

# Teacher Selection in Brazil: a study of the *concurso* examination in public secondary schools

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I, Roussel De Carvalho, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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## Abstract

In Brazil, teacher selection for state secondary schools is centralised and standardised, without the participation of schools, resulting in a hiring process that heavily emphasises subject knowledge and academic qualifications. This process is called the *concurso* examination. Considering the existing gap in the Brazilian academic literature on teacher selection, and the pressing need to attract more people into the teaching profession to recruit, screen and select the best candidates, this study sought to understand the *concurso* as the instrument which executes this selection, and its potential links with the notion of teacher quality. A comparative case-study approach as both epistemology and methodology was used to support the research design. The conceptual framework developed proposes an ideology of selection shaped by specific features and assumptions of the *concurso* and informed by participants' views and understandings. Thus, the study relied on 61 interviews with teachers, school principals, teachers' union representatives, and high-level political stakeholders in order to capture and articulate their unique voices about the *concurso*. A thematic analysis was conducted, and its findings indicate five underlying concepts: the need for the *valorisation* of teachers, a '*perceived*' *quality* associated with the issue of *meritocracy*, as well as a sense of *trust* in a process assumed to be *democratic* due to a pervasive *fear of corruption*. These findings lead to the idea that in Brazil, the *concurso* is an inevitability sustained by legislative markers and informed by socioeconomic, political, cultural and historical influences. The *concurso* must be understood as a complex social process where it is conceptualised as '*instrument*' – addressing a need for impartiality with the intention of preventing corruption; as '*policy*' – aiming to valorise teachers through merit and job-stability but which instead creates a two-tier system of *concursados* and *non-concursados*; and as '*ideology*' – helping to maintain the status-quo of the *concurso*.

# Impact Statement

In the realm of the academic literature on teacher selection, and within the context of an ‘open competition’ system, this thesis provides an original conceptual framework with which to understand the views of practicing classroom teachers, school principals, teaching union representatives, and political stakeholders in order to conceptualise the *concurso* as well as its sustainability over time. This work also provides a unique narrative from the point of view of key stakeholders that often do not appear in the Brazilian academic literature. Through their lenses, a thematic conceptualisation of the *concurso* emerges, leading to conclusions that specifically problematise the *concurso* as *instrument*, as *policy*, and as *ideology*.

The *concurso* as *instrument* is a standardised set of examinations that emphasise subject knowledge and academic qualifications. There is a public perception of its impartiality as *instrument* and that it prevents corruption. This is perpetuated by a local understanding of ‘democracy’ and ‘meritocracy’ which are incompatible with the socioeconomic and cultural milieu in Brazil. This is an important contribution which adds to Beattie’s (1996) original assumptions about the *concurso* and moves forward the work of Fontainha et al. (2014). The *concurso* was originally conceptualised with the aim to prevent nepotism and patronage, but this led to a two-tier, exclusionary system. Moreover, it shows that for the participants of this research, teacher quality does not seem to be a construct that a selection procedure should be responsible for because of its subjective nature. Instead, teacher quality is something attained over time, through ‘good quality’ training as well as prolonged classroom practice and professional development. This finding challenges the recent links between teacher quality and selection.

This study also highlights the need for education systems that use the ‘open competition’ system to re-conceptualise how the instrument(s) can still be used even when taking a processual view of the teacher selection process, since it is sustained by legal and socioeconomic and cultural ‘pillars’. This is because the ‘open competition’ seems to be a necessary element in places where the level of corruption may be high, and levels of trust are low. The impact of a ‘re-conceptualisation’ of the *concurso* as *policy*, requires it to be re-imagined as a country-wide “license-to-teach” or certification that is offered on a yearly basis. This can have a direct implication on policy-making that could influence initial teacher training curricula, teacher recruitment policies, selection into schools, as well as teacher mobility to hard-to-staff areas.

Also, the *concurso* promotes entrance into a civil service profession, guaranteeing a job for life with secured benefits through tenure, and this has been shown to be paramount for teachers given the socioeconomic and cultural situation of the country. Ultimately, the empirical research assembled in the thesis has provided new evidence on how the *concurso* can be operationalised within an *ideology of selection*, an ideology of the *concurso*, which relies on beliefs, features and assumptions influenced and supported by the socioeconomic, cultural and political reality in Brazil as interpreted by the various stakeholders.

## **My Story and Acknowledgements**

As a teacher and a teacher educator in the UK, I have experienced a unique way of conceptualising the teaching profession, but also, a unique way to understand how teacher-candidates and school teachers are selected, and the impact this had on the lives of teachers and the lives of schools. I then considered my past, my country of birth, and the conditions of schools in Brazil, and how teachers are selected for public schools. The system I experienced in Brazil was the complete opposite of what I experienced in the UK. My goal was set. I wanted to understand the system, to understand how teachers, school principals and others felt about this system which seemed in contradiction to how I understood selection, and how I thought about selection.

I have been involved in this PhD thesis for the last seven years of my life. Then, I interrupted it almost immediately after due to an opportunity to undertake the trip of a lifetime. A 23-day expedition to Antarctica in November/December 2010. I then returned to my PhD in September 2011 with a completely different vision of what I wanted to do. I worked as a full-time teacher until August 2012, and then moved into Higher Education as a PGCE Science programme leader, working in two different universities until reaching the stage where I am now, as the MA Education programme leader at the University of East London (as of August 2018). The intense and busy work during those years has made the PhD journey difficult but I have worked on whenever I could.

As one can imagine, throughout this story I have been in contact with a countless number of people that have in some way influenced this journey. I am hugely indebted to them. So, a big thanks to everyone that in some way has been involved in supporting me with this doctoral research for the past seven years. You have all been important; you have all made a difference.

**Note: all translations included in this thesis are my personal translations.**

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## List of Abbreviations

1. **INEP/MEC** – Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas e Pesquisas Educacionais / Ministro da Educação - *National Institute of Educational Research and Statistics (part of the Ministry of Education)*
2. **UNDIME** – União Nacional dos Dirigentes Municipais de Educação - *National Union of Municipal Education Managers*
3. **CONSED** – Conselho Nacional de Secretários de Educação - *National Council of State Secretaries of Education*
4. **CNTE** – Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação - *National Union of Educational Workers*
5. **ANPED** – Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação - *National Association of Post-Graduate Degrees and Research in Education*
6. **ANFOPE** – Associação Nacional pela Formação dos Profissionais da Educação - *National Association for the Professional Development of Education Professionals*
7. **FORUMDIR** – Fórum Nacional De Diretores De Faculdades/Centros De Educação Ou Equivalentes Das Universidades Públicas Brasileiras - *National Forum of Directors of Education Faculties in Public Universities*
8. **SEB/MEC** – Secretaria de Educação Básica / Ministro da Educação - *National Secretary of Basic Education / Ministry of Education*
9. **SASE/MEC** – Secretaria de Articulação entre os Sistemas de Ensino – Ministro da Educação - *National Secretary of Articulation Between Education Systems / Ministry of Education*
10. **SESu/MEC** – Secretaria de Educação Superior - *National Secretary of Higher Education / Ministry of Education*
11. **CAPEs** – Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - *Coordination for the Development of Higher Education Personnel*
12. **SECADI** – Secretaria de Educação Continuada, Alfabetização, Diversidade e Inclusão - *National Secretary of Continuous Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion.*
13. **CEDES** – Centro de Estudos Educação e Sociedade - *Centre for Studies in Education and Society*
14. **CEPERJ** - Centro Estadual de Estatísticas, Pesquisas e Formação de Servidores Públicos do Rio de Janeiro – *Centre for Statistics, Research and Development of Public Civil Servants of the State of Rio de Janeiro*
15. **FGV** – Fundação Getulio Vargas
16. **ENEM** – Exame Nacional de Ensino Medio – *National Exam for Secodary School*
17. **IBGE** – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – *Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.*
18. **SINPRO-DF** – Sindicato dos Professores do Distrito Federal - *Syndicate of teachers of the federal district*
19. **SINPRO-RS** - Sindicato dos Professores do Rio Grande do Sul - *Syndicate of teachers of the Rio Grande do Sul*
20. **CPERS** – Conselho dos Professores do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul - *Council of Teachers of the State of Rio Grande do Sul*
21. **SEPE** – Sindicato estadual dos profissionais da educação - *State Syndicate of Professionals of Education*
22. **UPPES** – União dos professores publicos do estado - *Union of Public Teachers in the State*

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Why teacher selection?

Teaching is a highly social activity that relies on complex daily interactions between multiple people, often driven by their individual cognitive and non-cognitive attributes. All these interactions happen within two unique sociocultural contexts: the school and the classroom. This implies that selecting people that are able to successfully engage with others within such settings becomes a paramount activity for leaders of educational systems. Thus, arguably, the selection of teachers requires an evaluation of cognitive attributes – usually associated with mastery of knowledge and reasoning ability – and of non-cognitive attributes – those associated with someone's interpersonal traits and skills – such as their characteristics and dispositions (Klassen and Kim, 2017).

With this in mind, Graces (1932) had already claimed that a 'wise selection is the best means of improving [an educational] system' (p.62). Cooper and Robertson (1995) agree and argued that 'recruiting the right people first time round can result in considerable value being added to [an] organisation' (p.6). This places emphasis on selection as a critical element in human resource management. In contrast, Lewis (1993), in his book "*Employee Selection*", wrote that 'recruitment and selection methods in terms of their ability to predict future performance have, to say the least, a poor track record...[when] trying to measure intangible human attributes as capacities or abilities and inclinations or motivations' (p.13). For Lewis, poor selection has a significant legal, financial, and productivity ramifications to an organisation.

Nevertheless, in education, despite these apparent contradictions in the possible outcomes of selection, considerable effort may be required from schools and governments to attract, screen, select, develop, and retain people with suitable cognitive and non-cognitive attributes because of a pressing need to build a high-quality teaching profession (OECD, 2018). This is now of vital importance because it has become widely accepted that teachers are one of the most significant contributors to students' personal

and academic future success (Hattie, 2012; Rowe, Wilkin and Wilson, 2012; OECD 2018). Therefore, research on how to potentially evaluate attributes and dispositions in pre-service and in-service teachers have to become a priority because it is

our characteristics [that] will determine when we choose to use our skills and whether we use them appropriately...[for] characteristics are the most important attributes we should be thinking about in developing, [and] recruiting, [and] supporting our teaching staff [with].

(Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004, p. 13)

Haberman and Post's (1998) research contended that teacher selection must ensure new candidates have the 'predispositions [that] reflect those of outstanding, practising teachers' (p.96), particularly in urban environments. This implies a need to determine what makes teaching practice outstanding. Atteberry, Loeb, and Wyckoff (2015) have shown that once a teacher has improved from novice to 'expert', there is relative stability of teacher 'effectiveness' over time, while Clotfelter, Ladd and Vigdor (2006) had found that teacher experience was a predictor for student improvement. This reinforces the idea that a 'good' selection of teachers at the start of their careers, and good continued professional development, are central to any government and/or school since 'it is good teachers who make the greatest difference to student outcomes from schooling' (Hayes, Mills, Christie and Lingard, 2005, p.1).

At the same time, research in the fields of economics and human resources have consistently shown the relevance of policies of recruitment, screening and selection of employees that are carefully managed (e.g. Bliesener, 1996; McDaniel, Schmidt and Hunter, 1988; Shaw and Lazear, 2007) and has continued to explore multiple avenues on how to evaluate an individual's personal attributes (e.g. Cook, 2016; Ryan and Ployhard, 2014; Sackett and Lievens, 2008) to improve outcomes for organisations. In education, research on how to select teachers with specific attributes have made some crucial contributions (e.g. DeLuca, 2012; Goldhaber, Grout, and Huntington-Klein, 2014; Haberman and Post, 1998; Klassen and Kim, 2017; Klassen et al., 2018; Staiger and Rockoff, 2010; Wasicsko, 2007), but systematic studies on how to establish a robust *teacher selection protocol*, and on how school

systems actually make these choices, remain a somewhat elusive part of teacher education research and policy-making (e.g. Guarino, Santibañez and Daley, 2004; Shalock, 1979; Stronge and Hindman, 2006; Wise et al., 1987). This is surprising because education systems are often one of the largest employers in any municipality, state or federal government. Education is often conceptualised as being a public service that has a high social impact – since the vast majority of people enrol and go through formal schooling for a considerable period of their lives, however, the selection of its teachers continue to be one of the least researched, while being one of the most complex and essential organisational tasks exercised by governments and schools (e.g. Ban, 2008; OECD, 2005, 2018; Smith and Knab, 1996).

Therefore, if schools and governments wish to improve students' personal outcomes as well as their academic achievement, a good teacher selection protocol must be a priority (Boyd et al., 2006). Remarkably, Bolton (1969) had already argued that selection is crucial to the quality of an educational establishment but that such decisions are 'frequently intuitive and arbitrary...and a lack of empirical data has left the process highly subjective' (p.329). Thus, research on teacher selection is paramount to develop our knowledge of how to understand the 'subjective and the objective', the 'cognitive and the non-cognitive', to place good teachers into schools consistently.

With the arguments presented above, the first fundamental assumption of this thesis is that a system of selection for employment into any organisation, institution or government has as one of their primary objectives the selection of the best possible candidate to perform specific jobs in a given work environment, looking to get the best possible outcome for their organisation. Arguably, to achieve this objective in education, governments and schools would have to engage in meaningful practices of recruitment, screening, and selection of teachers by relying on a robust and evidence-based understanding of what subject knowledge, pedagogical skills, personal characteristics, and individual attributes/dispositions that make teachers effective (Stronge and Hindman, 2006).

However, what makes a teacher effective has been one of the most contentious educational issues of the last couple of decades (Bau and Das, 2017), especially since the highly publicised McKinsey Report reinforced claims that the quality of any educational system is intrinsically linked to the quality of its teachers (Barber and Mourshed, 2007). Regardless of such claims, this thesis acknowledges as its second fundamental assumption that the 'quality' of teachers is a multifaceted and complex construct (e.g. Darling-Hammond and Bransford, 2005; Day, 2012, 2017) that both informs and supports the overall *quality of classroom teaching* and the *quality of individual relationships* between other staff and students. These unique composite variables have been shown to have a significant impact on a student's overall personal development as well as on their academic achievement (e.g. Aaronson, Barrow and Sander, 2007; Atteberry, Loeb, and Wycoff, 2015; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Davies and Burgess, 2009; Feng and Sass, 2011; Kane, Rockoff and Staiger, 2008; Rivkin, Hanushek and Kain, 2005; Rockoff, 2004; Slater, Staiger and Rockoff, 2010), making them valuable assets in the overall conceptualisation for teacher selection.

## **1.2. The gap in the literature on teacher selection**

Given the rationale presented above, it would have been fair to assume that teacher selection research would be widespread. However, this is not the case, despite the numerous studies on selection in the fields outside education such as psychology, medicine and institutional human resources, that have been increasingly more dynamic in finding answers to issues concerning the *what* and the *how* of assessing job-candidates (Ryan and Ployhart, 2014). In the past, limited attention has been given to teacher selection (Schalock, 1979) while teacher preparation institutions tended not to take their selection policies too seriously, give much attention to the actual outcome of preparation courses, or demonstrable classroom competence (Applegate, 1987). In that same year, Wise et al. (1987) published one of the few comprehensive studies on teacher selection (commissioned by the RAND foundation and focused on selection within the United States) where they highlighted the importance of a multi-layered teacher selection system.



Caldwell (1993), and later Young and Delli (2002), have demonstrated the potential fallacies of interviews as a teacher selection mechanism, although Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson (2004) and Clement (2000, 2008) have made a compelling case for Critical Incident Interviews for teacher hiring in schools. In 2005, the OECD's report 'Teachers Matter' explored in-depth issues affecting the attraction, recruitment and retention of effective teachers concluding that teacher policies are at the centre of a system's success.

Moreover, Young and Marroquin (2006), for example, explain that teacher selection (in the US) has become more decentralised with the addition of existing school-teachers as part of selection panels, adding an extra layer to an already complicated decision-making process. At the same time, in Taiwan, Wang and Fwu (2007) have shown that, the common perceptions of 'teachers are born' changed into 'teachers are made', and now has been shifting into 'teachers are picked', with the teacher education programmes placing a greater emphasis on the selection process itself. Rutledge et al. (2008) provide an extensive look at the processes of selection in the US, and through their case study, provide an essential contribution to the literature on teacher hiring within a decentralised system. Hobson et al. (2010) have authored an OECD working paper on international approaches to teacher recruitment and selection and showed that there is insufficient evidence to support the use of high-stakes examinations as the only method for certification, licensure or appointment of teachers.

Additionally, Darling-Hammond and Lieberman's book 'Teacher Education Around the World' (2012) provides a small glimpse with short descriptions on how countries like Australia, Netherlands, Finland, Singapore, the USA, and the UK, select their teachers, but there is not an attempt to analyse or critique them. More recently, the work of Klassen, Durksen, Rowett and Patterson (2014); Kim, Dar-Nimrod and MacCann (2017); and Klassen and Kim (2017) have also queried the lack of research on teacher selection. Their work peers into situational judgement tests (SJTs) as an instrument to support the selection of pre-service teachers through a careful evaluation of candidates' personal dispositions (non-cognitive attributes) that might have an impact on the quality of their teaching and their quality as teachers in the future. In 2018, the OECD released the report 'Effective Teacher Policies' (2018) where they claim that teacher selection policies play a major role in an educational

system's overall outcomes, although they use TALIS, PISA and the 'Education at a glance' self-reported data rather than in-depth empirical research. The limited literature analysing how existing policies of teacher selection function to select the best teachers is often contrasted with a large literature on teacher quality. There seems to be a focus on what makes a teacher effective, but not on how to select those who have the attributes to become effective teachers.

