

Conflicts in teacher-school management relationship and the drama of school psychiatrization: a study based on the municipality of Goiânia's data¹

Conflitos na relação professora-chefia e o drama da psiquiatrização docente: um estudo a partir de dados do município de Goiânia

Ana Laura de Moura Septimio²

Gisele Toassa³

Jullyana Silva Rosa⁴

ABSTRACT

This study proposes the investigation of teachers' psychiatry dramas in the municipal school network of Goiânia, (GO) paying attention to their connections with conflicts in the teacher-school management relationship. This investigation with a qualitative approach is based on the analysis of 11 summary sheets, referring to the medical records of psychiatric leave of absence licenses granted to municipal employees between the years 2015 to 2017. The records were made available by the Municipal Medical Board of Goiânia (JMM). Historical-cultural psychology and historical-dialectical materialism were essential for the construction of an investigative perspective for teaching work, pointing to the inextricable content of conflicts with school management and teacher illnesses in the sample reviewed. This relationship is investigated based on three main categories: 1. Sample profile; 2. Conflict situations in the teacher-management relationship; and 3.

RESUMO

Este estudo propõe a investigação dos dramas de psiquiatrização de docentes da rede municipal de Goiânia, atentando para suas vinculações com os conflitos na relação professora-chefia. A presente pesquisa, com abordagem qualitativa, está baseada na análise de 11 fichas-síntese, referentes aos prontuários de licenças psiquiátricas concedidas a servidoras municipais entre os anos de 2015 a 2017, disponibilizadas pela Junta Médica Municipal de Goiânia (JMM). A psicologia histórico-cultural e o materialismo histórico-dialético fizeram-se imprescindíveis para a construção de um olhar investigativo para o trabalho docente, apontando para o teor inextricável dos conflitos com a gestão e o adoecimento docente na amostra analisada. Essa relação é explorada a partir de três principais categorias: 1. Perfil da amostra; 2. Cenas de conflito na relação professora-chefia; e 3. Fins (im)possíveis: tratamentos e encaminhamentos. Por fim, o estudo defende o resgate do sentido emancipatório do trabalho educativo e o fortalecimento do coletivo

¹ English version by Mike Capacchione. E-mail: mike@amcham.com.br.

² Student of the Psychology course at the Federal University of Goiás (UFG). Former scholarship holder PROLICEN-UFG. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2393-0484>. E-mail: anaseptimio@discente.ufg.br.

³ Professor at the Federal University of Goiás (UFG). Postgraduate Program in Education, Brazil. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3166-7935>. E-mail: gtoassa@yahoo.com.br.

⁴ Student of the Psychology course at the Federal University of Goiás (UFG). Former scholarship holder PIBIC-UFG. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0986-430X>. E-mail: jullyanarosa@discente.ufg.br.

(Im)possible goals: treatments and referrals. Finally, our study advocates the recovery of the emancipatory meaning of educational work and the enhancement of the professional group as resources for the recovery and maintenance of the health of these workers. In addition we lay comments about the relationships between illness, democratic school management and teachers' training.

Keywords: Teaching Work. Power relations; Historical-cultural psychology; Teachers' health; Teachers training.

profissional como recursos para a recuperação e a manutenção da saúde dessas trabalhadoras, além de tecer considerações sobre as relações entre o adoecimento, a gestão democrática e a formação docente.

Palavras-chave: Trabalho Docente. Relações de Poder; Psicologia Histórico-Cultural; Saúde docente; Formação de Professores.

1 Introduction

In accordance with the Marxist perspective in the review of actual reality, the process of humanization – that is, of constitution of the mankind – comprises the work as a core category (Crispin; Facci, 2020; Esper et al. 2020; Urt et al., 2020). This, in turn, has in its essence the transformation of nature by the social individual who, in a dialectical course, transforms the social environment by transforming himself (Padilha; Navarro 2007). This process takes us to the objectification and appropriation of culture, built throughout history by other individuals; it is therefore implied that the presence of the other for the construction and transmission of the products of human work is necessary (Crispin; Facci, 2020). According to Nüssle (2021) and Crispin and Facci (2020), the educational process refers to the transmission and assimilation “of cultural elements, produced historically and collectively” (Nüssle, 2021, p. 90), in order to develop the humanity of students and teachers (Crispin; Facci, 2020).

