. Except non-respondents

Considering that the table above does not include the number of teachers who did not self-declare and that this group represents more than 90% of temporary teachers in 2011 and 2020, the amount of non-respondents in Bahia stands out. Thus, one seizes



that the policy of increasing awareness in the declaration of race/color has not had the expected effect, as reflected in the country as a whole.

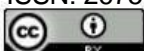
About this, Santos (2021) considers that a process of "de-blackening" is underway. Such phenomenon subscribes to global white supremacy and originates in the first half of the twentieth century, during the initial formulations of the meaning of being Brazilian and the creation of the myth of racial democracy, both thought up by white elites and intellectuals in the country.

In short, "de-blackening" means:

[...]a black identity devoid of blackness and linked to whiteness as the only way to be a citizen in the country [that] occurred via primary socialization, configured by the first elements of identification of the individual, such as nationality, race, gender, among others. The occurrence of a process of de-blackening in order to dream and live a democracy had, it can be seen, a high cost to black Brazilians: either the constant struggle (MOURA, 1992) or the death of a way of living in a movement in which the "colonized will evade their own jungle the more they adopt the cultural values of the metropolis. The whiter he will be the more he rejects his darkness, his jungle (SANTOS, 2021, p. 8 APUD FANON, 2020, p. 32; MOURA, 1992).

Such a process, as the author points out, may be responsible for the high number of undeclared non-whites linked to the SEE-BA, because for him, the failure of the campaign to value self-declaration in Bahia is due to the presence of "de-blackening" among blacks or by those who collect the data and having as final record the idea that this group denies its blackness and adopts white values to survive in a world guided by the culture, economy and epistemologies of global white supremacy (FANON, 2020).

In this context, it is corroborated that the non-publication of data from the School Census and its possible extinction significantly increases the vulnerabilities present in national statistics, and questions about the real racial configuration in the country and, in this case, in Bahia, become more difficult to be answered. Thus, what was already lacking data for analysis, now becomes more hidden, hindering studies and the creation of consistent public policies.





5 Final considerations

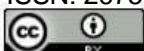
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In analyzing the construction of the School Census (INEP), we noted the vulnerabilities regarding data collection, both in terms of the contracting model and in terms of obtaining data related to racial self-declaration. This fact, we reaffirm, does not imply that the Census should be delegitimized, but it shows that, during 2011 to 2020, some fundamental information for the structuring of new research and, consequently, the creation of public policies were, at the very least, secondary, since the filling out is not done by the teachers themselves and/or the teachers themselves decided not to self-declare. There is a strong fog that surrounds the collection of data for the School Census, especially about race/color. In empirical research, Venco (2022) found that in São Paulo some school secretaries disregard the data or even "correct" the information given by the teacher who, when informing his or her color as brown, was called to attention for providing the "wrong" answer.

It should be noted that the technical summaries that INEP provided, before the exclusion of data, in the year following the completion of each Census, none of them, since 2011 - the year the survey on the types of ties of teachers began - presents a summary of the forms of contract and color/race to draw a profile of teachers in Brazil as it does with other information, such as the level of education, for example. Nor is there anything in the final quality control report of the 2017 Census sample survey (2018) by "gMR Inteligência de Mercado".

Strategy 18.3 of goal 18 of the PNE establishes national tests, at the initiative of the MEC, to subsidize public competitions for hiring teachers. It is worth noting that the Plans and the Law of Directives and Bases itself express the appreciation of education professionals.

However, the absence of discussion on the forms of contracting and on the racial identification of the teachers employed in the official reports, combined with projects for the professional development of the category not put into practice, leads to a lack of



discussion on the forms of contracting and on the racial identification of the teachers employed in the official reports This presupposes the existence of a political project in an advanced state of neoliberalism in public education, driven by the motto of precariousness of the right to education offered to the population and the continuation of the project of global white supremacy, as pointed out by Mills (1997), given the increase in non-white teachers on flexible contracts that suggest social vulnerability along with imprecise data.

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Ad-hoc expert: Luciana Lima Fernandes

How to cite this article (ABNT):

LUCENA, Gabriel Hidalgo de; SANTOS, Victor Morgado Farias dos; VENCO, Selma. Censo Escolar (2011 - 2020): Relações de trabalho e o “desenegrecimento” dos docentes baianos. **Rev. Pemo**, Fortaleza, v. 4, e48743, 2022. Disponível em:

<https://doi.org/10.47149/pemo.v4.8743>





Received September 15, 2022.
Accepted December 30, 2022.
Published on December 31, 2022.