In Brazil, the gap of research about the teacher selection protocol – called '*concurso*' – is even wider and relevant studies are virtually non-existent (Souza and Abreu, 2016). This policy area has not suffered many changes since the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mancini, 1999) when it was borrowed from Portugal, a country that also borrowed this system from the French model of selection. The complexity of teacher selection in Brazil is situated within a multi-layered (municipal, state, federal and private) educational system with poor current working conditions (e.g. Arelaro, Jacomini, Souza and Santos 2014; Oliveira 2010), where teachers do not feel valued (e.g. Cericato, 2016; Souto, 2016), and there is a 'sense of injustice' (Gatti 2012), while government support is limited (André, 2015). Its public education system faces continuous financial pressures such as the non-compliance of municipal and state governments with current federal laws on teachers' minimum pay and the lack of investment in basic infrastructure (e.g. Brito, 2013, Jacomini and Penna, 2016, Nunes and Oliveira, 2017). Moreover, the system operates a career progression that is based mainly on seniority (e.g. Pimentel, Palazzo and Oliveira, 2009) rather than on individual merit and level of responsibility.

All the issues above compound and lead to the very low attractiveness of the profession (e.g. Britto and Waltenber, 2014; Saldaña, 2014; Souto and Paiva, 2013; Tartuce, Nunes and Almeida, 2010), and pose major challenges for the Brazilian educational system. Further still, Brazilian teacher education has not seen much substantial pedagogical development to significantly impact classroom teaching and student outcomes (Gatti, 2010; Gatti, Barreto, and André, 2011; Gatti and Nunes, 2009) with 'only half of teachers in Brazil report[ing] that the pedagogy for all the subjects they teach was included in their formal education' (OECD, 2013, p.1). This gap in the literature raises important questions about the assumptions and the

procedures behind the teacher selection protocols as well as the reasons why such policies have remained virtually unchanged. For example, Masculo (2002) has gathered evidence pertaining to how news outlets portrayed the selection procedures between 1980 and 1990 with teachers' protest about the enrolment in the selection protocols, criticisms against the exams and the types of questions used, the marking criteria, teachers' performance and other judicial disputes. Despite these protests, very few changes have occurred in the framework of teacher selection

Thus, the debate on the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection and its place within teacher education in Brazil remains largely elusive within the sociocultural sphere in which it operates (e.g. Ferreira, 2006; Fontainha et al., 2014). The gap in the literature on teacher selection can also be shown by a literature search on the Brazilian portal CAPES for freely available theses and dissertations published since 1991. As of 2018, a total of 355 works has been found under the broad and generic search '*Concurso Publico*' (the generic term used to denote any process of selection of any civil servant position in any Brazilian public institution), of which only 64 are in the area of education. Of these 64, 51 are Masters' dissertations, and 13 are PhD thesis. However, of the 13 PhD thesis, only one is directly related to the *concurso* as policy, but it is focused on a historical outlook of university professors and their careers (Monte, 2015).

From the 51 Masters dissertations that were listed, only some make some form of contribution to this thesis. The works often discuss the *concurso* through an analysis of teachers' socioeconomic background, their educational profile or the content of examinations (e.g. Basilio, 2010; Batista, 2011; Carossi, 2009; Costa, 1999; Ferreira, 2006; Gomes, 1998; Grendel, 2000; Masculo, 2002; Oliveira, 2015; Reis, 2006; Siqueira, 2006; Santos, 2009) rather than an actual analysis of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection for teachers. Other works are focused on specific subject teacher demographics (e.g. Lins, 2011; Souza, 2014); their pedagogical knowledge (e.g. Leta 1995); a historical perspective (e.g. Pinto, 2014; Santos, 2016; Silva, 2013); teachers' probation year post-*concurso* (Oliveira, 2017); the selection of school principals (Almeida, 2013; Bernardi, 2012; Ferreira, 2009; Silva 2016); teachers' pay and conditions (Godoy, 2014); difficulties teachers encounter when entering the workforce (Santos, 2015); and access of

disabled teachers (Oliveira, 2006). These are all crucial factors that feed into teacher selection policies, though no explicit link to the *concurso* as the current system of teacher selection is developed in any of the works. One Masters' dissertation that does address the *concurso* directly is Carneiro (2011). He uses a historical-document analysis to profess about the right of the Brazilian citizen to the *concurso*. His work is focused on public administration as a whole and provides an account of the legality of the *concurso* within Brazil.

On another literature search of the largest repository of Latin-American and Iberian journal articles called Scielo, as of May 2018 the same search criteria return a total of 45 articles, of which only six (6) relates specifically to the *concurso* examinations within an education setting, with an emphasis on the valorisation of teachers (Jacomini and Penna, 2016); temporary teachers (Brito 2013); school principals (Hojas, 2015); as well as a historical and legislative analysis (Camargo, Minhoto and Jacomini, 2014). In addition, five (5) papers are relevant to this work for having a specific focus on the *concurso* with an emphasis on civil servant careers in general (e.g. Castelar, Ferreira, Soares and Veloso, 2010; Santos, Brandao and Maia, 2015); on *concursos* for university professors (Bonini, 2010; Siqueira, Binotto, Silva and Hoff, 2012) and lastly, a recent paper by Feitosa and Passos (2017) analyses the *concurso* for public judges in light of new competencies deemed essential to magistrates. The rest of the results were not explicitly related to the *concurso*. Most focused on (initial) teacher education, policy, and other associated issues. However, a recent independent research report on the *concurso* has been published by Fundação Getúlio Vargas<sup>1</sup> (Fontainha et al., 2014), and although it is not specific to education, it is a significant piece of work for this research which will be further explored in section 2.4.

As shown above, there appears to be a definite gap in the teacher selection literature when dealing with in-depth analysis of selection policy. This is especially true in Brazil where there have not been many attempts to closely inspect the nature of the *concurso* as *an instrument of* teacher selection or the *concurso* as *a policy for* teacher selection, neither any endeavours to assess the effects it may have on teacher quality, teaching quality, student

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<sup>1</sup> A Brazilian policy think-tank turned higher education institution

outcomes or the school environment. Furthermore, there have been limited advances in the discussion of regulations regarding the teaching profession as well as on the criteria for *quality* of teaching in Brazil, especially considering the lack of a formal code of conduct and national professional standards for teachers. Therefore, this thesis seeks a better understanding of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, primarily through the views of teachers and other stakeholders about its format, functions, and existence as well as its link to the concept of teacher quality.

### **1.3. Research Aims**

Based on the rationale above and the gap identified in the research literature, this doctoral thesis aims to explore the existing system of teacher selection for secondary public school teachers in Brazil. This system is called the '*concurso*' examination. As such, the first aim of this work is to identify, describe and explain its policies, structures and practices; while at the same time locating it within both local and global contexts of teacher selection. This will be achieved through an in-depth review of the literature on the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, as well as current academic research on personnel selection and, more specifically, teacher selection.

As its second and foremost aim, the thesis seeks to understand the individual and collective views of key educational and political stakeholders regarding the '*concurso*'. This work is interested in their views about its function, purpose and existence within the Brazilian educational, socioeconomic, and cultural context. This is important because as Klassen et al. (2018, p.73) have recently argued,

teaching is inherently cultural: societal beliefs, goals, and values play a role not only in classroom behaviours but in the personal characteristics we value in current and prospective teachers.

These stakeholders are secondary state school teachers and school principals, teaching union representatives, figures within publicly funded educational institutions, and local and national policy-makers. Therefore, this research provides a unique opportunity to empirically analyse how the

system is perceived and interpreted by them while developing a better understanding of the *concurso* as a system of selection.

The third goal is to understand how the concept of 'teacher quality' may be connected to the concept of teacher selection while taking into account the structural challenges within the Brazilian context. This is because even though teacher and teaching quality are key aspects of successful educational systems (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; Jensen, Sonnemann, Roberts-Hull and Hunter, 2016), teacher selection systems do not tend to methodically acknowledge how teachers' distinct characteristics might impact actual classroom practice (Weisberg et al., 2009). Finally, in light of both the existing literature and the new empirical work, this research aims to understand how teacher policies of selection may be conceptualised to develop the quality of the teaching workforce (OECD, 2018) in Brazil.

#### **1.4. Research Questions**

The research questions below intend to address both the second and the third aims as proposed above. This is because the first aim of this thesis will be addressed by a thorough literature review where it identifies the frameworks and practices of teacher selection in Brazil as well as contextualises them within the Brazilian and the global scenario of selection. Therefore, the following research questions are put forward:

- 1) *What are the views and understandings of Brazilian secondary state school teachers, principals, teaching union representatives, and policy-makers about the concurso as an instrument of selection and its functions within the education system?***

The analysis of stakeholders' views and understandings of the teacher selection protocol within the Brazilian context will allow the investigation on how the teacher selection protocol influences their perceptions of the system, how it works and its consequences for secondary schools and their teachers. This is important because the Brazilian system of teacher selection has a

unique underlying assumption of what the best possible teacher candidate means. This must be explored in order to exemplify, contextualise and critique the range of ramifications of the selection policy so as to evaluate the protocol used to distinguish between teacher-candidates.

Additionally, the structure of a selection protocol has a direct implication on how the government and other stakeholders view and understand the idea of 'teacher quality'. However, because 'teacher quality' is not a static concept, any selection protocol, regardless of how robust it might be, is unlikely to pinpoint *teacher quality* at any given time. The quality of any teacher is influenced by sociocultural and environmental contexts that also impinge on teachers' continuous learning journey from the start of their initial teacher education to their first years in the classroom and their continuous professional development. Therefore, the intersection of the views pursued in this research question will provide the opportunity to understand the rich complexity of the Brazilian protocol for teacher selection and how it sits within the global context.

This leads to the second research question:

**2) *How do these stakeholders understand the concept of teacher quality in relation to their views about the concurso?***

This is an important question because some studies in Brazil have shown that 30% of students that have entered pedagogy courses come from the lowest quartile of academic achievement in the National Examination of Secondary Education (ENEM) from secondary school. Also, 20% of students that are graduating with a teaching degree have said that a teaching career is a second option in their professional plans (Louzano, Rocha, Moriconi and Oliveira, 2010). Other studies show that only 68.4% of all school teachers have a university degree, with only 61.4% of those having an officially recognised teaching qualification such as 'Licenciatura' (e.g. INEP, 2009; OECD, 2013). Brazil faces a number of challenges when considering selection procedures as a means to improve its educational system, which is why this research question intends to explore current interpretations of stakeholders' views of the *concurso* in terms its proposed links with the notion of teacher quality. It aims to bring to the fore an original contribution

to the debate on teacher quality from within the context of teacher selection in Brazil since ‘the influence of national and cultural context on the practices and attributes of teachers perceived as ‘effective’ is less clear’ (Klassen et al., 2018, p.64).

At the end of the literature review, these research questions are reviewed to ensure they are appropriate, need modifying, or whether other questions emerge for the continuation of the research. The questions presented above aim to support this work to delve into the intricacies of Brazil’s current teacher selection protocol and its functions through a systematic analysis of stakeholders’ views on the nature of the protocol, its place within the Brazilian teacher education system, and how it addresses issues of teacher quality. Furthermore, this research seeks to contribute new knowledge to both national and international debate on teacher selection through a meaningful discussion of the *concurso* as a teacher selection protocol through both the literature and the eyes of Brazilian education stakeholders. It is important to operationalise how the Brazilian system of teacher selection is perceived and how it fits within the bigger picture of both the local and the global teacher education policies. This is because the development of teacher selection policy may lead to a ‘normative cultural discourse with positive and negative sanctions, that is, a set of statements about how things should, or must be done’ (Levinson, Sutton and Winstead, 2009, p.770), which eventually may become an intrinsic part of a society’s sociocultural beliefs and expectations of how selection should happen.

## **1.5. The layout of the thesis**

The literature review starts with chapter two, where I will introduce the reader to the Brazilian background on the ‘*concurso*’ as an instrument of selection, including a brief history of its arrival in Brazil and examples of how the *concurso* operates in practice. The section on Brazil is introduced first to immerse and familiarise the reader with the reality of how teachers are selected. In chapter three, the literature on selection has been divided into two to address issues of personnel selection, and teacher selection. Then, the literature on teacher quality is presented in chapter four. The order of



these sections is important as they follow a narrative that aims to demonstrate to the reader the literature on personnel selection outside of education first. This will allow a better overview of selection without narrowing one's perception of what selection in education entails.

Chapter five then introduces the methodological paradigm of Comparative Case Study (CCS) as well as the conceptual framework that underpins the research. It further explains the methods of data collection and explains the framework generated that led to the thematic analysis (TA) undertaken. The thematic analysis framework is also introduced and explained to ensure the reader understands how the data collected was analysed. This data is then presented in chapters six, seven, and eight. They address the five (5) themes that have been generated to provide an insight into the Brazilian system of teacher selection through the lenses of major stakeholders involved in this research, delving into a critical discussion of the data. Chapter nine then offers an overarching conclusion of the research with a discussion of the need for further research, limitations of conclusions, and a potential way forward for how the *concurso* may be re-conceptualised given the current knowledge and understanding of personnel selection.

## 2. Literature Review I: The Brazilian Context

### 2.1. The Brazilian Education System

Brazil is a large federal republic that is divided into 27 states<sup>2</sup> and one federal district (DF) where the Brazilian capital Brasilia is located. Brazil has a total area of approximately 8.516 million square kilometres, and it is the fifth largest country in the world. It is the only Portuguese-speaking country in the Americas, a consequence of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 (and 1507) which allowed Portugal to control the Eastern part of Brazil since its invasion in 1500 by Pedro Alvares Cabral. It now has a total of 5565 municipalities unevenly distributed in distinct geographical regions that present unique economic, sociocultural and political variants. As a federal country, all states and municipalities have a certain degree of autonomy, albeit within federal constitutional boundaries, to determine multiple aspects of their politics, including most of their local education policy.

According to the Brazilian Constitution (Brazil, 1988 - art. 211) and the Federal Education Act (Brazil/LDB, 1996 – art. 8 to 11) municipalities are mainly responsible for what is called ‘basic fundamental education’ (ages 6 to 14) although often focused only on the initial years (age 6 to 10); states and the Federal District are responsible for both fundamental (usually the later years - age 11 to 14) and secondary education (ages 15 to 18); and the federal government is responsible for tertiary (university) education (age 18 and over), although there are also multiple state-based universities.

Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the current educational scenario in Brazil is highly complex. The 2017 census statistical data (INEP, 2018) released in January 2018, showed that there is a total of 115,372 schools offering ‘basic fundamental’ education – initial years; 62,394 schools offering ‘basic fundamental’ education – later years. For either stage, around 80% are public schools. Additionally, there are 28,558 schools offering secondary education, of which 20,287 are public schools. These numbers help to demonstrate the massive scale and logistics involved in Brazilian education, especially when comparing, for example, with the current total of 16,786

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<sup>2</sup> In this thesis, ‘state’ (lower-case) always refer to a member state of the Brazilian federal republic.

primary schools and 3,408 state-funded secondary schools in England (DfE, 2017). In Brazil, a total of 68.2% of all secondary schools are controlled by the states, while 29% are private/independent schools. The federal government controls 1.9% of all secondary schools, and municipalities have 0.9% of the total (INEP, 2018). Importantly, of all secondary schools, 89.7% are located in so-called 'urban areas'. Any city in Brazil with less than 50,000 people and a low demographic density of fewer than 80 people per square kilometre is classified as being in a rural area. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2017a), even though 60.4% of Brazil is classified as 'rural', only 24% of the population live in these areas. A total of 76% of the population live in urban areas.

The student population in Brazil is equally complex. According to the IBGE 2017 census, secondary schools have a total of 7.9 million students, but importantly, only 53% of all Brazilian children of secondary school age are enrolled in secondary schools (OECD, 2017). Additionally, a total of 87.8% are enrolled in publicly-funded schools, of which 84.8% are enrolled in state-controlled schools, with 80.3% enrolled in urban-based schools. Of that 84.8%, a total of 22.3% are enrolled to study in the 'night shift'<sup>3</sup>. Due to attrition rates, grade-repetition, and students starting/finishing school later than expected, the age-distortion<sup>4</sup> gap in Brazil stands at 31.6%. This means that of all students enrolled in secondary school, 31.6% of them are not enrolled in the grade they are 'supposed' to be for their age group (IBGE, 2017b).

At the end of secondary education, most students take the National Examination of Secondary Education (ENEM), even though it is not technically a compulsory examination. This is because universities in Brazil now require the ENEM result as part of their admissions procedure. In 2017, over 6.8 million people were enrolled to take the exam in 1,725 municipalities spread around Brazil. An interesting fact is that 63.5% of those enrolled to take the exam had already completed secondary education (i.e. taking it retrospectively or re-taking it), while only 26.5% were finishing school in that year (INEP, 2018).

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<sup>3</sup> In Brazil, schooling usually happens in three different shifts: Morning (7:30 AM to 12:30 PM), Afternoon (13:30 PM to 5:30 PM) and Night (6:30 PM to 10:30 PM)

<sup>4</sup> This indicator is calculated by dividing the total number of students that are enrolled and have two or more years than the expected age at a given grade by the total number of students enrolled in a given year.

Regarding school teachers, the latest official census (INEP, 2018) indicates a total of 2.2 million teachers across the country currently within all stages of 'basic education' (initial years, final years and secondary schools). Of all teachers in Brazil, 80% are women, with 52.2% are over 40 years of age. Moreover, 87.1% work in urban schools, and 79.3% work in public schools. In secondary schools, which is the focus of this thesis, there are a total of 509,814 teachers, with 94.4% of them working in urban areas, and 60% are women. 77.7% of secondary school teachers work in the state sector. Importantly, only 58.2% of secondary teachers work in a single school (INEP 2017). This implies that over 40% of all secondary school teachers are working in more than one educational establishment, a combination of municipal, state, federal or private schools. In the case of teacher selection for publicly-funded secondary schools, the complexity increases when those numbers are broken down into how municipalities, state or the federal government divide their responsibilities for both funding and maintenance of different types of schools.