However, in the capitalist mode of production, work is characterized by the workers' lack of identification with the work itself, and is thus estranged in the actual production process (Keller, 2018). As a result, work activity is transformed into an instrument of dehumanization (Crispin; Facci, 2020, Martin, 2020), allowing the maintenance of domination relationships, which are, necessarily, antagonistic to the proper human condition (Paro, 1994).

Inserted in this perverse logic, the scope of education does not escape the crushing gears of capital: the humanizing and emancipating sense of teaching, related to the socialization of historically constructed knowledge, is distorted by a utilitarian and pragmatic education, aligned with the market interests of neoliberalism (Duarte, 2020). In turn, the school, an institution capable of contributing to social transformation as it is responsible for the universalization of knowledge (Paro, 1987, 1994), is equally distorted in its purposes, becoming a stage for the reproduction of the dominant ideology, perpetuating the system of intra-school and extra-school authoritarianism (Paro, 1987). Thus, the educational process is converted into an activity in which teachers and students find themselves estranged and alienated, unable to promote mutual recognition and deprived of both the meaning of education and its transformative capacity.

Along this line, ergonomist Yves Clot understands that the enhancement of the worker's power to act occurs precisely in the dialectical relationship between the meaning attributed to the activity and the efficiency with which the work is conducted (Clot, 2010). However, in a scenario of distortion of the meaning of the teaching activity, as well as the scrapping of working conditions as an obstacle to the efficiency of teaching, “psychopathology denounces, first of all, the amputation of the power to act and the feeling of impotence that surrounds it” (Clot, 2010, p. 10).

Faced with this sickening scenario, it is up to historical-cultural psychology to assert its project and social commitment, centered on a critical approach to reality (Delari Jr., 2011). Thus, faced with the crumbling down of the human condition, Vygotsky's conception of drama becomes a valuable conceptual apparatus for rescuing humanization; after all, as he puts it

[o] Drama really is full of impossible internal struggle in organic systems: *the dynamics of personality are the drama* (...). The drama is always the struggle of such links (duty and feeling; passion, etc.). Otherwise, it cannot be drama, that is, a clash of systems. *Psychology “humanizes itself”* (emphasis added by the author) (Vygotski, 2000, p. 35, our transl.).

That said, it is necessary to scrutinize the idea of drama, a borderline concept between Art and Psychology (Delari Jr., 2011). In Vygotsky's theoretical framework, there is a "drama in which the human being himself, as a social being, is the 'actor'" (Delari Jr., 2011, p. 192). He assumes a certain social role "in the drama of his relationships with other people" (idem, p. 192). The primacy of this construct refers to the broad understanding of man that does not fall into his own objectification, but into the production of meanings and meanings for socialized experience (Delari Jr., 2011). Nüssle (2021), in turn, points out that life is not reduced or enclosed in drama, but is recreated and expanded from it, "overflowing its usual contours" (2021, p. 46).

Delari Jr. also notes that the drama is full of conflicts; it consists of "something that only a concrete human being can experience" (Delari Jr., 2011, p. 185), since it is associated with the different impasses that occur in man's experience as a social being. Thus, this idea allows us to understand the conflicting dimension of the drama in the relationships established between teachers and principals in the actual school environment.

To review these interpersonal relationships, this study was based on the theoretical-methodological framework of historical-dialectical materialism, which finds expression in historical-cultural psychology, as reported (based on Vygotsky) by Clot (2010), an ergonomist who helped in the reflections on illness and drama within the labor framework.

Clot has given relevant contributions to the understanding of the health-disease process in connection with work. Based on Vygotski, Clot (2010) understands psychopathology as an indication of failure of psychic movement, characterized by the disconnection of an experience with other experiences. Health, on the other hand, consists of its opposite, an active form of adaptation, adding its character of "transformation of illness into a new way of existing" (p. 113), that is, a conversion of suffering itself into a mean of development through the resources of the group in which it is inserted.

The “weakness” into which the painful experience precipitates the subject is a source of “strength” only if the subject also finds around him, with others - his peers - compensating resources in socio-collective life and in the social plurality of the circles in which they are inserted. At first, simply displaced means to achieve the objective, these external resources potentially transform into sources: this collective behavior activates and raises its own psychic functions. (Clot, 2010, p. 115)

Such conceptions, insofar as they escape the biologization and individualization of illness, as well as the dichotomization of health and illness, are extremely valuable for research into psychological suffering in the framework of the educational labor.

Taking as a theoretical contribution a research conception contrary to the neoliberal and individualizing perspective, a dramatic analysis of individual illness trajectories was carried out based on the narrative description of school relationships in the process of psychiatric illness experienced by teachers. The focus of our article is on the psychiatric illness among teachers in the municipal network of Goiânia, (GO) paying attention to the relationship between illness and conflicts experienced in the teacher-school management relationship.⁵

2 Methodology

During the previous stages of the survey project, 109 summary sheets were created⁶ based on the psychiatric license records, coded in category F of ICD-10 (WHO, 1994) that were granted to teachers in the municipal network of Goiânia, (GO) during the years 2015-2017 (although data collection took place until the first half of 2019, which is why we present data beyond 2017). The sample included teachers from early childhood education, elementary school (cycle I and II) and Youth and Adult Education (EJA). The records were made available by the Municipal Medical Board of Goiânia

⁵ The current article reports part of the research developed in the Project “Medicalization in Goiás: critical investigations in the history and contemporaneity of biopsychosocial practices and discourses” (2018-2022), coordinated by the second author of this article. The project was approved by the UFG Research Ethics Committee under the protocol 61592116.9.0000.5083.

⁶ We note that the summary sheets prepared during 2020-2021 were written by the research team, then involving Pabliny Marques de Aquino, Karinny Gonçalves da Silva, Virginia Maria Ferreira Beltrão and Gisele Toassa (Silva et al., 2021).

(JMM), the department that is in charge of granting and filing sick-leave licenses. The data obtained were entered into the webQDA software and, based on the analyses carried out on that platform, it was found that interpersonal conflicts between teachers and students and/or school managers are a significant cause of psychiatric illness in those teachers, covering 40.34% of the records that contained references to the reasons for the leave of absence (Aquino et al., 2021), although, in most cases, the reason was not informed. This was the case with 49 records out of the 109 records selected for the filling out of the forms. In such records, corresponding to teachers with few licenses in the period of time investigated, the psychiatric expert records were our main information source, as social reports were only requested in cases of worsening of the psychiatric condition.

The present study was focused on understanding the teacher-school management relationship, mentioned in 64 summary sheets, according to the search carried out on the webQDA itself using the descriptors “chef*”, “direç*”, “diret*” and “coorden*” in these materials text. From this sample, 23 summary sheets were eliminated because they did not show management interference in the dramatic story of the teachers' illness; in cases in which the descriptors mentioned referred to terms other than those associated with school management/coordination. As a result, 41 summary sheets were considered in which school management was actually involved in the dramas of psychiatric illness.

Our investigation suggests a qualitative analysis – also using brief descriptive data – of a specific dimension of the interpersonal relationship between teachers and school managers i.e. the conflict as an expression of an existing relationship within schools, reported in 11 summary sheets of the aforementioned sample's participants.

3 Results

In order to review 11 summary sheets including their relevant medical records, it was decided to group the data obtained into three main categories: 1. Sample profile; 2. Situations of conflict in the teacher-school management relationship; and 3. (Im)possible goals: treatments and referrals.

3.1 Sample profile.

The sample included ten women and one man. Of this total, seven people had dark skin complexion and four white; six individuals were single, two married, two divorced, and, in one of the cases, the marital status was not identified; one participant had completed high school, three completed higher education namely one was postgraduate in Neuropedagogy and one held a Master's degree in Education. In another five cases, education was not reported. Six participants were public servants and only one had been hired under a standard labor agreement. No employment relationship was informed regarding the other four participants.

The time teachers had been public servants varied from 12 to 28 years in the sample time interval; in six cases this information was not available. The length of employment time in municipal education varied from five to 25 years (four teachers were hired between 2000 and 2002). The majority (six) of the teachers were born between 1964 and 1977; thus their age ranged between 38 and 51 years in the sample time interval. Five of the 11 records reported 60 days or more leave of absence.