In Brazil, the total government expenditure on public education has increased from 2.6% of GDP in 1995 to 4.1% in 2008 (Britto and Waltenberg, 2014), increasing to 4.9% in 2015 (OECD, 2017). This last data puts Brazil in the third place in the world for total public education expenditure as a percentage of GDP. However, the overall distribution is highly skewed towards federal universities and higher education where the smallest amount of the educated population is. According to the OECD report *Education at a Glance* (OECD, 2017), the Brazilian government spends U\$3,800 per student in public Fundamental (primary) and Secondary Basic Education, placing it near the bottom of the country list, while spending U\$11,600 per student in Higher Education, higher than South Korea. This means Brazil spends three (3) times more with its public higher education than with its entire 'basic fundamental' education (6 to 14-year-olds). Yet, Brazil has around 7% of its population over the age of 15 officially classified as illiterate, and only 46.1% of the entire population having completed basic education (up to secondary school). In addition, only around 15.3% of the entire current Brazilian population of over 25s has completed higher education (IBGE, 2017b). Furthermore, of the money put in Fundamental and Secondary Basic Education, around 70% of education-related expenditure is associated with

teachers' salaries where the starting salary for a teacher is around U\$17,000 per year (OECD, 2017).

All these statistics and definitions provided above have the purpose of contextualising for the reader the education setting in Brazil and highlight the complex environment in which this work is situated. At the same time, it puts into perspective the type of decision-making process that needs to be taken into account when embarking on a study *in* Brazil, and *about* Brazil, since the *concurso* is a country-wide instrument of selection for secondary public schools. With such numbers spread around a vast geographical area, it would be a fair assumption to claim that schools from different regions of Brazil are diverse in both its teacher and student intake, and with idiosyncratic characteristics, understandings and practices that are 'influenced by [the local and national] culture through a shared understanding of social norms and the weight given to considerations of collective versus individual expectations' (Klassen et al., 2018, p.65).

## **2.2. A brief history of the *concurso* in Brazil**

The history of teacher selection through a '*concurso*' in Brazil begins with the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil since the 1500s. After a long and turbulent history of mass Christianisation, land and resource exploitation, slavery and assassination of the native indigenous population, and many other important historical developments, Brazil formally declared its independence in 1822, becoming its own empire with D. Pedro I and then D. Pedro II as monarchs. Even more turbulent years of civil wars took place until it transitioned into a formal republic in 1889. Before 1822, Brazil was under the control of the Portuguese Crown where there is evidence of certain types of *concursos* being held in Portugal as early as 1760 for teachers to be 'nominated' and sent to the Brazilian colony to teach mainly Portuguese language and grammar, but also Greek, Philosophy and Literacy (Mendonça et al., 2014) for those attached to the Portuguese crown. Mendonça et al. have also done extensive archival and historical research on the teaching profession in both Portugal and Brazil where they have uncovered that:

after 1776, most of the *concursos* have only one candidate for each exam (106 *concursos* for 170 registered candidates). Although the demand of the *concurso* applied for all cases, in practice, the examinations allowed two forms of registering. Through a general call via a public notice [an '*edital*'] or via a private petition directed to the main director of studies [within the Portuguese Crown]. It is clear that, in the second case, the public nature of the *concurso* was damaged. The large number of private petitions sent confirms the preference of this type of strategy.

(Mendonça et al., 2014, p.47)

There are multiple historical accounts of fraud and alternative processes for being 'nominated'<sup>5</sup> an official teacher for the Portuguese crown, especially through local authorities such as those linked with the law, military or religious institutions; and nepotism was rife (Fernandes and Freitas, 2014). Although *concursos* have existed for a long time, they did not seem to have a completely public and independent characteristic. After independence from Portugal, between 1822 and 1889, the Brazilian Emperor and other officials had the power to nominate people to public offices without any *concursos*. These were 'confidence-appointed offices', where politicians and governments are able to appoint any person they wanted to specific types of offices. To this day, in many Brazilian states, this still includes public school principals and other types of education-related offices. For example, in the state of Santa Catarina, almost 63% of public school principals were politically appointed, and in the state of Amapá, the figure is 45% (Cancian, 2013).

The Brazilian political and sociocultural upheaval of the 1920s, which included a fraudulent election and some intense background negotiations between different Brazilian political factions, eventually led to a constitutional revolution in 1930 (Silva, 2013). Silva writes that 'the [political] candidate for the Aliança Liberal party in an interview given to the newspaper 'A Noite' in November 1929 commented on the main points of their political platform. In this interview, [Getúlio] Vargas spoke about [what he saw as] the problem of the Brazilian public services and the need for change. [Vargas] claims it is imperative to reduce staffing by renewing [or changing] them. Admission must be made only by [an open] public *concurso*' (A Revolução De 30, 1982,

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<sup>5</sup> The process of being 'nominated' is also an official protocol in which the government must publish the names of those candidates that have passed a *concurso* and thus can officially enter the government payroll as a civil servant and enjoy the benefits of 'public office'.

p. 254, in Silva, 2013, p.30-31). After a turbulent election, Vargas helped to organise a populist *coup d'état* that put him in power. This eventually culminated with a new constitution in 1934. It is in this new constitution that the vision for an impartial process for the admission of public civil servants to positions within the government was established: the public '*concurso*'. This also included all public school teachers.

However, it was only in 1967 under the Brazilian military dictatorship and with another new constitution that the validity of the *concurso* as a process was authenticated and made compulsory, except for positions that were classified as 'of trust', usually linked to high ranks in government, but which also included positions of management in public institutions such as public schools. This continued until the movement that deposed the military regime and enshrined a new constitution that is still the backbone of Brazilian politics today: the constitution of 1988. Before 1988, the *concurso* had more a 'traditional' and figurative value rather than the force of the law to be conducted and enforced. The constitution of 1988 established the *concurso* as compulsory, and it lays down principles which guide the idea of its legality; that it must be public and transparent (Brasil, 1988).

In addition, a fundamental constitutional principle was established in Brazil after it had undergone through its harsh dictatorship which is called 'isonomy'. Isonomy is a concept that has been aggregated to the Brazilian legislation through the republican principle where it means that 'all Brazilians have the constitutional right to, in any particular way, take part in the public administration, directly or indirectly...' (Dallari, 2006, p.1). This then leads on to the notion that entering a public school as a teacher and civil servant depends on approval in a *concurso*. This is expressed in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 (in its amended format from 1998), chapter seven, section one, article 37, part two. It says that:

the investiture in a public office or position depends on prior approval by public tender of exams or exams and 'academic qualifications', according to the nature and complexity of the office or employment in the manner provided by law, except for appointments in commissions declared by law of free nomination and dismissal.

(Brasil, 1988, EC/19, 1998)

This is then ratified by the Federal law n° 8112 of the 11<sup>th</sup> of December of 1990 (known as 'Law of *Concursos*') which provides the legal framework of

public civil servants of the 'union' (federal government), the states, and municipalities. Article 10 explains that

the appointment to a civil service career or a position of private provision requires prior authorisation via a public '*concurso*' of exams, or exams and 'academic qualifications', where the order of classification and the period of its validity are obeyed.

(Brasil, 1990)

Public school teachers (either municipal, state or federal) are recognised as public, civil servants and thus are regulated by specific laws linked with public servants. Jacomini and Penna (2016) affirm that the *concurso*

guarantees the isonomy and the objectivity, as well as job stability if the civil servant does not commit a crime that justifies his/her exoneration from the post by an administrative process. These points contribute to suppressing the patronage practised in the past where political or ideological appointments, or as favours.

(Jacomini and Penna, 2016, p.187)

In addition, section III (Brazil, 1990), the law also established that:

Art11. The *concurso* will be of exams or of exams and academic qualifications. It can be carried out in two stages, according to the law and regulation of the respective career plan [e.g. teaching], subject to the candidate's enrolment in payment of the amount fixed in the [official] notice ['*edital*'], when indispensable to their cost, and subject to the exemptions expressly provided for therein.

This specific law leaves the *concurso* open to interpretation as it does not define what "exams" might be. It could be written exams, multiple choice questions, essay-style questions, including interviews and other 'exams'.

The 'Law of *Concursos*' (Brasil, 1990) continues,

Art 12. The *concurso* will be valid for a period of up to 2 (two) years, with the possibility of being extended only once, for the same period.

Paragraph 1. The period of validity of the *concurso* and the conditions for its realisation shall be set forth in a public notice ['*edital*'], which shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Union and in a daily newspaper of high circulation.

Paragraph 2. No new *concurso* will be opened as long as there is a candidate approved in a previous *concurso* with unexpired validity.



Article 12 aims to provide candidates with specific guarantees regarding success in the *concurso* while at the same time providing the government with the possibility of delaying it. However, Jacomini and Penna (2016) have argued that this has contributed to the multiplicity of career plans in the different municipalities and states, a huge variation in pay and working conditions and contractual obligations, as well as leading to an increase in the employment of temporary teachers. They have shown, with the support of an extensive literature review, that these ‘assurances’ were not being met by the vast majority of the states, and neither their capital cities nor the federal government. For example, the last time Brasilia-DF had a *concurso* for official teachers was 2016. The *concurso* held in Rio De Janeiro in 2013 still has not provided approved candidates with a place in a school (Carvalho, 2017), while one of last *concursos* in Rio Grande do Sul was also in 2013, and teachers that passed that *concurso* were still being nominated to their teaching posts in 2017 (SEDUC/RS, 2017). In addition, Article 67, paragraph 1 from the Education Act of 1996, now in its 13<sup>th</sup> redrafted edition, has the first mention of the word ‘*concurso*’ and endorses its constitutional principles. It says:

Art. 67. The education systems shall promote the valorisation of educational professionals, assuring them, including under the terms of the statutes and the career plans of the teaching profession:

I - admission exclusively by public *concurso* [made up] of exams and academic qualifications;

(Brasil/LDB, 1996)

The promotion of valorisation *as a result of the concurso* is made explicit by the Education Act of 1996. The second mention of the word ‘*concurso*’ within the Education Act in its 13<sup>th</sup> version of the revised text. Paragraph three (3) from Article 67 says:

The Union [Federal government] will provide technical assistance to the states, the Federal District and municipalities in the preparation of public *concursos* to fill positions of education professionals.

This new addition to the text of the federal law emerged from the rising costs to municipalities and some states of organising a *concurso*, as well as a result of the ‘killing’ of the proposal for a National *Concurso* for Teachers that was opposed by teaching unions and some municipal/state governments.

Thus, the federal government and INEP (National Institute of Research and Statistics for Education) have developed an approved 'question bank' which municipalities can draw on for their *concursos* free of charge. This will replace the need for municipalities/states to pay for independent third parties to prepare and conduct the *concurso* examination.

The third and final mention of the word *concurso* is in article 85. It says:

Art.85. Any citizen possessing an academic qualification can demand the opening of a public *concurso* of exams and qualifications for the position of teacher of a public institution of education where [a position] is being occupied by a teachers without a *concurso*, for longer than six (6) years, subject to the rights guaranteed by article 41 of the federal constitution and [article] 19 of the Act of Transitional Constitutional Dispositions.

This article of the law aims to provide the public with assurances regarding the issue of temporary teachers in Brazil. However, six years is a long time within a student's formal schooling where they may have a teacher that has not passed (or taken) the accepted benchmark of the only instrument of teacher selection in Brazil. According to the data collected by Marotta (2017) for a current study of Interamerican Development Bank (IDB), Brazilian schools classified as being in a place of low socioeconomic status have 43% of its teachers classed as temporary ('*contratado*'), while those in high socioeconomic status have 27%. The vast majority of those classed as temporary do not have a *concurso* (in some states, temporary teachers have to pass a 'temporary teacher' *concurso*). She goes on to expand that rural schools have 58% of those temporary teachers, while urban schools only have 34%.

Research on the effect on temporary teachers in Brazil is non-existent except for Marotta's current attempt to analyse data from different databases that emerge from extensive standardised testing in Brazil where information about teachers is collected. Her study focused on the state of São Paulo, where her study showed that temporary teachers have a negative impact on students' academic achievement of students in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade (which is the end of Basic Fundamental Education). In addition, her data seems to show that this negative effect is not solely caused by their qualification, but also by the actual fact of them being temporary and not having the same assurances

as tenured teachers lead to less motivation and engagement. On the other hand, some data from India and Kenya (both large federal countries) show the opposite effect (Atherton and Kingdon, 2010; Duflo, Dupas and Kramer, 2009; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013) while the work of Chandra (2015) shows that 'low pay for contract teachers vis-à-vis civil service teachers and lack of attention to contract teacher preparation in India may negatively affect contract teacher morale and motivation in the long term' (Chandra, 2015, p. 256).

Temporary teachers in Brazil want to become fully tenured ('*concurados*'), but *concursos* are not opened very often. In 2017, the government of the state of São Paulo had to introduce another law just to deal with this issue and force municipalities to open *concursos* more often, as well as reduce the time from 180 to 40 days in which temporary teachers have to wait to be re-hired by the state government (Folha Dirigida, 2017).

Moreover, article 41 of the Brazilian constitution mentioned in article 85 above is a constitutional prerogative and relates to all civil servants and explains the conditions of tenure and eventual dismissal:

Art.41. Civil servants are 'stable' [tenured] after three years of executing the function to which they were nominated by passing a public *concurso* (EC in 19/98)

§1 The stable/tenured public servant will only lose the position:

- I - by virtue of an official final judicial sentence;
- II - through an administrative process in which their ample defence is assured;
- III - by means of a periodical evaluation of performance, in the form of a complementary law, ensuring adequate defence.

Paragraph 2. If the firing of a stable civil servant is invalidated by judicial decision, they will be reintegrated, and the eventual occupant of that vacancy, if they are also a stable civil servant, will return to the post of origin, without the right to indemnity, will be taken to another available post with remuneration that is proportional to length of service.

Paragraph 3. If their position is extinct or declared unnecessary, the stable civil servant will become available, with remuneration proportional to the time of service, until they are placed in another adequate position.

Paragraph 4. As a condition for the acquisition of stability, a special evaluation based on job performance is obligatory as per a committee set up for this very purpose.

Hence, once a teacher has passed the probation period, he/she is formally established as a '*concurado*' (a teacher that has passed the *concurso*) and is recognised as an official tenured civil servant. The issue of probation is addressed by 'The Law of *concursos*' n. 8.112 (Brasil, 1990) which states:

Art. 20. Upon entering the civil service, the appointed candidate of a given position will be subject to a probationary period for a period of 36 (thirty-six) months<sup>6</sup>, during which his probationary aptitude and capacity will be assessed for the performance of their position, observing the following factors:

- I - assiduity;
- II - discipline;
- III - capacity for initiative;
- IV - productivity;
- V - responsibility.

The law makes no explicit references on how these items should be assessed and what the criteria might be for the purposes of passing the probationary period, although there is a large section which deals with potential 'penalties' and other 'disciplinary' issues that may take place during a person's career within the civil service. However, this issue goes beyond the scope and purpose of this section and thesis. The discussion of probation has been introduced for context, so the reader is able to understand that such a stage does exist within a teacher's career in Brazil. In the next section, the overall process of the *concurso* will be explained by providing examples from different states in Brazil.

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<sup>6</sup> 36 months is the new timeline confirmed by the constitutional amendment EC19/1998. The original law stated 24 months.

### 2.3. The selection of a public school teacher in Brazil

After emerging from university with a teaching degree, qualified teachers in Brazil who wish to teach in secondary state schools are required by law to undertake the '*concurso*' examination. This is a constitutional imperative that all civil servants have to abide by, which in turn, normalises the civil servant/teacher selection process across the country, albeit, with the peculiarities of each different municipality or state since the constitution and the law leave the examination content to the decision of the state or municipality. The local government often asks an independent institution, usually a sizeable education-related organisation, to produce and organise its examinations.

In the case of public school teachers in Brazil, the state or municipality who wishes to put forward a *concurso* to hire a given number of teachers must explicitly describe the functions required of teachers. Once the local or state government has decided to open a *concurso*, it must release an official document called an '*edital*' which is published in a national bulletin called '*Diário Oficial da União*' (Official Diary of the Union). This is then publicised widely on newspapers and online. Each *concurso* is produced by a third party institution that is hired by the government. Thus, each *edital* is a unique document bespoke for each examination. In addition, each examination is produced by a '*banca*', an exclusive set of people that are in charge of producing the curricula to be studied and the formulation of the questions to be answered by the candidates.

After reviewing over 20 *editals* from the latest *concursos* for teachers in Brazil, I have chosen the state of Espírito Santo as one of the cases to showcase here, even though teachers from the state are not part of the research – for two reasons. Firstly, it is the latest *concurso* to be opened at the time of finishing this thesis (opened in May 2018), and it helps highlight that regulations are virtually identical in any state of Brazil. I have also chosen an example from the Distrito Federal (DF), as it has the simplest of all *editals* reviewed, and would provide a good contrasting example.

The *edital* is a specific document that must be sanctioned by the Secretary of Education of the state. The one from Espírito Santo is 35-pages long while the *edital* from Brasilia-DF, is 57 pages long. It contains all the rules and

regulations, which organisations oversee the production of the exams<sup>7</sup>, the content of exams, how to pay for the enrolment, which cities will host the exam, amongst other official deliberations (SEDU/ES, 2018; SEE/DF, 2016). It is important to remember that a review of *editals* is not one of the purposes of this thesis, but instead, it is to identify, describe, and explain the structure and practice of the *concurso*.

### Teacher Job Description

In the case of the state of Espírito Santo, the teacher “job description” say:

2.2 – To prepare and minister classes; assess and follow the achievement of students in Primary and Secondary school, in the respective field as expressed by the provision of Annex III of the law n.5.580, of the 13<sup>th</sup> of January of 1998 and its alterations as well as conform with the article 14 of the law #9.394, of the 20<sup>th</sup> of December of 1996 (Education Act), participate in the elaboration of the pedagogical plan of the school; elaborate and comply with schemes of work, according to the pedagogical proposal of the school; look after student learning; establish strategies to provide ‘recuperation’ for students with low achievement; comply and attend all established school days and times; as well as fully participate in the periods dedicated to planning, assessment, and professional development; collaborate with activities that involve the families and local community.

(SEDU/ES, 2018, p.3)

This is a relatively thorough standardised job description often found in most *editals* for any state or municipal school. However, the *edital* from Distrito Federal keeps the description much simpler

2.1.1. BASIC ATTRIBUTIONS [for class teachers]: conducting class activities in the modalities, stages and according to specific qualification and perform other activities of interest to the area.

Given that the state school teacher is a civil servant, their job is highly regulated and described by federal and state law, since they ‘serve the state/municipality’ and not the school. Furthermore, the person specification is also highly regulated and standardised. The *edital* from Espírito Santo requires the following:

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<sup>7</sup> States and municipalities often outsource their examinations to educational institutions that have a record of producing such examinations. These are often research institutes and universities.

### Qualification – Teacher I (basic)

The teacher must have a Licensure undergraduate degree or a special programme of pedagogical development for those who have an undergraduate degree without a teaching license as per the resolution number 2 of the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, 1997 from the National Education Council (CNE)

(SEDU/ES, 2018, p. 3)

As an example, the *edital* from the Federal District requires a Geography teacher-candidate to have a:

diploma, duly registered, for completion of a full degree course in Geography, or bachelor's degree in Geography with pedagogical complementation in Special Licensure Program (PEL) in a related area, provided by a higher education institution is recognized by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC).

(SEE/DF, 2016, p. 4)

Due to its centralised decision-making process and teacher selection protocol, the *editais* do not describe any non-cognitive skills, such as characteristics, attributes and dispositions that may be required of new teachers. The text is focused on how those wishing to attempt the *concurso* need to comply with federal and/or state law.

### The structure of the concurso

All Brazilian municipalities and states employ a very similar structure to the 'concurso' where a teacher is ranked according to a score based on at least:

- a) A set of multiple choice questions based on subject knowledge and pedagogical theory/education law (a few *concursos* also have an essay-based question that may take many different forms); This exam is used for 'elimination' as well as 'ranking' of candidates. Candidates that do not reach a set minimum standard are automatically eliminated.
- b) Scoring based on the overall academic qualifications obtained by the candidate. This is often a points-based system that is added to the examination score, and it is for classification purposes since all

candidates will have, at least, a teaching degree which is the minimum requirement even to attempt the *concurso*. These points are only considered if a candidate has passed stage “a” of the *concurso*. The higher your degree (in education or a field related to the subject area applied), the higher your score. A doctorate is followed by a masters and then other post-graduate certificates or diploma qualifications.

### The available vacancies in a concurso

Teacher-candidates, at the time of enrolment for the exam, have to choose which subject they are applying for and which municipality/region they wish to teach at. They only have one option. The schools where vacancies are available are not disclosed to candidates. The table below is a section of the type of information made available for candidates about the vacancies:

	CÓDIGOS DE OPÇÃO DAS DISCIPLINAS	PP	BA	BB	BC	BD	BE	BF	BG	BH	BI	BJ	BK	BL	BM
Códigos de Opção dos Municípios	Municípios de Classificação/Disciplinas	Pedagogo	Arte	Biologia / Ciências	Educação Física	Espanhol	Filosofia	Geografia	História	Inglês	Língua Portuguesa	Sociologia	Matemática	Física	Química
	PD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	VILA PAVÃO	Geral	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	VILA VALERIO	Geral	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
	PD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	VILA VELHA	Geral	10	2	2	2	0	1	4	2	1	4	0	9	4
	PD	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	VITÓRIA	Geral	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	5	4
	PD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Geral de Vagas por Disciplina		87	58	108	73	1	3	117	58	10	170	2	227	67	44
TOTAL DE VAGAS		1.025													
Notas:															
Geral: Número de vagas (incluindo-se a reserva para candidatos com deficiência).															
PD: Reserva de vagas para candidatos com deficiência, nos termos dos dispositivos legais mencionados no Capítulo V deste Edital.															

Figure 1 - a section of the table of available vacancies by city (rows) and by subject (columns) for the concurso from the state of Espírito Santo.

According to this table, there are vacancies in 78 municipalities within the state of Espírito Santo. This is broken down by subject area (at the top row). The code PD stands for the number of vacancies safeguarded to candidates with a disability, as defined by the legal framework of the state. In the table above, number 78 is the city of ‘Vitória’, the capital and largest city of the state. It has a total of 17 vacancies of a total of 1,025 available teaching places in the entire state, none of which have been safeguarded for candidates with disabilities.

In the example from the Federal District, the ‘*edital*’ only provides a table with the number of vacancies in each type of position. There were vacancies in for 26 different subject teachers. The highest being ‘pedagogue’ (for



Fundamental Basic Education) with 426 places, and the lowest being one (1) for nine (9) different subject teaching areas out of a total of 647 different vacancies for teachers within the Federal District as a whole. Finally, when it comes to allocation of places, section 4.1 of the *edital* (SEE/DF, 2016) says:

The allocation of the approved candidates will be in one of the Administrative Offices of the Regional Teaching Coordination, or of the School Units of the Public Education Network of the Federal District, of the Secretary of State for Education of the Federal District.

### The scoring of the concurso

Furthermore, when looking at the part of the examination explained in point “a)” above, the regulations from the ‘*concurso*’ from Espírito Santo is broken down as follows:

Examination	Number of questions	Duration of the Exam
Basic knowledge: Portuguese Language  Pedagogical Knowledge  Basic knowledge of Information Technology	30 (1 point each)	5 hours (concurrent hours on the same day)
Specific Knowledge (depends on subject area applied for)	40 (1 point each)	
Written Essay – Case Study	2 (25 points each)	

*Table 1. The distribution of points for the different stages of the concurso exam for the state of Espírito Santo (SEDU/ES, 2018)*

In this particular *concurso*, there are two written essay questions, one about a candidate’s pedagogical knowledge and another about their specific subject knowledge. The ‘*edital*’ document also contains further explanations about the assessment of the essay questions and how points are allocated. In addition, it is important to highlight a rule which states that candidates that rank lower than the minimum number of vacancies for their subject on the multiple-choice exam do not get their essay question marked, nor their ‘academic qualifications’ score added to their final tally since the multiple-choice exam has both a ‘classificatory’ element and an ‘eliminator’ element. In the case of Distrito Federal (table in the next page):

Examination	Number of questions	Duration of Exam
P1 (multiple choice) Basic Knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Portuguese Language</li> <li>➤ 'Organic' laws of the federal district</li> <li>➤ Notions of Administrative law</li> <li>➤ Legal marks on education law – national and local</li> </ul>	40 (1 point each)	4 hours and 30 minutes
P2 (multiple choice) Complementary Knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Specific legislation focused on Education</li> <li>➤ Educational and Pedagogical Themes</li> </ul>	30 (1 point each)	
P3 (multiple choice) Specific Knowledge (depends on subject area)	50 (1 point each)	
P4 (written essay question)	1 (40 points, 30 lines maximum)	

Table 2. The distribution of points for the concurso exam for the state of Distrito Federal (SEE/DF, 2016)

In this *concurso*, it is interesting to note that if a candidate answers a multiple-choice question incorrectly, they lose one point for each incorrect question, but they do not lose any point if they leave the question blank (SEE/DF, 2016, p. 19). The minimum score for approval in the *concurso* is eight (8) points for P1; nine (9) points for P2; 15 points for P3; and 36 points total from all the multiple-choice questions. That means that a candidate needs three points more than the sum of the minimum score in each individual exam to pass the multiple-choice phase. If they fail this, their essay question is not marked. This is the same as for the state of Espírito Santo and is a common feature across Brazilian *concursos* given the large number of candidates that often enrol in the examination process.

For part “b” of the *concurso*, where academic qualifications are taken into account, in Espírito Santo, the scoring has a maximum total of 2.25 points available for each candidate. That is 1.8% of the total available points. In this *concurso*, a doctoral degree is worth 1.50 points, a Masters degree 0.50 points, and a post-graduate certificate or diploma is worth 0.25 points. In the Federal District, the total number of points available for academic qualifications is eight 8 points. That is 6.25% of the total points available. In this *concurso* a doctoral degree is worth 1.76 points, a masters’ degree is worth 0.88 points, a post-graduate certificate/diploma is worth 0.44 points. In addition, this *concurso* grants a maximum of 0.48 points if the candidate has

passed a previous *concurso* (public or private) in the area in which they have applied for, and a maximum of four 4 points for each year in service in an professional field related to the area/subject they have applied for. There are multiple variations of scoring of academic qualifications between *concursos* in Brazil since each state/municipality has the freedom to determine how the scoring process works.

#### Example of the available pay-scales for the concursos

The pay-scale is focused on having different levels of academic degrees. In the state of Espírito Santo (all states have a different pay-scale), for a teaching workload of 25 hours per week (in a 40-hour contract), the teacher's pay per calendar month is as follows:

- I. If the candidate only has a 'licensure' undergraduate degree: R\$1,982.55 (equivalent to about £435)
- II. If the candidate has a post-graduate diploma: R\$2,119.28 (equivalent to about £465)
- III. If the candidate has a Masters degree: R\$ 2,734. 57 (equivalent to about £600)
- IV. If the candidate has a Doctoral degree: R\$ 3,554.93 (equivalent to about £780)

The pay scale in the Federal District is different, and it is based on the available position. For example, all approved teacher-candidates (regardless of highest academic qualification) that fall on the category of 25 teaching hours per week (within a 40 hour-week) have an initial salary of R\$ 5,237.13. That is around 32% more than a teacher with a doctoral degree in the state of Espírito Santo. Importantly, for a teacher that only has a licensure degree that is able to pass a *concurso* in the Federal District will have a salary that is 63% higher than if he did a *concurso* and passed in Espírito Santo (SEE/DF, 2016).

### Ranking and Allocation of Vacancies

Furthermore, according to the regulations of this particular '*concurso*' (which is very similar to most other '*concursos*' for teachers), the ranking and 'nominations' of teachers in the state of Espírito Santo (SEDU/ES, 2018) are given as follows:

12.4 – The approved candidate must be ranked by position/subject-area/municipality and position/subject-area, depending on their choice at the moment of enrolment.

This means teachers can choose whether they want to be classified according to a specific municipality (only one choice) or leave it open to a general pool. When it comes to calling on candidates the state will follow the following rules:

12.4.1 – The ranking by position/subject-area/municipality will have priority in relation to the ranking by position/subject-area, this means that candidates will be called to the municipality according to the necessity of the secretary of education for the state of Espírito Santo. If a candidate chooses to accept the call through this ranking, they are automatically removed from the position/subject-area ranking.

But the following caveat takes place:

12.4.1.1 – Any candidate that has been called by their ranking in relation to the chosen municipality and do not accept their choice of any of the available schools, will be automatically excluded from all [other] rankings.

However,

12.4.2.1 – A candidate may be called only once for a municipality to which they did not choose at enrolment if a vacancy exists in a given municipality and there is no other ranked candidate to fulfil that vacancy. In this case, the secretary of education for the state of Espírito Santo will use the ranking of position/subject-area.

In the Federal District, because it is one large educational authority (since the Federal District comprises a small geographical area), there is no allocation of vacancies by municipality. Section 11.3 explains:

After calculating the final grade in the contest and applying the tie-breaking criteria in sub-item 12 of this announcement, the candidates will be listed in order of classification by teaching position, according to the decreasing values of the final marks in the *concurso*.

The tie-breaking regulations in this *concurso* is an interesting oddity, and it deserves to be mentioned. The first criterion is whether a candidate is at or over 60 years of age. If they are, they get preference. There have been a few judicial cases on the legality of this criteria since it is based on a law called 'the statute of the elderly' (Brasil, 2003). Criteria two (2) to five (5) are based on the maximum scores on the different exams. If after those criteria are measured there is still a tie, criteria six (6) demands that the candidate with the higher age be allocated the vacancy. If the candidates have the same age, criterion seven (7) says that the candidate that has taken part in jury-duty is then allocated the vacancy. (SEE/DF, 2016, p. 29)

### The content of the concurso examination

Any teacher-candidate from a specific subject area of the *concurso* receives their own set of examination. In the example of the *concurso* for the Distrito Federal (p.40), where each question is either correct or incorrect (and the candidate must get the question right to get a point or not respond to avoid losing a point in the event of getting a question wrong), one question from each set of exams for the teacher of Biology was selected to provide typical examples of concurso questions. Below is a question from the 'specific subject knowledge' area (translation in the next page).

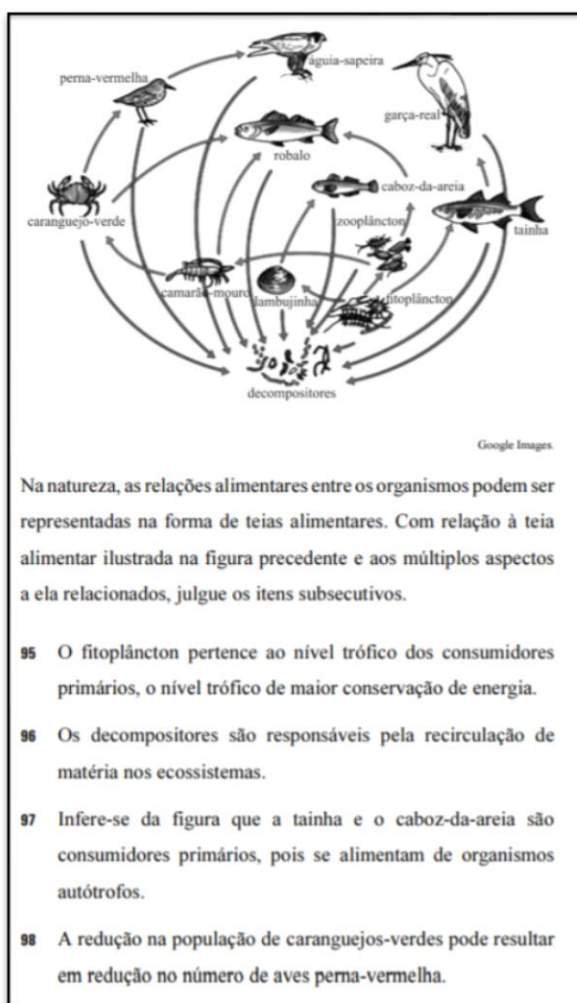


Figure 2 - Question from the Biology specific subject knowledge concurso (SEE/DF, 2017)

**Translation:**

In nature, eating relationships between organisms can be represented in the form of food webs. With regards to the food web illustrated in the preceding figure and the multiple aspects to it, judge the subsequent items.

95 Phytoplankton belongs to the trophic level of primary consumers, the trophic level of greatest energy conservation.

96 The decomposers are responsible for the recirculation of matter in ecosystems.

97 It is inferred from the figure that the mullet and the cape-of-sand fish are primary consumers because they consume organisms that are autotrophs.

98 The reduction in the population of green crabs may result reduction in the number of red-legged birds

The example above clearly has very specific expectations regarding a Biology teachers' subject knowledge. The knowledge required goes beyond that of the understanding of the meaning of a food web and its relationships; it also demands expert knowledge and correct usage of highly technical vocabulary. Below is an example of a question from the 'complementary knowledge' section.

Com relação à influência do contexto sociocultural nas tendências pedagógicas, julgue os itens a seguir.

- 58 Na formação continuada dos professores, a coordenação pedagógica deve considerar as diferentes tendências pedagógicas, a fim de tornar a ação educativa cada vez mais consciente sobre que sociedade se deseja construir.
- 59 Na escola observam-se espaços, tempos, papéis sociais, relações de poder e de trabalho decorrentes de convenções sociais e históricas que consolidam rotinas organizacionais que perpassam diversas gerações.
- 60 No Brasil, há autores que consideram que as principais tendências pedagógicas pertencem a duas categorias: as liberais, em uma perspectiva mais democrática de educação, e as progressistas, fundamentadas em uma análise crítica da sociedade. A adoção tanto de uma quanto de outra categoria nos sistemas de ensino brasileiros resultou na superação do modelo que reproduz a divisão social do trabalho.

Figure 3 - question from the 'complementary knowledge' section of the concurso examination for the teacher of Biology (SEE/DF, 2017)

**Translation:**

With regards to the influence of the sociocultural context on pedagogical trends, judge the following items.

58 In continuing teacher education, the pedagogical coordinator should consider the different pedagogical trends, with the purpose to make educational action increasingly conscious about the type of society one wishes to build.

59 At school, there are spaces, times, social roles, relations of power and of work that are a result of social conventions and historical factors that consolidate organizational routines that are maintained across generations.

60 In Brazil, there are some authors who consider that the main pedagogical trends fall into two categories: liberals, in a more democratic perspective of education, and progressives, based on a critical analysis of society. The adoption of either or both categories in Brazilian education systems has resulted in overcoming the model that reproduces the social divisions of labour

In this section above, the candidate is expected to make a 'judgement' on questions 58 to 60 about "pedagogical trends". At the same time, they must keep in mind that the *concurso* has been prepared by a unique '*banca*'. As such, questions that appear to be highly subjective for the untrained candidate, may become less so, as the candidate may have to "guess" what the examination "wants" them to answer, not what they may actually think about each statement. This is, arguably, an inherent flaw of this type of examination, as the questions may be looking for a particular interpretation of a given statement rather than the individual's own personal interpretation. Therefore, an examination that claims to be impartial, may end up becoming less so depending on how the questions are framed.

Similarly, in the 'Basic Knowledge' exam, the following question (in the next page) is a good example of the expectations of the '*banca*' for this *edital* with regards to the explicit acquisition of knowledge and the 'literal' interpretation of both federal and local law. Here, it is important to query the value of these types of questions for classroom teaching and learning, and for gauging teacher and/or teaching quality since the expectation of the questions are focused on the teacher *as a civil servant* and its rights, obligations and consequences of failures to comply with the law.



- Com base nas disposições da Constituição Federal de 1988 e da Lei Complementar n.º 840/2011 (Regime Jurídico dos Servidores Públicos Civis do Distrito Federal, das Autarquias e das Fundações Públicas Distritais), julgue os itens que se seguem, a respeito de agentes públicos.
- 21 Disposição da lei complementar em apreço permite a abertura de concurso público mesmo quando houver candidato aprovado em concurso anterior com prazo de validade não expirado, mas não nomeado.
  - 22 **Situação hipotética:** Lucas, servidor público distrital, foi denunciado pela prática de infração disciplinar e, em razão disso, será submetido a processo disciplinar para a apuração de responsabilidade administrativa. **Assertiva:** Nessa situação, o desenvolvimento do referido processo limitar-se-á às seguintes fases: instauração, inquérito e julgamento.
  - 23 Embora a acumulação remunerada de cargos públicos seja, de forma geral, vedada, essa vedação não se estende a empregos públicos vinculados a empresas públicas e a sociedades de economia mista.
  - 24 Caso servidor público de secretaria de governo, atuando nessa condição, cause prejuízo a terceiro, o ente federado ao qual estiver vinculada a secretaria responderá pelos danos causados, sendo assegurado ao ente o direito de ser ressarcido mediante ação regressiva contra o agente público causador do dano, independentemente de dolo ou culpa.
  - 25 Após tomar posse em cargo efetivo, o servidor público do DF terá cinco dias úteis para efetivamente começar a desempenhar as atribuições do respectivo cargo, contados da data da posse.