3.2 Situations of conflict in the teacher-school management relationship

In the sample assessed, persecution, humiliation, discredit/devaluation and discrimination by the school management against teachers were the preponderant conflicting practices, according to the data presented in Table 1. The authorship of these practices was basically concentrated in school management as shown in Table 2. Given this predominant situation, it is opportune to review Paro's (1987, 1994, 2010) reflections on the attribution of alleged power to principals, understood as ultimate authorities in the educational environment. Such concentration of power, distorted by the dominant class in favor of the interests of capital in education (Paro, 1987), leads to dynamics of violence, which, in a dialectical movement of feedback, both sustains and is sustained by an atmosphere antagonistic to solidarity between the school players.

Table 1 – Types of conflict

Modality	Frequency
Persecution	6
Humiliation	5
Discrimination/prejudice	3
Excessive demands/charges	2
Exclusion	2
Excessive criticism	2
Demoralization	1
Provocation	1
Embarrassment	1
Moral harassment	1
Disrespect	1
Total	25

Source: Prepared by the authors

Table 2 – Authorship of the conflict

Authorship	Frequency
Director/Principal	7
Leadership/management (generic)	2
Coworkers	2
Coordinator	2
Pedagogical coordination	1
Pedagogical department	1
Total	15

Source: Prepared by the authors

Based on the dreadful analyses carried out, it was clear that there was an intimate relationship between violence sustained by power disparity and the suffering of mostly female workers, which is consistent with studies carried out on this topic (Lopes; Rezende; 2020, Schlindwein, 2013; Souza, 2020).

The drama of the teacher Ophelia's illustrates this point. Despite her attributing a positive meaning to teaching, considering her affection towards the classroom and students, the teacher is the target of hostile acts on the part of school management, which are repetitive and long-lasting, involving hierarchical and authoritarian power relationships which are aspects of moral harassment (Maciel et al., 2007; Souza, 2020).

Regarding her work, she reports enjoying her job and dealing well with the students in the classroom, which is confirmed by the institution's management. However, she feels devalued and excluded in the work environment. She claims to suffer persecution and moral harassment by the school management and by the teachers as a group. According to her, these professionals call her "sickly" and "little dandy" and belittle her in her daily activities. (...) she also reports that such situations experienced in interpersonal relationships in the institution led to her illness and psychiatric hospitalization. The conflicts are motivated by the several leaves of absence that the teacher needed to take, due to her state of physical and emotional illness (Extract from Ofélia's summary sheet).

In this drama, the vicious circle of teacher illness seems notorious: according to the teacher, the persecution, humiliation and provocations by the school management take place on account of her right to sick leave in the case of mental and physical illness; at the same time, the teacher's suffering is aggravated by these same situations, culminating in psychiatric hospitalization.

On the other hand, teacher Amarílis feels anguished when going to work and says it is unbearable to teach classes. With insomnia and mood swings, the teacher points out that persecution from the school management was a factor that was negatively integrated into her experiences: "The teacher had several problems in the schools where she worked, specifically in one of them, where she felt persecuted, reporting the worsening of her symptoms, leading to a suicide attempt" (Extract from Amarílis' summary sheet).

For Torênia, a teacher dealing with a new work environment, it is the conflicting relationship with students that makes the classroom an unbearable environment. In addition, the lack of support by the school management, which makes her feel rejected and humiliated, impacts on her suffering experience,

so that “the sadness of having quit a job that gave her pleasure and the difficulties of the new school worsened her emotional state” (Extract from Torênia’s summary sheet).

As for teacher Carolina, the humiliation she suffered in the workplace, caused by the school management, meant she was unable to return to the educational institution. This withdrawal occurs in conjunction with the manifestation of six other symptomatic categories: “can no longer attend school, tachycardia, shortness of breath, insomnia, tremors, cramps, bursts of crying” (Extract from Carolina's summary sheet).

This difficulty in returning to school is also the case in Hilda’s drama, a pedagogue who, in addition to being a victim of persecution and impositions by the pedagogical department, experiences a feeling of discredit by the school management, presenting as symptoms “stress syndrome caused by the job environment. Can’t go back to school (*sic*), bad mood” (Extract from Hilda’s summary sheet).