Figure 4 - Question from the 'Basic Knowledge' concurso examination (SEE/DF, 2017)

**Translation:**

Based on the provisions of the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the Complementary Law no. 840/2011 (Legal Regime of Public Civil Servants of the Federal District, of Local Authorities and Public District Foundations, judge the following items regarding public agents (civil servants).

21 Provision of the complementary law in question allows for the of public competition (a concurso) even when there is a candidate approved in a previous concurso with an expiration date that has not expired, but not nominated.

22 **Hypothetical situation:** Lucas, a district public civil servant, was denounced for the practice of disciplinary infraction and, for this reason, he will be subject to a disciplinary process for verification of his administrative liability. **Assertive:** In this situation, the development of that process will be confined to following stages: initiation, investigation and trial.

23 Although the accumulation of remunerated public offices are, in general, prohibited, this prohibition does not extend to jobs associated with public companies and companies/association of mixed economy.

24 In the case that a Public civil servant of a government-based office, and when acting in this position, causes damage to a third-party, the federated entity to which the office is tied to will be liable for the damages caused, with the entity being assured the right to be reimbursed through action against the public agent causing the damage, regardless of intent or guilt.

25 After taking effective office, the public civil servant of the Federal District will have five business days to effectively start the attributions of the respective position, counted from the date of the nomination.

An example of a 'practice-lesson' "exam."

The rules of the nomination process as expressed above, provide the general boundaries under which teachers are selected for schools within a given municipality/state. The emphasis of all *concursos* is always on multiple-choice questions and, often, an essay question (Fontainha et al., 2014). As such, there are virtually no *concursos* for public school teachers that require a practice-based examination (i.e. teaching a lesson). I have found evidence of a couple of *concursos* that requested a 'practice-lesson'. They were the state of Paraná (in 2014) and the state of Ceará (in 2013), both of which contained very explicit rules about how the actual 'practice-lesson' should take place.

For the context of this research, an explanation of how this 'practice-exam' is regulated by the *edital* and those producing the '*concurso*' is provided. I will use the example from the state of Ceará (SEDUC/CE, 2013). They have imposed the following regulations on a 'practice-lesson':

9.1 – Only the candidates that have been approved in the multiple-choice exams and ranked by position/subject-area will be called for the practice-lesson. Only candidates ranked above a specific place, depending on subject-area will be called. [For example, only those above 57<sup>th</sup> place will be called for the practice-lesson, even if those ranked below 57<sup>th</sup> have technically passed the other exams].

9.2 – The candidate that is not called for the practice-lesson will be automatically eliminated and will not have any ranking associated with the '*concurso*'.

9.3 – The practice-lesson will be applied in the probable date of [XX-XX-XX] and it is worth a total of 25 points and will be assessed on technical knowledge and the candidate's didactic ability to expose about a theme which is randomly drawn from the list of the subject's curriculum [as stated in the *edital*]. In this practice-lesson stage of the exam, the candidate is passive of elimination.

9.4 – A candidate will be eliminated if the grade obtained in the practice-lesson is below 12.50 points.

(SEDUC/CE, 2013, p.14)

There is no indication in the *edital* of how the lesson is assessed and how the points are allocated. However, point 9.6 (*ibid* p.14) states that:

9.6 - In the assessment of the practice-lesson, the following points will be considered: subject knowledge based on the topic of the lesson, adequate use of language, clarity and objectivity of the exposition of the topic, posture, communication and creativity. Also, the use of space, body-language and adequate use of time allocated to the presentation.

In addition, point 9.10 (*ibid* p.14) makes it clear that:

9.10 - The candidate will not be allowed to use any multimedia, recordings or audio-visual resources during the presentation of the 'practice-lesson'.

The statements above make explicit what is allowed and not allowed during the practice-lesson. Statement 9.10 is undoubtedly an intriguing request, considering that statement 9.6 claims the need to assess a candidate's 'creativity' without the use of any type of resource other than the board, a board pen/chalk, paper-based resources, and their voice.

### Summary

The descriptions given provide evidence of a system of selection that is highly regulated by a federal constitution and state/municipality laws, although it seems to allow a somewhat bespoke system of selection since it has a fixed parameter (the *concurso* of examinations and academic qualifications) which is independent of location. However, all states have slightly different exams which may vary by total number of exams, the total number of questions, number of questions by specific area, the actual content to be examined, hours available to complete the exam and the overall scoring system. Independently of these relatively small internal differences, the overall procedure and main protocol of selection are still the same across the country where it is for urban or rural schools. Since public school teachers are civil servants, the next section will draw on the work of Beattie (1996) and of Fontainha et al. (2014) in order to provide a further understanding on the *concurso* as an instrument of selection.

## 2.4. The *concurso* as an instrument of selection

Teaching is a civil service career in Brazil. It is a system borrowed directly from Portugal, which in turn borrowed it from France. Regardless of its old historical routes, the *concurso* as it exists in Brazil has its own history, its own reality. One may argue that there are 5592 different realities since each municipality, and each state have the right to have their own *concurso* and their own teacher career plan (Oliveira, 2011).

Thus, it is important to highlight some of the features of a *concurso* as an instrument for teacher selection. The work of Nicholas Beattie (1996) contrasting the French *concours* with the English system of teacher selection (i.e. the interview process) and the work of Fontainha et al. (2014) are two particularly important pieces of the literature that deserve its own section as it allows this thesis to peer deeper into the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection.

Beattie also argues that teacher selection has not received the attention it requires neither from the academic literature (e.g. Balter and Duncombe, 2008; Delli and Vera, 2003; Shalock, 1979; Klassen and Kim, 2017; Wise et al., 1987) nor governments in order to ensure ‘a comprehensive and dynamic approach to improve the teaching profession’ (Hanes and Hanes, 1986, p.2). Beattie agrees with Hanes and Hanes by positioning teacher selection as shaped by broad ‘cultural and institutional traditions’ that has a direct implication on teachers’ professional lives (Beattie, 1996), as well as on schools’ overall functioning (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004), and initial teacher education’s engagement with the needs of teachers and schools (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Ban (2008, p.1) agrees with this when she points out that when assessed through both a sociological and anthropological standpoint,

‘selection criteria and procedures are products and shapers of the organizational culture, reflecting what is valued within the organization and ensuring selection of new staff who fit into the organization and support its cultural values’

Similarly, in a recent work about *concursos* for judges in Brazil, Feitosa and Passos (2017) argues that the *concurso*

offers few resources for the recruitment of candidates with the necessary competencies for the performance of the magistracy in the current social and political scenario of the country. By favouring the technical knowledge and the ability to memorize assessed in multiple-choice tests and by making limited use of internal training, through magistracy schools, the Judiciary abdicates to choose the judge profile most suitable for the function

(Feitosa and Passos, 2017, p.131)

Moreover, Correa and Pinto (2011) argue that the *concurso* as an instrument of entry to the profession with a defined career plan and mechanisms for career progression are ‘fundamental elements to think about quality in education’ (p.3). When discussing the French system, Sharpe (1992, p.340) argued that teacher selection and the assessment of prospective teachers have a place within a country’s ‘dominant ideological principles’; while Osbourn and Broadfoot (1993, p.105) position selection within an educational system’s ‘ideological traditions’. In addition, Fontainha et al. (2014) explain that when it comes to selection, we must distinguish between two competing ideologies. On the one hand, there is an academic ideology which privileges the recruitment of top performing graduates through a scholarly meritocracy, while on the other hand there is a professional ideology. The latter way of considering selection focuses on practical work-based assessments, looking for competence through demonstrable skills for a specific job post rather than academic prowess (Fontainha et al., 2014).

These competing ideologies are something that Fontainha et al.’s work does not fully address especially regarding their inner workings. Importantly, they align with Beattie’s work where he contrasts the French *concurso* versus the English interview as methods of selection. According to Beattie and Fontainha et al., the *concurso* relies on an academic ideology of selection prioritising academic merit and knowledge acquisition; while the interview relies on a professional ideology, prioritising an individual’s professional competence and potential for future work. Here, Beattie goes on to state that:

The crucial distinction is in fact that an interview is a way of selecting a teacher for a job in a school...[while] a concurs is a way of selecting teachers for [specific] duties in schools.

(Beattie, 1996, p.11, italics in the original)

The distinction made by Beattie focuses on both the purpose and the manner in which selection happens, in particular, the difficult relationships between candidates, schools, the community, and the government. For a *concurso*, these relationships are often pre-defined in both in the law and in culture (Fontainha et al., 2014). Beattie goes even further when he argues that these deep-structures imply a series of assumptions that determine these relationships where

credibility depends less on educational experts, psychological testers, etc. than on the trust of ordinary people whose perceptions of the *concours* will be based largely on its historical durability ...and on common-sense notions that rank-ordering makes sense, is fair, [and] safeguards standards...

(Beattie, 1996, p.15)

For Fontainha et al. (2014), this sense of fairness imbued in the *concurso* as an instrument of selection is born out of Brazilian history and culture, through issues of both patronage and clientelism embedded in a 'dysfunctional public administration' (Fontainha et al., 2014, p.13). Moreover, the other assertion in the passage above argues that 'the assessment of teachers for employment [continues to be a] part of a broader cultural nexus' (Beattie, 1996, p.10) and as such, the Brazilian *concurso*'s credibility and worth are directly linked with teachers' (and the public's) perceptions. This is a critical point because these perceptions are an integral part of those involved in the civil service structure in Brazilian society, and it informs the central aim of this thesis.

Importantly, Beattie points out that the unique process of the *concurso* is also intrinsically linked to the issue of prestige attached to a candidate passing and obtaining a civil servant position. This prestige, Beattie argues, is often associated with the *concurso* as an instrument *to be selected by* rather than the actual joining of the teaching profession. Additionally, the study by Fontainha et al. (2014) draws attention to the fact that the *concurso* 'selects neither the best existing professionals nor the students with the best previous academic achievement' (p.57). They also contrast the Brazilian *concurso* with the French one. They explain how the French system is divided into separate stages, one which is a "general cultural studies" without a fixed programme of study that aims to assess the 'capacity of adaptation of the candidate's opinion, its manner of thinking, its method of writing and self-

expression expected by institutions' (Fontainha et al., 2014, p. 119). They continue by arguing that such an exam would be unthinkable in Brazil due to its perceived subjectivity, and unacceptable since the *concurso* focuses on standardised objectives prepared by a third-party which is contracted-out by the government. Fontainha et al. (2014) argue that the *concurso*'s academic ideology prevents it from advancing and changing with the needs of the times. Thus, it is essential to go back to the work of Beattie (1996, p.14) who develops a rationale regarding four central assumptions for the existence of the French *concours* as an instrument of selection. They are:

(i) *the government is more important than the school:*

This assumption rests on both historical and legislative premises. The government has central control on opening vacancies in schools, creating a *concurso*, selecting teachers, allocating teachers and paying them. Beattie argues this imposes strict limits on the level of responsiveness of schools to local and contextualised demands since 'what is being assessed is not the individual's adaptability to colleagues and circumstances, but whether the individual meets standard national requirements' (Beattie, 1996, p.15).

(ii) *teachers are appointed by the government for life:*

This is a civil servant guarantee which is also bound by the constitution and legislation. It implies a view of the teacher as an employee of the government with a duty to it. This is not an existing guarantee for teachers outside the public school system.

(iii) *teachers' professional merit is assessable and predictable:*

In the logic of the *concurso*, scoring well on tests and being ranked according to said score is recognisable and tangible. It is the academic ideology that seems to fuel a race for exam-taking expertise through exam preparation courses. Fontainha et al. (2014, p.127) state 'we have no idea how many preparation courses for the *concurso* exist in Brazil. There is no control. There is no knowledge'.

- (iv) what really matters in a teacher's portfolio of qualifications and competences is subject expertise;

This follows from assumption (iii) and is also evidenced in section 2.3 above. Professional merit, equal to measurable qualifications and subject knowledge competence, is what matters in selection. Fontainha et al.'s (2014) work highlight that none of the 698 *concursos* analysed had any descriptions of the abilities or aptitudes that a candidate needed to have or to develop for the post which they were competing for. Fontainha et al. show that in Brazil, the administration responsible for the exam does not consider such characteristics as part of the selection process (Fontainha et al., 2014, p.52). According to Beattie, this is only possible because no weight is placed on practical competence in the *concurso* as both policy and instrument of selection.

Furthermore, Beattie argues that because of the competitive nature of the *concurso*, these assumptions are informed by five main features. For Beattie, the *concurso* is *hierarchical, serious, explicit, value-laden, and subject-dominated*.

#### 1. The Concurso is Hierarchical

In France, the *concours* has a *jury*, a government body made up of people considered highly qualified and are, presumably, considered successful teachers. Beattie argues that the jury is the hierarchical entity that had final decision-making powers on the last “oral” phase of the French *Concurso*. On the other hand, in most *concursos* in Brazil, the hierarchy is based on academic scoring that bound by the law (Brasil/LDB, 1996) and the constitution (Brasil, 1988), where it explicitly demands that vacancies for teachers and most civil servant positions must be open to competition via a *concurso*. The example from Ceará in section 2.3 and its ‘practice-lesson’ exam also demonstrates this hierarchy.

In addition, the Espírito Santo example, the hierarchy of what is valued within the *concurso* is manifested in a different manner and in contrasting ways. Although those with higher academic qualifications receive a higher scoring,



demonstrating its privileged position within the system, the scoring is only up to 2.25 points are available for each candidate or 1.9% of the total. These points are only awarded after classification on the written exams. This is an inconsistent hierarchy given the wealth of resources needed to be spent to achieve academic qualifications, in contrast with the scoring value it is given and the pay scale that it ultimately delivers. Although the hierarchy of academic qualifications delivers a higher salary, it does not deliver a scoring advantage unless the candidate has passed the written examinations.

## 2. The Concurso is Serious

Just like the French system, the Brazilian *concurso* does not consider personal issues relating to the suitability of the teacher-school partnership. The *concurso* is not interested in the personal. Here, 'serious' means high-stakes for both teachers and the government. The *concurso* is interested in the final score of the exam, and how it abides by the Brazilian constitution. In addition, the *concurso* is *serious* for other reasons. There are issues of infringement of the law against the *concurso* which is quickly picked up by politicians and teachers' unions.

## 3. The concurso is explicit

Here, the 'explicit-ness' of the *concurso* is directly linked to issues of transparency and visibility of the process. The *concurso* is not like an interview, sealed in a room with only a handful of people in direct contact with a candidate. The rules, regulations, and measures are explicitly explained in the '*edital*'. The examination questions are the same for everyone. The time for completion is the same. The room in which they are in is the same/similar. Moreover, the results of each *concurso* must be made public, and they are published in the Official Government newspaper, the '*Diário Oficial da União*'.

## 4. The concurso is value-laden

Both Beattie and Fontainha et al. argue that the use of language associated with the *concours* often includes concepts that carry a specific 'cultural heritage' and expectations, often expressed by the constitution, the laws, teaching unions, teachers, as well as the media. The explicit use of a specific type of language creates a certain expectation regarding the *concurso*. Moreover, the value-laden language of the *concurso* in Brazil is not only about the individual expectation, but the expectation for the *concurso* itself

as an instrument of selection. Thus, examining the perception of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection by the society in which it is embedded becomes paramount for two reasons. Firstly, it allows a deeper understanding of the inherent value associated with the *concurso*. Secondly, it contextualises teachers' experiences of selection when compared with other features of a teaching career in Brazil.

##### 5. The concurso is subject-dominated

This is an indispensable feature as it informs the tests on which *concursos* are based. Beattie argues that from a *concurso's* point-of-view, the competence of an educator stems from his or her mastery of specific subject knowledge. As shown in section 2.1 and 2.2, this subject knowledge is pivotal in a candidate's overall score and ranking, and thus for a chance at a tenured teaching position. For example, of the 698 *concursos* analysed by Fontainha et al. (2014) 97.99% used subject-knowledge multiple-choice tests, and none used a practical exam. Only 1.29% used an oral examination. Further still, of the 97.99% of *concursos* that used multiple-choice examinations, 96.7% used the exam as both eliminatory and classificatory in nature, while in 22.21% of *concursos*, it was the only stage of selection. (Fontainha et al., 2014, p.57-59). The teachers' multiple-choice tests are often divided into subject-specific content knowledge, pedagogical theory and home language tests, all of which must be answered within a given timeframe.

Not only is the *concurso* subject-dominated (as in specific subject knowledge), but the 'type' of subject is also valued. As mentioned above, it is the specific subject knowledge that is valued. When other types of knowledge are evaluated, they are often knowledge of educational theories and law rather than contextual pedagogical knowledge. Furthermore, there is also a dichotomy of *points awarded* vs *salary given* (as explained above in section 2.2) which implies that there is a belief that a higher academic degree deserves a large payment differential, regardless of whether the candidate is a better teacher or not. For example, a new teacher leaving university with only a licensure degree but scores much higher than someone that has a doctoral degree (in a way that the points for academic qualifications do not influence the ranking); this candidate is, according to the logic of the '*concurso*' as an instrument of selection, better than the candidate with a doctoral degree (even though the *concurso* gives more points to higher academic qualifications). But the government of Espírito Santo believes this

candidate is worth 44% less financially, thus, rewarding those that are intrinsically older and may have had time to complete a Masters and a PhD, thus 'acquiring' more subject knowledge in the eyes of the law and the government.

Finally, it is important to draw attention to the difference between a *concurso* and an individual evaluation/assessment as an instrument of selection. Beattie argues that the difference lies in the 'deep-structure' of the process in which they are embedded, and the contrasting institutional realities which they reflect and serve'. (Beattie, 1996, p.11). To illustrate this idea, a former senior official of the European Personnel Selection Office says:

Even if though we have appreciations coming from some countries – the UK or Scandinavian countries – believing that [the *concurso*] is just hilarious...old-fashioned Southern European bureaucracy...I just can't imagine how you would abandon the competition system and still be able to say the process is fair. There is no one in Italy, or in Spain, or in France who would back ...changing this system away from open competition. They would all think that we were cheating all the time, and nepotism and cronyism and favouritism would be the main features. And the only way to avoid this is an open competition system.

(Interview with EPSO officer *in Ban* 2008, p.19)

The goal of this section was to provide a more in-depth insight into the *concurso* as an instrument of selection through the work of Beattie (1996) and Fontainha et al. (2014). In the next section, I will give a brief overview of some of the more pertinent literature on teachers in Brazil.

## **2.5. Teachers in Brazil**

The academic literature on teachers in Brazil is relatively extensive, in particular, those concerning the working conditions of teachers, their salaries, the attractiveness of the career, student-teacher profiles and teacher education in general. However, much of the literature is focused either on academic arguments based on theoretical positioning, the critiquing government programmes, teachers' working conditions, or empirical work usually designed around large surveys or databases that are compiled by the federal government through national surveys, educational census data, and nationally standardised assessment data.

Marcondes (1999) provides a good introduction and review of the teacher education conditions up until that point. Her comments are not drawn from empirical research, but from personal experience as a former teacher, teacher educator and university researcher, as well as from previous academic literature. The main issue she brings up is the lack of direct connection between theoretical studies and classroom practice, and the small amount of experiential learning that takes places during the Licensure. This is something that Gatti and Barreto (2009) later confirmed, and it is still present today (e.g. Lopes, 2015; Moreno, 2014; Nascimento and Reis, 2017; Takahashi, 2013;). Freitas (2002) then produces a 33-page literary treatise calling it the “10-year struggle among training projects”. It is a political analysis of teacher education in Brazil that argues that the 10-year of a neoliberalist government has abstained from its responsibility to promote resources that secure a ‘quality’ teacher education. Five years later, Dourado (2007, p.940-941) spends 21-pages critiquing the education policies in Brazil and the various programmes that were created to try to support education to argue in the end that

the concept of [education] quality cannot be reduced to academic achievement, and it can’t be the reference point for any ranking of schools. Therefore, education with social quality must be characterised by a group of factors that are both internal and external to the school which refer to students and their families’ living conditions, their social, cultural and economic contexts, and the school itself: teachers, principals, pedagogical project, resources, installations, organisational structure, school environment and intersubjective relationships in the everyday schooling period.

In addition, Saviani (2009, p.153) has traced historical aspects of teacher education in Brazil where he argues that

The issue of teacher education cannot be dissociated from the issue of working conditions that are needed for teaching practice, whose goals should be equated based on issues of pay and hours of work. This is because the poor working conditions [in existence] not only neutralise the act of teaching, even if teachers are well-educated,[but also] make it harder for a good teacher education because they operate as a tool to discourage the search for teacher education and teachers’ dedication to professional development.

Oliveira, on the other hand, has done extensive field-work with teachers, to support her analyses of the lives of teachers and their working conditions through a socio-political lens, but also focusing on a discourse analysis of

policy towards what she calls the 'proletarianization' of the teaching profession through a systematic de-skilling and de-funding of education professionals (e.g. Oliveira 2004; 2010; 2011; 2014). Her arguments can be associated with the work of Mello and Luce (2011) who put forward a policy analysis of the teaching career in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and argue that one of the biggest issues in the overall valorisation of teachers is the political 'discontinuity' and the numerous policy shifts due to the constant changes of political parties in power. The lack of a cohesive education policy that spans longer than political terms in office is something that is often experienced around the world leading to systems of constant reforms and changes (e.g. Ball 2012).

Duarte and Oliveira's (2014) wide-ranging empirical research and literature review on the valorisation of personnel working in education is an example of this misalignment between policy and practice which is likely to be compounded when taking into account the Brazilian sociocultural and political reality. They observe that 'the politics of professional development for teachers is a great paradox. If on the one hand it is demanded of teachers to have up-to-date knowledge, effort and adaptability to face the policy changes implemented, on the other hand, the policy does not provide the necessary conditions for its implementation' (p.76).

Gattie and Barreto's (2009) report is one of the largest reviews of initial teacher education in Brazil, but the word 'recruitment' appears only once, and the word 'selection' appears only four times, none of them related to teacher selection procedures. This highlights how these terms do not seem to be something that academic research in Brazil seems to be concerned about. However, Gatti and Barreto (2009, p.255) argue that,

A real revolution in the structures of teacher education institutions and their curricula is needed. There are too many amendments. The fragmentation of initial teacher education is clear. We must integrate initial teacher education within institutions that are specifically designed for this objective.

Furthermore, few Brazilian peer-reviewed journal articles were found dealing specifically about teacher selection procedures (e.g. Avelar, Leitão and Martinez, 2003; Pagaime, 2010; Silva, 2008) although they do not focus on the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. In terms of teacher education,

Louzano, Rocha, Moriconi and Oliveira's (2010) research has shown that there have been no empirical studies which evaluate the efficacy of teacher education programmes in preparing teachers for the classroom. Carnoy (2007) had also argued previously that 'teacher education programmes in countries such as Brazil....do not balance [ ] useful and intellectually stimulating courses with sufficient focus on the vocational skills required to be a good teacher' (p.95). In reality, licensure courses in Brazil have around 400 to 600 hours of 'practicum' (school experience) which do not always translate to actual classroom teaching experience. Pellegrini when writing in the largest circulation school magazine in Brazil (Nova Escola<sup>8</sup>) for an 'entering teaching - guide edition' states that,

The role of the practicum is to enable the observation of teaching in order to theorise it and to allow the future teacher to 'live' through formative situations ... [Moreover] the goal of the compulsory curriculum internship [practicum] is to enable licensure or Pedagogy students to learn about the teaching praxis and the workings of a school. Even if its main attribution *is not* to provide actual classroom teaching experience, students may teach some lessons, with the support of the link university lecturer who may be administering the practicum ...and the classroom teacher responsible for the class...

(Pellegrini, 2011, p.12-13, my italics]

This exemplifies the state of Brazilian teacher education regarding the preparation and training of its teachers. There is limited attention to classroom practice, while theoretical and ideological courses continue to dominate licensure courses (Gatti, 2009). Evidence from a new programme of 'teacher residency' found the programme useful, though a majority of students did not demonstrate an interest in continuing to become a teacher, which defeats the purpose of the programme (Gomes et al., 2014, p.336). Furthermore, Carnoy's (2007, p.138) previous extensive research of Brazilian classrooms had already supported this:

Most Brazilian classrooms spent a large amount of time copying problems from the board. In one Brazilian classroom, we observed a complete hour in which students copied basic maths problems from the board into their notebooks. The teacher did not provide any orientation or explanation of the work...

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<sup>8</sup> Nova Escola means 'New School'

Research by Costa and Oliveira (2011) has argued that the current working conditions, low salaries, poor career prospects and long working hours have consistently pushed people away from the teaching profession. Their work details the fundamental structural problems faced by Brazilian public schools and how this plays a role in influencing the 'attractiveness' of the teaching profession. Oliveira (2004) had already argued that overall pay and working conditions are the most prominent cause of strikes by the teaching community in Brazil, even though the possibility of job stability and a steady income are some of the primary motives people choose to pursue a *concurso* (Albrecht and Krawulski, 2011).

From another point of view, Ostrovski, Sousa, and Raitz (2017) looked at the university pedagogy students and their expectations and choices at a teaching career. They position teacher education as a moderator between theory and practice, even though Gatti and Barreto (2009), Gatti and Nunes (2009), Barretto (2011), and Gatti, Barreto and André (2011) already argued about the lack of teaching practice in teacher education courses. In addition, they also focus on their discouragement with the teachers' career plan and low salaries. This is critical since Valle (2006) argued that in Brazil, the choice of a stable teaching career as a civil servant competes with the multiple other careers that have a higher social status and salaries leading to stratification of who decides to become teachers in Brazil. Santos, Brandão and Maia (2015) discuss the variables that influence this decision-making process across the spectrum of recent graduates between the civil service professions and private careers. They use 'real option theory' to make the case that the stability but inflexibility of the civil service tends to offer a somewhat positive contrast with the flexibility and attached additional benefits of a career in the private sector, mostly because of the socioeconomic uncertainty of the country.

This is interesting because it leads to the idea of the attractiveness of teaching as a civil servant career. Tartuce, Nunes and Almeida (2010) completed a substantial research project on the attractiveness of teaching through the perspective of high school students. Students in their research had all but rejected teaching as a career. The perception that teaching does not require specific knowledge leads to a view of teaching as something that anyone can do it without much further study, making it unappealing to some.

Moreover, the usual sociocultural and financial reasons also featured extensively in the reasons put forward by the participants in their research. Souto and Paiva (2013) extensively describe a survey completed on recent Mathematics Education graduates and the attractiveness of teaching as a career in Brazil. They argue that their profile is very similar to that of the rest of Brazil: mainly female, white, low socioeconomic status, and 30 to 40 years of age (on average). At the same time, they found that 37.3% of graduate-leavers were not acting as teachers, with a large number of practising graduates already thinking of leaving the profession because of salaries and working conditions.

Britto and Waltenberg (2014) have also focused on the attractiveness of teaching and similarly conclude that although stability seems to play a role, there are a number of other variables that must be considered in tandem by policy-makers in order to support better graduates making decisions to become teachers. They say 'a salary structure that does not favour individuals with higher levels of education end up penalising exactly those professionals that they want to attract, who end up finding better opportunities in other occupations' (p. 41). In addition, a recent report by Pinto (2014) argues that there are no incentives to become a teacher, nor to stay a teacher in Brazil, especially because the number of vacancies in basic education is three times the total number of teachers. He argues that the problem is not a lack of teachers, but that the teachers who do graduate end up not continuing in the profession.

Importantly, Cericato (2016) embarked on a broad literature review of the teaching profession in Brazil. A large part of her review focused on an intense discussion of teaching as a profession in Brazil, including the socio-historical aspects that 'makes it hard for teaching to become a recognised as a profession when it comes to the group of knowledge and techniques necessary to practice' (p.276). She goes on to argue that this has led to a systematic socioeconomic devaluing of teachers within Brazil. Ludke (1988) had already argued that this devaluing has often been associated with the "feminisation" of the profession in Brazil, while Diniz-Pereira (2011) argued that universities do not afford teacher education courses the same status as other undergraduate degrees, also contributing to its sociocultural and economic devaluing. Meanwhile, Brito (2013) concludes that the



governments actively devalue teachers due to their strategies to hire temporary teachers to cover deficiencies in the system, creating a 'subculture' of teachers that have no stability within the system.

Cericato (2016) continues on to say that teacher education as a whole has been intensely debated in Brazilian academic circles, summarising teacher education research as focused on the existing curricular models, their politics, the growth of teacher training in private universities, and the inadequate provision of continued professional development. Finally, she addresses the literature on the 'career plan', or rather, the lack of a career plan, in particular, that of professional growth within teaching itself. Importantly, the *concurso* is never addressed in her review. This is consistent with my own review of the literature for this work.

On 30<sup>th</sup> of July 2018, the Brazilian education Think-tank "Todos Pela Educação" (All for Education) released the results of their large-scale survey with teachers called "Profession: Educator"<sup>9</sup>. They were funded by Itaú Bank, the largest private bank in Brazil which often funds education-related projects. The research was in partnership with IBOPE, a Brazilian private institute for research, often engaged in large surveys. Their research included three stages which included an online questionnaire with 1800 teachers about teaching, face-to-face interviews with 54 teachers, and later telephone interviews with 2160 teachers. They collated answers from teachers in different educational establishments such as municipal, state, and private schools. Of all respondents, 62% of them were women, of which 71% are the primary or sole earners in their families. The results also showed that 33% claimed to be completely unsatisfied with the profession. The research also draws attention to a number of issues raised by teachers ranging from poor pay, working conditions, time for planning, lack of resources, lack of consultation, and other matters concerning the school governance and management by local governments.

It is critical for this thesis to highlight one of the results which are pertinent to this research, especially the fact that there were no questions about the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection. Here, once again, the

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<sup>9</sup> Data from presentation available here:  
<https://www.todospelaeducacao.org.br/uploads/posts/23.pdf?750034822>

*concurso* appears to be taken for granted in research. However, there as one question in their survey that links directly to selection. In the section about ‘school management’, they had a Likert-scale from 1 to 10, with the following sentence:

*“A school principal should have autonomy  
to choose their own team of teachers”*

The result for this statement was that 28% of respondents chose between 0-3 (completely disagree), 21% between 4-6 (disagree), 17% were 7-8 (agree), and 34% were 9-10 (completely agree). The Likert average was 5.9 points. This is an interesting finding that appears to place teachers in two camps: agree (52%) vs disagree (48%). Yet, no questions or follow-up appear to have been made to ask about how much choice would take place and the role of the *concurso* in it. This recently released survey appears to confirm much of the discourse present in the academic literature in Brazil.

Ultimately, this chapter aimed to help the reader to become better acquainted and informed regarding the official structures of the *concurso* in Brazil in light of its limited literature. At the same time, it explored some of the positionality of the Brazilian literature on teacher education, although it was by no means exhaustive. However, the focus on this work is the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, and no articles have been found which solely explore its nature nor its validity as an instrument of selection. In the next chapter, the literature surrounding issues of personnel selection and teacher selection will be explored.

### 3. Literature Review II: Selection

This chapter explores the existing literature on both theoretical and practical research on selection. It is important to acknowledge, right from the start, the Anglo-centric nature of the literature on teacher selection. The vast majority of research on selection is focused on the USA, the UK, Australia, and other English-speaking nations. Arguably, this might be a feature of the way teacher selection operates within these countries, as well as the level of importance attributed to selection within Anglophonic academic centres. When research about selection discusses other countries, it is often descriptive and from the point of view of an English-speaking first-author. Major international reports or book collections fill some of the gaps of the international literature of selection, although these are mostly descriptive in nature. From the point of view of this thesis, it does not diminish the criticality of this review. Instead, it provides a useful contrasting lens with which to visualise and contextualise selection procedures in Brazil (and other highly centralised countries) where research about the *concurso* as an instrument of selection is scarce.

After a short introduction (3.1), section 3.2 delves into the literature to explore foundational definitions of recruitment, screening, and selection through the lens of education. Section 3.3. teaching deals with the literature on Personnel Selection (PS) as an overarching way of knowing and understanding selection with an emphasis on the concept of *job fit* and its importance to understanding the nuances of personnel selection as a complex social process. Section 3.4 then provides the reader with the literature within the global landscape of teacher selection in order to provide a backdrop in which to contextualise the Brazilian case. At the same time, two stages of teacher selection are tackled: selection for initial teacher education and teacher selection into schools (teacher hiring). This chapter also aims to explain how teacher hiring is broadly subdivided into the three main categories: open recruitment, competitive examination, and the candidate list.

Chapter four is a continuation of the literature review, but it then asks the reader to consider the importance of the concept of teacher quality and of teaching quality (4.1 and 4.2) after having looked at both personnel selection

and existing teacher selection practices. This is because we can then look at the research on teacher quality through the lens of selection, rather than looking at it in isolation. Section 4.3 introduces the parallels between teacher quality and teacher dispositions as a way of framing selection. Section 4.4 addresses teacher quality through the issue of teacher professionalism adding another layer to the lens of teacher selection. Finally, section 4.5 revisits the research questions through a brief reflection on chapters three and four. These are the main reasons why the literature on teacher quality comes after that of selection. The intention is to approach teacher quality once the narrative of selection is well-established and understood. If this chapter started with a discussion on teacher quality, it could cloud any critique of ideas about different selection protocols because it would potentially lead into a narrower view of selection towards what a particular view of teacher quality. However, by looking at the context and the literature of selection first, one is more likely to have a better, more contextualised understanding when approaching the meaning of teacher quality as well as the nuances of how selection may be able to address those issues. Furthermore, this part of the literature complements what was explored in chapter two and helps to set up the groundwork for chapter five where the methodological approach is conceptualised for the empirical work that will aim to answer the research questions.

### **3.1. The Theory and Practice of Selection**

Firstly, one must come to terms with the premise that selection entails multiple meanings depending upon *who* is being selected, *who* is making the selection, and *for what purpose* the selection exists. Another important aspect of any selection procedure is the notion of '*self-selection*'. However, this research is about the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection and works on the premise that candidates have already self-selected into the process of teacher selection. This thesis and this chapter are not about how people choose to become teachers, but about how they are chosen into a school system after they have already made the choice of entering the profession/school system. Therefore, as most teachers at the start of their career have limited classroom experience, 'a critical issue for any country

that hopes to keep its education system internationally competitive is [to figure out] how to recruit, retain, develop and nurture a high-quality teaching force' (Schwartz, Wurtzel and Olson, 2007, online).

Thus, in order to conceptualise a robust selection system, one must understand what the existing methods of selection are; and *whether* these methods of selection are *appropriate* to achieve the goal of its assumed purpose. Importantly, systems must recognise the complex sociocultural contexts and dimensions in which selection instruments exist (Rousseau and Tinsley, 1997); while at the same time ensure that those participating in the selection system understand the consequences of its existence. This is because selection procedures are directly influenced by existing economic, sociocultural and institutional structures (e.g. Cook, 2016; Herriot and Anderson, 1997; Iles 1999). In the modern world of 2018, there are numerous complex patterns of social interactions where people are making choices and selections as 'we depend on culture to direct our behaviour and organise our experience' (Crotty, 1998, p.53) as well as to inform our decision-making process. Therefore, while constructing meanings of our social world, we must remember that different people will have different experiences; they will have been brought up with an entirely different set of beliefs than ourselves with different realities from a different historical and cultural milieu and thus will base their choices on a unique personal framework.