With regard to discredit, in particular, Clot (2010) warns about a problem in contemporary work: the search for recognition by the managerial hierarchy, resulting from the demand for imaginary reparation to the worker, as a consequence related to the fact that he himself does not recognize in his/her craft. In other words, “a recognition by the other that runs the risk of becoming a factitious compensation exactly in the place where the possibility of recognizing oneself in something had disappeared” (Clot, 2010, p. 288). This phenomenon is a testimonial of the loss of meaning of public education, which has been transformed into a stage for dramatic interpersonal collisions.

Begônia's case stands out in presenting this conflicting dimension in the contrast between teacher-principal and teacher-student relationships, which are intertwined in the teacher's movement of “turning upwards” in hierarchical relationships in search of lost recognition: “the teacher says 'she was attacked by a student about 3 months ago, having lost control, and since then she has been feeling bad, discredited by the school management'.” (Extract from the Begonia summary sheet).

In the case of Clarice, there is a similarity with Ofélia's case: this teacher, who was granted 570 days of psychiatric leave between 2015-2017, there is also a complaint about the humiliation imposed by the school management claiming that such leave of absences is a search for advantages by the teacher, which contributes to the suffering of the sick teacher on account of violent measures taken by the school management.

Regarding the beginning of the problems at the institution, (...) she reported that (...) she always noticed some kind of "persecution" on the part of the director who made undue demands on her. According to the teacher, the Director (...) charged her 20 reais fee for each day of sick note presented. (...) According to her, she was also the victim of malicious jokes about her health problems (...). She stated that her clinical condition is currently stable, but she considers that the situations of humiliation and persecution experienced (...) worsen her health condition (Extract from Clarice summary sheet).

Clarice was transferred to another early childhood education center, where she received praise from her immediate supervisor, although her mental health problems got worse in the medium term (she used four different psychotropic drugs in 2018). According to the teacher's statements, such misconduct by the director was a relevant fact in her unique illness drama.

In the entanglement between suffering and conflict, such dramas reveal that psychiatric illness cannot be conceived as a single phenomenon that ought to be blamed; on the contrary, it occurs and is recreated as a social drama, closely linked to the power relationships that stand behind it. As Clot (2010) shows us, the work group, devoid of meaning and effective power, is capable of leading to the psychological illness of the group members. Therefore, it is necessary to return to the work group not to blame it, but to rethink it and, with that, organize it around a new way of performing in the individuals' work life.

Other situations of the weakening of the work group in education are found in the dispute for power, manifested in conflicts between the school players seeking better positions in the school hierarchy through elective functions for management positions. In the sample of our study we noticed

that, just as the hostile attitudes stem from directors, competition for the position of director results in hostilities among teachers. This phenomenon is reported in two summary sheets, which cover, among other modalities, the persecutory hostility between teachers who aspire to the position of maximum authority in the school framework.

This fact enhances the idea that the maintenance of hierarchies in the educational environment creates an atmosphere of poor solidarity among education workers; this is the case of Cora, a teacher with an extensive history of suffering, whose first record of psychiatric sick leave was in 2008, while her illness lasted until 2017. This employee claimed to develop creative and productive work with her students; hence a work endowed, with meaning and efficiency. However, the possibility of maintaining this teacher's power to act – based on the simple performance of a job well done, in Clot's terms (2010) is crushed in the hostility of the teachers' power relations in the school environment, as described in the following passage:

The teacher claims that her illness is connected with her job. She claims to be "... a dynamic person, who likes to work with students in a creative and productive way..." (...), however, despite this, she suffers persecution from the school management, mainly due to the fact that she aims for a director position. (...) she alleges (...) that at school in the municipality she feels excluded, devalued, pressured, criticized, humiliated, persecuted due to her intention to running for the Educational Unit leadership (Extract from Cora's summary sheet).

Fearful of the director and coordinator, Cora experiences symptoms such as anxiety, anguish and irritability, as well as lack of motivation and disbelief in her work. This highlights the lack of effective recognition of this teacher in view of the work activity carried out, which is obstructed by clashes with school management due to her plans to run for a school management position.

On the other hand teacher Conceição reports "panic, irritation, maladjustment at work" (Extract from Conceição's summary sheet), with consequent difficulty in keeping the job. For that teacher, the main reason for her

illness is the persecution by school management, which is summarized in the following passage:

A pedagogical report tells of a conflict between two figures of power: the teacher (coordinator position) and the director. The director claims that the teacher entered her classroom, even though it was strictly prohibited. The coordinator denies the fact and says that since 2015 she has felt persecuted at this school, probably because the director feels threatened by her for also applying for the director position (Extract from Conceição's summary sheet)

3.3 (Im)possible goals: treatments and referrals

In our review of school psychiatry, one can see the insertion of the drama of sick teachers into a diagnostic logic associated with psychiatry interventions, in connection with administrative referrals from the Medical Board (such as reduction of working hours, readaptation, etc.) beyond taking sick leave for health treatment.