Arguably, the notion of selection for any existing post demands a close examination of the local reality and needs within a broad context. Hence, teacher selection policy may also embark on an analysis of the individual needs of a given school, municipality or state; and on how it is located within the spectrum of both local and national policy. Public schools are present within a specific community and, by definition, exist to serve their community (e.g. Binger, Quinn and Sullivan, 2003), their students, and their teachers all of whom often come from a variety of socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, and are an integral part of this unique environment.

Secondly, the practical choices within teacher selection systems that cater for these communities may wish to make decisions that go beyond 'attempting to predict which applicants have the requisite skills and abilities that match those requires for effective performance on specific jobs and

duties' (Anderson and Ostroff, 1997, p.415). Different levels of flexibility may need to be embedded in order to allow teachers and schools to position themselves within a particular education market and to address the individual choice a teacher might make to become part of given school community and how personal attributes may match a school's organisation attributes. As Boyd et al. (2006) and Slater, Davies and Burgess (2009) have argued, the impact of individual teachers' characteristics on student achievement should not be disregarded by educational systems, especially not in the moment of selection.

As explored in chapter two, the Brazilian system of teacher selection is based on written examinations designed to test teachers' subject knowledge objectively; it does not analyse teachers' non-cognitive characteristics and behaviour. As such, standardised examinations often consider job performance as knowledge-acquired and knowledge-demonstrated. Thus, we have to understand how a teacher selection system makes choices about its staffing structure, as well as how the decision-making process might impact a country's educational system based on their socioeconomic and cultural reality.

### **3.2. Recruitment, Screening, and Selection in Education**

The objectives of this section are to succinctly explore the literature, particularly within teacher selection, in an attempt to understand the usage and separate conceptualisations of recruitment, screening, and selection. This entails looking not only at the precise meanings these terms might embrace but also at how these meanings may be actively used by researchers in the field, interpreted by stakeholders, and enacted by policy. Therefore, clarifying these terms will aid the contextualisation of the rationale given in chapter one while providing the necessary background knowledge to support the remainder of the literature review as well as the analysis of the data that will be gathered in this research.

Hence, it is essential to start from first principles. According to the Oxford's English Dictionary, each of the terms have multiple meanings. Recruitment has three entries: one 'military' entry (1) with a sub-entry (1.1); one entry associated with ecology (2); and one entry with a physiological meaning (3). For the purposes of this work, the most appropriate meaning is that of entry 1.1 which says that

*Recruitment* is

the action of finding new people to join an organization or support a [specific] cause.

*Screening* also has three entries, and the most appropriate is the second entry as a 'mass noun'. Thus, the official meaning of *screening* indicates that it is

the evaluation or investigation of something as part of a methodical survey, to assess suitability for a particular role or purpose [for a given task/organisation].

*Selection* also has three entries. One as a 'mass noun'; number two refers to its usage in biology and its link to 'natural selection'; and entry number three is associated with Australian history. For the purposes of this work, entry number one is the most appropriate, and it means:

the action or fact of carefully choosing someone or something as being the best or most suitable.

The terms above are essential to this work because they have linguistic meanings that must be carefully defined and understood since this thesis is located within the context of analysis of selection. These three fundamental ideas represent three distinctly different stages of the process of getting new people into school classrooms which must be accurately understood so as to portray the diverse aspects of teacher selection protocols.

Recruitment, screening, and selection have multiple layers of meaning that have a direct impact on the interpretation of the literature and of the data. The terms were all used in the literature search criteria and are used throughout this chapter and thesis. As it will be shown below, in the academic

and non-academic education-related literature they are often employed to represent the same processes, even though there are significant differences that must be explained and understood.

### 3.2.1. Recruitment

*“the action of finding new people to join an organization or support a [specific] cause.”*

From the point of view of institutional human resources, this thesis also draws from a second definition proposed by Lewis (1993). He suggests that recruitment means,

The activity that generates a pool of applicants, who have the desire to be employed by the organisation, from which those suitable can be selected

(Lewis, 1993, p. 17)

For Lewis, the definition evolves from its dictionary definition to meet the technical specifications of the field of human resources by including the idea that the people now becomes a ‘pool of applicants’ which must be ‘generated’ by the organisation. Importantly, Lewis argues that the pool of applicants must have the desire or must be made to *want* to join an organisation. From this perspective, it’s the role of the institution to *attract* people to *choose* to enter their selection process.

The term *recruitment* has been expanded upon by Barber (1998, p.5) who described and explained it as

those practices and activities carried on by the organisation with the primary purpose of identifying and attracting potential employees. This definition encompasses a wide range of organisational activities, from traditional recruitment functions such as advertising and producing recruitment brochures, to modifications of the work environment (e.g. creating alternative work schedules when necessary to recruit new employees)



For Barber, recruitment becomes a much more elaborate process that is intrinsically linked with how an organisation markets itself to the public, including potentially modifying how it operates in order to become more attractive. This is key because the recruitment process must also ensure a sufficient number of candidates *with minimum required criteria* become inclined to respond (Roberts, 2005). The link between the three definitions results in the fundamental idea that the recruitment process is about making enough people want to join the organisation *and* have an actual response to their call to apply. This, Searle (2003) argues, is what ‘...illustrates the two-way power relationship...that an applicant *chooses* the [organisation] just as much as the [organisation] chooses the applicant’. (p. 5). However, it must be acknowledged that organisations are made up of people who make choices on behalf of the organisation. These choices might be direct or indirect, depending on how its final selection takes place.

Based on the definitions of recruitment given above, we now turn to the educational literature to understand how the term has been used and given different meanings by different authors. The few examples below attempt to demonstrate the interchangeable use of term recruitment with both screening and selection within the literature.

For example, MacBeath (2011) when writing about the English system articulates that ‘some progress has been made to the *recruitment* of ethnic minority trainees ... and in the *recruitment* of male teachers ... and in the *recruitment* of students with disabilities’ (p. 384, my italics). Here MacBeath is alluding to the word recruitment to exemplify and show the actual joining of different groups of people *into* teacher training. Tellingly, he means that these groups of people first were attracted to apply (i.e. recruited) and then were both screened and ultimately selected into teacher training.

Scheafers and Terhart (2006) use the term in different ways. They write:

Recruitment strategy is crucial to hiring productive school personnel. Therefore, when recruiting new teachers, school-based managers and state administration must find a ‘balance of power’ in carrying out the teacher selection process

(p.506)

In the first sentence they use recruitment with the idea of attracting people to hire, but in the second sentence, it clearly denotes the idea of *choosing* new people, which is associated with the definition of selection.

Demaine (1995) uses it in a similar way when he writes

the Hillgate Group wants to see responsibility for teacher training and *recruitment* devolved to the schools. Heads and governors `should be able to *appoint* anybody with suitable knowledge and experience as licensed teachers

(p.182, my italics).

Here, the word 'recruitment' is linked to the word 'appoint', giving both words the same overall idea since they want schools to have control of teacher training appointments through devolved recruitment. Interestingly, this push for the appointment of teachers without formal teaching qualifications is a policy shift that eventually took place in the UK from September 2012, with the introduction of changes to the law on how academies and free schools can appoint teachers (England 2012). However, this is technically a change in the *screening* criteria, which has a direct impact on the initial recruitment of people that may wish to join the profession.

Munthe, Malmo and Rogne (2011) write,

in 2005, *minimum requirements* were introduced to avoid the *recruitment* of students from upper secondary school with low grades.

(p.442, my italics)

In this case, recruitment is directly linked to the screening criteria as a way to *discourage* people from even applying, thus likely to reduce the initial pool of applicants. Here, 'minimum requirements' are linked to the screening criteria *for recruitment*, but not the screening criteria *for actual selection to schools*. The definitions above make explicit that recruitment is associated with practices to *attract* people into thinking about joining an organisation rather than directly *rejecting* them. The following two examples demonstrate that understanding:

Districts experiencing shortages of qualified applicants find that both monetary rewards and working conditions they can offer candidates are major determinants of the success of their *recruiting efforts*

(Wise et al., 1987, p. vi)

and,

the first *recruitment* approach belongs in the category that we call “incentives.” These incentives are often used to entice people to become teachers...

(Luft, Wong, and Semken, 2011, p. 466).

Recruitment in these cases clearly refers to a group of tools used to increase the numbers from which to an organisation can ‘screen’ candidates from. Therefore, recruitment efforts might include the opportunity of potential applicants to achieve the minimum required criteria for entry into the profession. Other authors use the word recruitment with multiple meanings:

[teachers] are to be *recruited* after graduating from Master’s programmes organised by universities ...[then] ...the first year was dedicated to preparation for the *competitive recruitment examinations* and the second year was devoted to professional training

(Lapostolle and Chevaillier, 2011, p.451, my italics).

Here, recruitment has the prerogative of having a Masters’ degree. Also, if the examinations are competitive, whoever is taking them has already been recruited, and are, therefore, going through a secondary screening process. These differences in the use of language must be explored for the overall process of teacher selection to be better understood and appropriately managed.

Wilson (1990) understands the terms to be different when he writes

A model of *recruitment, selection and development* of staff ... is described, and this clarifies the *different stages* and the issues involved in the quality management of the process

(p.7, my italics).

There is a clear difference between recruitment and selection, while screening is implicit in the idea of 'different stages' to manage the process. However, further, in the same text,

developed systems are characterised by ... publicising the *criteria* on which *selection* is to be based, with *recruitment* aimed at those persons with the *sought-after skills and qualities*; spelling out procedures on which *selection* decisions are to be based

(p.13).

Here Wilson is precise when he uses the word *criteria* to mean the manner in which candidates will be evaluated during selection and declares the importance of its transparency. Later in the sentence, however, the word recruitment is used as 'screening' by explicitly linking it only to those people with 'sought-after skills and qualities', effectively discouraging people from applying.

Educational researchers and organisations must ensure that the language surrounding selection is robustly defined and used to demonstrate that *recruitment* is about providing the general public with the intention and the purpose to enter a given professional field. It is about encouraging people to pursue a profession by making explicit the necessary entry and screening criteria for the actual position so that they are encouraged to become minimally qualified so that they are able to apply.

Recruitment-drives give people the necessary knowledge and tools to want to join the profession, and sufficient time to reach the necessary minimum requirements to aim for selection to enter a given profession. Recruitment also implies that whoever is doing the recruitment has the necessary conditions in place to make the position(s) attractive to the pool of people they wish to attract into a particular field. At the same time, it does not mean that when someone reaches the minimum standards and qualifications that one is guaranteed to pass through the next stage of selection, because screening criteria may involve more than minimum requirements, such as further examinations or other tools into a broader selection process. An academic community of practice within educational research must share a

common understanding of meaning so as to address the same issues wherever they are.

Therefore, for the purposes of teacher selection, and through the lens of this research, the term *recruitment* means

*the active and purposeful process(es) by which an educational organisation, system and/or government make a concerted effort to encourage and attract candidates, independent of background, to join a certain education-related field – teaching or other – whether or not qualifications and/or pre-requisites are fulfilled at the start of the process.*

The distinction between qualifications and pre-requisites exists because providing time for training to occur may be part of the recruitment drive. In England for example, the recruitment drive is directly linked with the actual training of new potential teachers since the people that might have been selected for teacher education, may not necessarily continue into teaching afterwards or be hired by schools. Even though they have been recruited (and have sometimes completed a qualification), the training process can also potentially ‘screen’ them out of the impending workforce; which is the focus of the next section.

### **3.3.2. Screening**

*the evaluation or investigation of something as part of a methodical survey, to assess suitability for a particular role or purpose [for a given task/organisation]*

The arguments in section 3.1.1 lead to the need to further expand the idea of ‘screening’ as a formal stage within the entire process of selecting a person into an organisation. Rutledge, Harris, Thompson and Ingle (2008, p.239) offer insight by indicating that it,

...serves the general purpose of filtering the initial applicant pool by eliminating those who do not meet set requirements. It facilitates the selection process by narrowing a pool of applicants to those with the relevant occupational characteristics.

The passage above compares screening with a filtering process that happens against a set of minimum criteria decided by the organisation. However, it then claims that the applicants may be filtered due to 'relevant occupational characteristics'. This implies that either these characteristics are not necessarily overt during the recruitment phase, leading to the elimination of a candidate; or that they may be acquired during the process. In the past, Herriot and Wingrove (1984) have argued that screening is often inconsistent, and sometimes subjective, particularly when the desired traits have not been explicitly exemplified. Roberts (2005, p.11) agrees with this and argues that screening procedures are sometimes 'framed around 'coincidences' in the lives of people who are good performers'. This, Searle (2003) argues, might lead to active and unfair discrimination of different groups of people.

Nevertheless, people may still be accepted into an initial teacher training course, but they may not have been able to develop the 'relevant occupational characteristics' that may be associated with effective teaching during their training. Thus, they might be screened out of the overarching selection process. This may happen by failing a course that is linked to a professional qualification/certification which is associated with a set of standardised professional standards rather than merely failing written examinations. Importantly, this type of screening allows candidates to have the time to become familiar with the *minimum professional standards* required; it provides them with the opportunity to learn what their meanings are in practice, as well as allowing candidates time to collate evidence of how they might have achieved the standards. Thus, this screening criteria can be assessed throughout a more extended period of time and evaluated by multiple stakeholders. In the case of a school, the stakeholders could be mentors linked with the institution providing the training, senior colleagues within the organisation where the educational professional is practising and the school management team. Hence, a set of screening criteria that is evidenced and regulated may be able to operate within a selection framework that goes beyond checking for academic records and results in examinations.

On the other hand, initial screening can be narrow and specific such as 'Any graduate with a 2.1 or first degree who is intending to do a mainstream

physics ITT course will be able to apply' (DfE, 2011, p.7) or 'Primary trainees ... will therefore require at least a 2.1 to be eligible for a bursary from 2012/13' (DfE, 2011, p.8); or it can be loose and broad such as 'Headteachers will have the freedom to employ the qualified teacher that best meets the requirements of the job regardless of whether their background is in school or further education.' (DfE, 2011, p.5) and may be harder to assess: 'Teachers should be able to write English clearly and correctly, *be sensitive to different children's needs*, and have knowledge of effective teaching practices' (Nicholson and McInerney, 1988, p.89) or '[graduates] who have ... *communication and empathy skills* to teach...' (Mayer, Pechone and Merino, 2012, p.117, my emphasis).

Clearly, a screening criterion linked to 'being sensitive to children's needs' is much more difficult to assess and thus, might demand other ways of assessing such specific skills associated with teachers. The same is true of 'empathy skills'. Arguably, it is vital to ensure that the evaluation of desired dispositions and attributes of teachers are explicitly embedded within the process, with the understanding that teaching requires specific interpersonal and socio-psychological skills (Wasicsko, Wirtz and Resor, 2009).

If recruitment serves the purpose to attract people, screening is a process that happens before, during, and after the recruitment effort, serving the purpose to first remove those candidates without a pre-determined set of characteristics or measurable qualifications, and then continues to screen out those candidates without the desired set of characteristics unique to a particular position, often during a training or evaluation phase.

Therefore, the concept of '*screening*', for the purposes of this work and within an educational framework should be defined as

*the active process in which specific pre-established criteria are used to carefully assess a pool of candidates to identify whether they are able to demonstrate they possess such criteria satisfactorily. This is done in order to decrease the number of recruited candidates further so as to move to a further stage of the selection process.*

### 3.2.3. Selection

*the action or fact of carefully choosing someone or something as being the best or most suitable*

After screening has taken place, the next stage in the process can begin: the actual selection of a candidate to join an organisation. It is important to highlight the word '*carefully*' from the definition above, especially when in the context of education. Selection to become a teacher may be seen as a *careful and purposeful process* because educational establishments are complex social systems that demand candidates to possess and/or learn a set of skills, competencies and abilities to be able to fulfil their post. Applegate (1987, p.2) defines selection as 'a form of evaluating an individual's capacity or potential to be successful at a task'. While Lewis (1993, p.18) is more specific and defines selection as:

The activity in which an organisation uses one or more methods to assess individuals with a view to making a decision concerning their suitability to join that organisation, to perform tasks which may or may not be specified

In order to assess or evaluate an individual's capacity and/or suitability to engage in specific types of job Cooper, Robertson and Tinline (2003) and Roberts (2005) argue that selection must be seen as an active process, and that organisations must have adaptable frameworks that lead to a selection that is systematic, efficient, and cost-effective by thinking about it long-term. Wise *et al.* (1987) had already arrived at this conclusion when they extensively researched teacher selection in the United States. They argue that 'teacher selection is the key juncture at which school systems can upgrade the quality of the teaching force' (p. xii) and that its efficiency 'depends on the predictive power of the measures used and their consonance with [educational systems] goals and conceptions of teaching' (p. 9). Therefore, although all countries employ different strategies to select their teacher-candidates for a teaching qualification and/or for a teaching position at an educational organisation, Barber and Mourshed (2007, p.17) argue that one of the most important issues is whether or not a system *purposefully* selects its candidates by



acknowledg[ing] that for a person to become an effective teacher they need to possess a certain set of characteristics that can be identified before they enter teaching: a high overall level of literacy and numeracy, strong interpersonal and communication skills, a willingness to learn and the motivation to teach

Importantly, these characteristics, as well as other personal dispositions and attributes (e.g. Haberman, 2011; Wasicsko, 2007), must be continuously evaluated over time through a systematic induction and professional development system (Wise et al., 1987). Moreover, if a set of criteria composed of these characteristics was to influence teacher selection, it must acknowledge that they are difficult to measure. Therefore, these skills and characteristics may not necessarily be used for direct initial screening as they can potentially be learnt during training and the initial period of induction. Furthermore, if they are used during the recruitment phase as this may lead to a certain degree of self-selection as candidates reflect on their own characteristics and skills before entering the selection process. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, the term 'selection' when referred to teachers within an education system is defined as

*a process or set of processes that seek to identify a person purposefully, or a group of people, through a set of assessments that are formally matched against a specified set of validated criteria, so as to be evaluated for his/her/their suitability to become (or be hired as) a classroom teacher (or join a teacher training programme) by a person, board or framework judged to be qualified to exert this function within a specific institution/school/community.*

After qualifying and re-defining three of the key terms to understand teacher selection, this section ends by summarising that the recruitment, screening and selection of teachers is a fundamental responsibility of governments, schools and their leaders to exercise a unique opportunity to 'acquire the number and type of people necessary for the present and the future success of the school [community]' (Rebore, 2001, p. 90-91), and to implement a systematic framework which enables educational systems to comprehensively evaluate a candidate's potential to become an effective teacher. Next, I will explore the literature on personnel selection from the perspective of the field of human resources in order to understand the interplay between candidates (teachers), the organisations (schools), and the actual job (teaching).