In relation to treatments, the majority of teachers report the use of medications, followed by psychotherapeutic monitoring, as shown in Table 3. The preponderant referral for teachers who become cases of chronic psychiatric illness (i.e., with a high number of sick leave licenses) is the readaptation of function.

Table 3 – Referrals

Referrals	Frequency
Readaptation	4
Psychotherapeutic treatment	4
Not reported	3
Assessments (psychological, neurological, psychiatric)	2
Changing schools/placement in another unit	2
Reduction of workload	1
Drug treatment	1
Psychiatric treatment	1
Dialogue with management	1
Total	19

Source: Prepared by the authors

Regarding the relationship between psychiatric diagnosis and work, the presence of Burnout Syndrome is identified in two dramatic narratives from our sample participants. The Burnout diagnosis was infrequently listed among the reasons for sick leave (coded in the ICD-10), indicating the lack of recognition of work as a cause of illness. For Silva (2016), the Burnout Syndrome reflects exhaustion at work, causing suffering due to the drain on the workers' energy due to the impasse between what could be done and the structural limitations of what the workers can actually do. It is possible to establish a brief relationship between this idea and the concept of the real activity (that is, the activity carried out, given the range of options that exist throughout its execution), which refers not only to the successful execution of the work, but also to the “drama of failures” (Clot, 2010, p. 103-104). This includes, among other aspects, what the worker wants to do and what he can do, but which is not carried out, so that “the subtracted, hidden or retreated activity is not actually absent, but influences, with all its weight, in the current activity” (Clot, 2010, p. 104).

Hilda, a pedagogue with 20 years as a public servant teacher, complains about the persecution and impositions of her school pedagogical department, the discredit of the school management and the administrative scandals at a municipal health care institution, where she taught classes, as the main reasons for her mental illness. In contrast, in her home unit, the director praised her, considering her innovative, capable and committed to her work. However, in a medical certificate, the serious administrative problem experienced by the employee when working at the aforementioned health institution was ignored, reducing it to the diagnostic triad of Burnout Syndrome, recurrent depressive disorder and generalized anxiety. “In the teacher's drug and psychotherapeutic treatment, there is a record of the simultaneous use of five psychotropic drugs” (Extract from Hilda's summary sheet).

It is common that strong discrepancies occur between the psychiatric diagnoses of different professionals. Begônia took 9 leaves of absence between 2015-2017, receiving sequentially diagnoses of Burnout Syndrome, mixed anxiety

and depressive disorder, depressive episodes, recurrent depressive disorder, bipolar affective disorder and reaction to severe stress and adjustment disorder. This diversity of diagnoses comes together with the indication of an equally significant number of psychotropic medications with controversial efficacy and a number of side effects, which tend to contribute to the worsening and chronification of the mental health problems (see Whitaker, 2017).⁷

This teacher, in addition to being a victim of aggression by students, felt discredited by the school management. With a “true aversion to the workplace” (Extract from Begônia’s summary sheet), the employee’s request for psychiatric sick leave was denied. Such denial appears based on a perception of the health-disease process in which interpersonal problems appear to be separate from psychological illness at work. Furthermore, no critical questions are asked by experts about the employee’s lack of time to attend psychotherapeutic care, because the teacher has two employment arrangements, as reported below.

The employee reported to the Public Prosecutor the rejection of her sick leave license request (in 2015 and 2016) and mistreatment by the government officials who assessed her conditions. There was a perception in the official body in charge of the assessment that there were no signs of illness, even after psychological evaluation, but only old complaints of interpersonal relationship problems. According to this official body, her problems were not due to work and the teacher did not attend therapies due to lack of time (Extract from Begônia's summary sheet).

In the specific framework of referrals, Polônio's drama stands out due to the conflict related to an untoward readaptation. The sole breadwinner for his family and working three shifts as a teacher, Polônio received, in his absence from work, a request for readaptation of his position, filed ex officio by the school management. This implies not only salary reduction, but also psychological impact, as a consequence of the teacher being compulsorily distanced from his work activity.

⁷Em outro artigo desta pesquisa (ainda em avaliação) problematizamos a presença dos psicofármacos em nossa amostra.

In 2014, he was advised by the Municipal Medical Board that he would be readapted, due to his illness; however, the teacher did not accept, claiming to have witnessed situations of prejudice with other readapted colleagues, and adds that his health condition had been stabilized during this period. (...) However, in 2015, he received a temporary readaptation report ex officio, informing that he would remain away from activities for one year with no direct contact with students and/or the general public. This caused the teacher a lot of indignation, as, according to him, he did not have now any problems or signs/symptoms of illness that would prevent him from carrying out his work activities normally. (...) The readaptation bore financial implications, due to salary cuts, which, according to the stakeholder, had significant impacts on his self-esteem. He reported that he wished to return to the classroom, as he had been away for a long time and missed the activities, a request that made him even more anxious (Extract from Polônio's summary sheet).

With regard to the suffering experienced by compulsory absence from work, Schlindwein (2012) observes that

[o] Scraping work from the professional horizon of a worker leads to a status of impotence, helplessness and the anguish of being an “I” without the “other”. It is known that work is an essential space for the construction of identity and health, as it is where, for the subject, the painful and decisive experience of reality unfolds, understood as that which, in the organization of work and the task, encounters the resistance of the ability, the skills and the control. Work, once vital for the movements of the worker's singularity, essential for becoming aware of oneself, of the possibility of articulating differences and equalities in relation to others, now represents a factor of imbalance, of impediment to the psychological development in society and in personal and social life (p. 431).

This statement is in line with Polônio's narrative, who, hampered by the readaptation of his role, also shows the crossing of the material working conditions in the framework of the teachers' psychological features: “the teacher reports as not having had support from colleagues and states that: ‘People are unprepared to deal with someone else's illness and the municipality does not provide substitute teachers, a fact that creates conflict in the workplace.’” (Extract from Polônio's summary sheet).

It is worth noting that only in Jasmim's trajectory there is a move to foster a dialogue with the school management to clarify conflicts; while Ofélia's drama is the only one to include a referral from the Board for a reduction in working hours.

4 Final considerations

Due to the teachers' psychological illness, closely associated with the conflicting dimensions of the teacher-school management perspective, a critical reflection on school interpersonal relationships is necessary, aligned with the possibilities of reconstructing the educational framework in favor of the health of workers (whether substitute teachers or regular teachers); in other words, it is necessary to provide a new way of existence in education, metamorphosing the lived experience into a means of living other potential experiences (Clot, 2010; 2021).

To this end, recovering the humanizing meaning of the educational process is essential for the reconstitution of teaching work as a means of emancipating the school players. To this effect, according to Clot (2010), it is necessary to strengthen the power of professional collective groups to act. The meaning of the emancipatory training process is necessarily given by the group, which must mediate the rescue of the education workers' recognition in relation to their profession by the awareness of the usefulness and quality of the activity carried out by them.

The focus on health at work from a psychosocial perspective implies recognition of the subject in his activity, with the group as a means – but also as a product of this recognition, as the work group can be, in many cases, almost non-existent as a group of reference for the transfer of the teaching profession. In this sense, the collective based on democratic management, more than a collection of subjects united by a common objective, can mediate the formation of individual notions about a job well done, permeated by affections that go beyond what is required by the professional genre (Clot, 2021).

Therefore, in our work, teacher-school management conflicts, associated with the worrying process of teacher psychiatrization, can find in the collective of the professional gender a way to listen and develop a personal meaning for work. The teaching group can be understood not as a mere resource for reception or palliative actions to manage an ongoing illness, but itself as a component of the workers' recognition in their work and according to their professional gender; it is our understanding that the participation of school psychologists in promoting empowering and democratic relationships at school is important (Dugnani; Souza, 2016).

These observations do not nullify a radical Marxist understanding regarding the relationship between the health-disease process and work. For that understanding, it is necessary to demarcate the role played by teaching in the class struggle, since the teaching profession is a constitutive part of the proletariat. In this connection, the question arises: would it be the Government's task to promote emancipatory training for workers? Mészáros (2006) would respond negatively to this question, pointing out that the training provided by the bourgeois State would be entirely unqualified to develop class consciousness; this objective can only be reached by communist movements, the only ones qualified for a radical confrontation of suffering in and by work. The recognition of the insertion of both teaching work in the capitalist system of exploitation and the educational process within neoliberal molds requires an organized struggle around the defeat of the current mode of production. This concerns, again, the reconstitution of the collective for a proper organization; after all, as Clot (2010) advocates, the "power to act is achieved together with others" (Clot, 2010, p. 23).

Many challenges regarding teacher training, whether in class leadership or school management, are evident in our study – demonstrating, unfortunately, the unpreparedness of managers to deal with affections, psychiatrization and psychological suffering in the educational domain. As Esteve (1992) states, the educator does not only need intellection for the success of the teaching-learning process. Our results corroborate the multi-

determined scenario of professional devaluation, precarious working conditions and decline in the public character/labor relations of the school, determining many conflicts, and, in some chronicle stories of psychological illness that we analyzed, to the total loss of meaning in teaching work – not to mention the lives of those who carry it out.

Faced with teaching challenges for which they have no current resources to control them, teachers feel the impact on their self-concept and self-esteem (Esteve, 1992), or, in Vygotskian terms, on their affective formations (Toassa, 2011; Vigotski, 1996), because their involvement as people in the teaching task is an ineliminable condition for exercising their profession. In the reality of public education, the lack of mastery of teaching situations is also related to the lack of time for teachers' training, which often leads to suffering and/or illness among professionals (Perez, 2012 *apud* Ferreira, 2016).

Furthermore, the teaching of psychology in the initial and continuing training of teachers ends up focusing fundamentally on the relationship between learning and cognitive development. Discussions about the complex set of techniques and concepts involving pressing subjects, such as the medicalization of education and the diversity of knowledge necessary for the teaching practice are non-existent. This reflects the neglect of broader studies at the interface between psychology and education. Teacher malaise, quality of life and sickness absenteeism are little addressed within the scope of public policies, “since there is no specific legislation or discipline on this topic in academic training or in the education systems, which do not have specialized centers for prevention and therapeutic resources” (Barros; Gradela, 2017, p.75).

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Los conflictos en la relación profesor-dirección y el drama de la psiquiatrización docente: un estudio con datos de la ciudad de Goiânia

RESUMEN

Este estudio propone la investigación de los dramas psiquiátricos de los docentes de la red municipal de Goiânia, centrándose sus relaciones con los conflictos en la relación docentes y sus jefes. Esta investigación, de enfoque cualitativo, se basa en el análisis de 11 expedientes resúmenes, referentes a los registros médicos de licencias psiquiátricas otorgadas a empleados municipales entre los años 2015 y 2017, puestos a disposición por la Junta Médica Municipal de Goiânia (JMM). Este estudio propone la investigación de los dramas psiquiátricos de los docentes de la red municipal de Goiânia, prestando atención a sus relaciones con los conflictos en la relación docente-gerencia. Esta investigación, de enfoque cualitativo, se basa en el análisis de 11 expedientes resúmenes, referentes a los registros médicos de licencias psiquiátricas otorgadas a empleados municipales entre los años 2015 y 2017, puestos a disposición por la Junta Médica Municipal de Goiânia (JMM). La psicología histórico-cultural y el materialismo histórico-dialéctico fueron aportes esenciales para la construcción de una perspectiva investigativa sobre el trabajo docente, señalando el contenido inextricable de los conflictos con la gestión y la enfermedad docente en la muestra analizada. Esta relación se explora en base a tres categorías principales: 1. Perfil de muestra; 2. Escenas de conflicto en la relación docente-supervisor; y 3. Fines (im)posibles: tratamientos y consecuencias (tratamientos y medidas administrativas). Finalmente, defendemos la recuperación del sentido emancipador del trabajo educativo y el fortalecimiento del colectivo profesional como recursos para la recuperación y mantenimiento de la salud de estos trabajadores, además de hacer consideraciones sobre las relaciones entre enfermedad, gestión democrática y formación docente.

Palabras clave: Trabajo Docente; Relaciones de poder; Psicología histórico-cultural; Salud docente; Formación de profesores.

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