### **3.3. Personnel Selection**

The theoretical and practical issues of personnel selection in the context of teacher selection are drawn from the literature that emphasises an effective selection system as being at the centre of a successful enterprise since '[institutions] who are able to ensure a match between job requirements and people's characteristics will obtain a competitive advantage...and ensure it has a successful workforce' (Smith and Robertson, 1993, p.3-4). Additionally, Cooper, Robertson and Tinline (2003) argue that a functional system of selection must openly understand people as being different, and that any system of selection must ensure a 'good match between a person's strengths, skills and abilities and demands of the job he or she are required to do' (p.7). Cook (2016) agrees with this and argues that a successful human resources department in any institution will add considerable value to the final outcome since people will differ in their ability to perform their job, and any organisation must strive to select the best possible person for the job.

Personnel selection can exercise many functions depending on the context in which it operates; the central vision it adopts (how it operates); and its purpose (why it exists in a specific format). Arguably, any selection process must purposefully and systematically examine the specific job requirements and professional standards needed within a given context since it makes a significant contribution to maximising the validity of selection (e.g. Cook, 2016; Santoro et al., 2012; Schneider, Kristof-Brown, Goldstein and Smith, 1997; Searle, 2003). At the same time, it must determine the explicit knowledge, skills, professional/personal characteristics/behaviours and dispositions (e.g. Nicolau and Oostrom, 2015; Schmitt and Chan, 1998) that individuals are expected to have in order to fulfil those requirements and standards.

The selection system must also attempt to efficiently screen out individuals that might only partially fit the criteria (e.g. Bowen, Ledford and Nathan, 1991; Roberts, 2005). Importantly, Bowen, Ledford and Nathan (1991) propose that a selection process should also emphasise what happens after selection. For example, candidates must also be able to demonstrate that they are capable of continuing to develop during their initial training or

probationary period and perform other future tasks. This is especially true of teachers where 'better teachers can only be identified after some evidence on their actual job performance has accumulated' (Staiger and Rockoff, 2010, p.98).

Eventually, people in charge of the selection procedure have to decisively evaluate all the information gathered and then compare them against the set criteria and standards to make decisions about hiring or continued employment. This type of approach is necessary for employers that endeavour to make successful predictions about future behaviour and performance of individuals (Iles, 1999). The development of a thorough selection process depends on a number of factors such as the existence of local expertise (or willingness to train people in selection procedures), the existence of recognised and shared professional standards, as well as other associated personnel and financial costs which will depend on the type and length of procedure (Cooper, Robertson and Tinline, 2003). On the other hand, the use of standardised tests as an approach to amalgamate the knowledge, skills, abilities and other professional characteristics and behaviours to make predictions about future professional behaviours may be considered problematic since 'many subjective factors are involved in [any] selection process because there is no perfect test to gauge applicants' (Carrell, Elbert and Hatfield, 2000, p. 185).

In practice, Schmitt and Chan (1998, p.39) argue that

theory in selection research is essentially a theory of work performance. This theory is based on an analysis of the job and the organisational context in which the work takes place...[while] one result of the job analysis is the specification of important work behaviours. Using these work behaviours, the [employer] generates a set of required knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics [needed to execute the job]

Therefore, if a selection system aims to gauge teacher-candidates and/or already-certified teachers' knowledge, skills, and other professional/personal characteristics, and dispositions, it must ensure these terms are well defined. For the purposes of the selection of secondary school teachers, these terms are adapted from Cook (2016) and are henceforth defined as follows:

- a) *Knowledge*: the mastery of the minimum *subject* knowledge required to teach a given subject up to the age of 18; a recognised qualification may also be associated with the idea of knowledge. At the same time, some types of knowledge may be developed during induction/probation periods.
- b) *Skills*: these are the pedagogical skills, sometimes called pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986), that teachers should be able to draw from in order to implement a range of strategies to teach any type of student within a secondary school classroom, with or without the availability of resources. For example, these skills often include the use of explicit tools for behaviour management and assessment for learning. Skills are also intrinsically linked to professional/personal characteristics such as communication, teamwork, leadership, etc.
- c) A '*characteristic*' is different from a 'skill' because it is about how you behave rather than what you are able to do. A characteristic is then defined as 'an enduring personality trait – a pattern of behaviour exhibited over the long-term and in a variety of situations' (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004, p. 13). Although behaviours are passive of change, evidence suggests it usually happens only when a critical event ensues, such as a sudden bereavement, job loss or another type of event that would trigger a transformative learning experience (Kegan 2009, Mezirow, 2009), in what Mezirow (2009) called *epochal* transformations. At the same time, behaviour transformations may also be *cumulative*, where 'a progressive sequence of insights result[s] in a change in point of view and leading to a transformation in the habit of mind' (Mezirow, 2009, 94).
- d) *Dispositions*, according to Wasicsko (2009), are the underlying self-belief perceptions about oneself which often lead to a characteristic or behaviour pattern. For teachers, dispositions are the personal perceptual orientations, their beliefs, values and attitudes about education and teaching.

Wasicsko (1977, 2009) argues that understanding teachers' personal beliefs and values, their characteristics and behaviours, may be a more suitable manner in which to evaluate how teachers might employ these characteristics in their professional lives. These characteristics and dispositions, also called 'non-cognitive' attributes, have been shown to have a significant impact on education. For example, Croninger, Rice, Rathbun and Nishio (2007) in their work on the impact of teacher qualifications on early reading, showed that 'teacher qualifications may influence student achievement *through* effects associated with individual [or collective] teacher characteristics' (p.321-322, my emphasis). Additionally, Sosu and Gray (2012) have found that teachers' personal beliefs and understandings about teaching and learning are correlated to both teachers' and students' outcomes. Klassen and Tze (2014) found that a teachers' own perception of their 'self-efficacy' is linked to their performance as teachers and their students' outcomes, while Kim and MacCann (2016) found that a teachers' personality (directly linked to their dispositions) are also associated with students' higher achievements.

However, 'unlike [most] other professions, [teaching is a social profession and] self-selection is a driving force at work in determining who chooses [to go into] teaching as a career' (Hanes and Hanes, 1986, p.4) since 'self-selection is [also] influenced by ... social, cultural and economic background' (Denzler and Wolter, 2008, p.3). Moreover, this decision often comes from non-cognitive attributes of people such as the interest in working with children, wanting to support others in their learning journey, making a difference in society, feelings of self-worth, and other types of individual motivations to serve society (i.e. Bontempo and Digman, 1985; Brubaker, 1976; Denzler and Wolter, 2008; Metcalfe and Game, 2012). However, as Garmon's (2004) work has shown, teacher-candidates must also be 'dispositionally ready' to make this very personal choice, which is also directly influenced by pay and working conditions, fair system of school accountability, the status of teaching in society, student demographics, school leadership, and school infrastructure. The evidence has very similar trends in the USA (Johnson and Kardos, 2008), Europe (Flores, 2012), South America (Ludke and Boing, 2012); and Brazil (e.g. Britto and Waltenberg, 2014; Cericato, 2016; Souto and Paiva, 2013; Santos, Brandão and Maia, 2015; Ostrovski, Sousa and Raitz, 2017).

Although many of these personal dispositions and characteristics are difficult to measure and to pin down in a written examination (Nicholson and McNerney, 1988), they should not be disregarded within a selection process. For example, Klassen and Kim (2017) have shown that the use of Situational Judgement Tests (SJT) may provide a suitable instrument to make inferences about teacher-candidates' dispositions and their corresponding characteristics or behaviours. Furthermore, a disposition/characteristic can be displayed in a number of different manners and with different levels of complexity (e.g. Wasicsko, 1977; Wasicsko, Wirtz and Resor, 2009), especially when candidates are placed in quasi-real situations, such as teaching a demonstration lesson to a group of students in a school, rather than to a panel of teachers, or also through critical incident interviews (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004). Although such situational judgment evaluations are more complicated than a written examination – since they require much more extensive logistical arrangements, financial commitments, and training of staff involved; they offer the opportunity to observe real-life decision-making processes by teachers and may prove to be more useful as a predictor of future classroom behaviour.

These studies discussed above aimed to show that non-cognitive attributes such as personal beliefs, values and other characteristics/dispositions influence professional behaviours. This is because the 'expectations [people have] powerfully affect how [they] construe experience' (Merizow, 2009, p. 95). Additionally, Carrell, Elbert and Hatfield (2000) argue that if a candidate 'shares the same values as the employer, they are much more likely to be committed to achieving the same goals' (p.189). Thus, the expectations and desires teachers have in relation to their possible place of work (and the team within the school) are likely to have an effect on their perception of themselves as teachers, their schools, their motivation to perform in the classroom, and their determination to help their students to succeed. This, in turn, leads to the idea of '*fit*' between the candidate, the job and a given organisation, which will be discussed in the next section.

### **3.3.1. The concept of 'fit' and personnel selection**

According to Schneider, Kristof-Brown, Goldstein and Smith (1997), there were two main paradigms in the research of people's attributes and behaviours within organisations. One focuses on how people's attributes influence their workplace behaviours and through this, the effectiveness of organisations. The other tends to focus on organisationally-driven attributes and environments as drivers of personal behaviours at work. However, there is a convergent middle ground where the concept of 'fit' emerges. Fit alleges that 'the observed behaviour of people ...[is associated with] the degree to which there is similarity, overlap, convergence, correspondence, compatibility, or likeness between a set of attributes of people and a set of attributes of the setting' (Schneider et al., 1997, p. 394).

The Person-Environment (P-E) fit construct is founded on an interactionist behaviour theory (Chatman, 1989) for employment which conceptualises a person's behaviour as a multi-level variable composed of the job-applicant, the people already present in an organisation and the organisation itself. The P-E fit theory is also influenced by the work of Lewin (1935) who understands a person's behaviours, attitudes and performance in an organisation as a composite variable that depends on both personal and environmental characteristics. By considering the interaction between these variables in unique situations, one may associate a certain degree of congruence that will lead to the production of specific and desired outcomes (Muchinsky and Monahan, 1987; Sekiguchi, 2004).

Research on individuals' P-E fit indicates that workers may have better well-being, satisfaction, and can present a more effective adjustment to their jobs when there is a good alignment between a person and their place of work (e.g. Carless, 2005; Holland, 1997; Spokane, 1985; Tinsley, 2000). This concept becomes even more critical to understand when a 'time' is taken into account, and how different 'feedback-loops' influence personal behaviour and characteristics influence organisations, as well as how organisational changes influence personal decisions and working habits (Boon and Biron, 2016). Moreover, Person-Environment fit conceptualises the compatibility of an individual with the uniqueness of each job (Kristof-Brown, Jansen and Colbert, 2002) while at the same time considering the numerous dimensions

of '*fit-ness*', (e.g. Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson, 2005; Tak, 2011) because any relationship between an individual and his or her work environment must be constructed of subcategories that allow for a more nuanced conceptualisation in any a given selection scenario. The most relevant subcategories for this thesis are: *person-job* (P-J) fit, *person-organisation* (P-O) fit, and *person-team* (P-T) fit.

In the context of teacher selection these would respectively translate as the fit between a teacher-candidate and their affinity towards teaching as a job/career (P-J fit); the fit between a teacher-candidate and the specific school and community where employment would be taken (P-O fit); and the fit between a teacher-candidate and the actual existing school staff as co-workers (P-T fit).

### **3.3.2. Person-Job (P-J) fit**

The construct *Person-Job* (P-J) fit is taken to be the original understanding of personnel selection (Werbil and Gilliland, 1999) where the primary concern of an employer was to select candidates that matched the prerequisite knowledge and skills needed to perform a given job, usually characterised by a number of fixed tasks. Importantly, the starting point of this type of job *fit* is a 'job description' which requires a 'job analysis', often conducted by the employer. A 'job description' focuses on what 'jobs' need to be completed, while a job analysis focuses on the knowledge, skills, characteristics and dispositions that may be required to perform such jobs. In teaching, a job description would contain the specific jobs a teacher would be required to do within a school, for which they would be paid. A teachers' specific knowledge, skills, characteristics and dispositions would be identified in the 'job analysis' which would then be collated and written in what is often called a 'person specification'. One might expect that

a job analysis contributes to selecting more productive [teachers] by identifying the main themes of the job, and the [cognitive and non-cognitive] attributes needed in successful [teachers in a given school] ...it also serves a wide range of other personnel functions, besides selection, making it a key central feature in any human resource strategy [of an education institution]

(Cook, 1998, p.40-41)



In his newest book, Cook (2016) argues that the 'job analysis' has become outdated and is now replaced by a 'work analysis' which is 'much more ambitious, much more detailed, and has many more uses' (p.56). Cook describes a number of techniques, tests and strategies to collate a robust work analysis. He argues that 'traditional work analysis systems tended to emphasise the abilities needed for the job; new systems are emerging that focus more on personality requirements' (p.60). However, in countries where the dominant teacher selection paradigm is focused on the selection of individuals via both a centralised and standardised testing of knowledge for a universal *person-job* fit, it actively dismisses schools and their voice within their unique contexts. As such, it contributes to

... a culture that prevents innovation, adaptability and relevance by encouraging epistemological conformity, a lack of questioning of paradigm assumptions, and a commitment to a conservative and restrictive positivism, [government] managerialism and empiricism

(Iles, 1999, p. 78).

Iles (1999) argues that a simple *person-job* fit creates a stagnant and potentially inefficient system, especially when it is assumed that skills, dispositions/characteristics, performance and interactions between candidate, colleagues and work environment are difficult to measure and predict. This may lead to a standardised job-analysis for a *person-job* fit model of selection that often rests on 'questionable assumptions' (Herriot, 1993). Herriot's assumptions have been adapted below to apply to teachers and teaching, and it assumes that:

- *Teachers do not change regardless of context* – hence a standardised test for measuring academic ability is enough to select the best teachers for any school in the state. It assumes that "*teachers are teachers are teachers*" and that the school context and its community do not impact on teachers' job performance; this is directly linked to Beattie's (1996) assumption (i) where the State is more important than the school. Thus, any selected teacher can be allocated to any available vacancy as desired by the government.

- *Job content does not change* – For example, the content of the physics curriculum is the same. Thus, a teacher of physics can teach physics in any school, regardless of context. This assumes that teaching as a profession is limited to the teaching of content, and it matches Beattie's (1996) assumption (ii) that a teacher is appointed for life. Once hired, a teacher will teach the available curriculum, and their job is the same since the civil servant career progression is almost always based on seniority, not on responsibility.
- *Future job performance is measurable and predictable* – those teachers with a high score on the selection tests are assumed to 'possess' better subject knowledge and hence are assumed to be better prepared to teach their subject. This alludes to Beattie's (1996) assumptions (iii and iv), where a teachers' merit is assessable, and it is their subject knowledge mastery which dictates their competence. This indicates that the government assumes a teacher will perform well based on their classification in the selection procedure.

Furthermore, we have established that when a standardised selection based on a *person-job* fit is used, the system tends to shift towards becoming more normalised and less open to interpretation and changes depending on the needs of the organisation. In standardised testing, subjectivity is claimed to be removed from the process, but the institutional bias is ubiquitous within such a system, disadvantaging and discriminating against marginalised groups (e.g. Delgado, 2014; McNeil, 2000; Moss, 1989). Arguably, any standardised test 'is not a valid aptitude test ... because gender, income, cultural background, and the other variables ... do have an effect on test scores' (Moss, 1989, p.236). In addition, Delgado (2014, p.104) argues that for a complex position, such as that of a teacher, rewarding a single skill through a standardised test is incompatible with reality because the skills that make up a good practitioner may not be so easily divided [and measured]. They might not even be 'additive', but mutually dependent, requiring the right balance to operate at an optimum level.

Importantly, this is not to say that certain standardise tests might have a place within a selection system, particularly in contexts where corruption, nepotism and patronage appointments exist. In addition, Lewis (1993)

argues that 'if an organisation wishes to recruit and select people...it is in their own interest to have the ability to carry it out successfully....an organisation has the right to select or reject whom it wants. If it does so badly or unfairly, it is the concern of the organisation' (p.59). Thus, a selection system must have a system of accountability with checks and balances in place. He goes on to argue that 'the real danger of testing is that the confidence inspired by its apparent objectivity can be seriously abused' (Lewis, 1993, p. 147). This is a crucial argument since a person-job fit approach tends to have a utilitarian view of selection, with a teacher being good only because of their perceived ability to fit the job description (i.e. teach their subject) regardless of context, and their ability to perform on the test. Person-Job fit sees a teacher as a transferable resource with standardised testing as a means to predict such fit. Moreover,

selection methods, if perceived solely as predictors, perform the function of screening-out a majority of applicants to thereby screening a minority who are likely to perform better on certain criterion measures of job performance [i.e. demonstrating subject knowledge in a standardised test]

(Anderson and Ostroff, 1997, p. 416-417)

But the use of standardised testing as a method for a person-job fit would need to reliably measure later job performance in order to validate the testing itself as a method of selection (Lewis, 1993). However, in the case of Brazil, the *concurso* does not track the teachers it selects nor effectively measures their individual job performance. Therefore, person-job fit alone does not take into account the role of the organisation itself (i.e. the school) nor the community where the candidate has to work at as substantial variables in job performance. This is where a better understanding of the person-organisation fit comes into play, which is the topic of the next section.

### **3.3.3. Person-Organisation (P-O) fit**

Schneider's (1987) work on attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) brings forth the idea that any candidate that may be attracted, selected and stay on a given post in an organisation is fundamentally determined by the similarity between an individual and the perceived work environment (Carless, 2005). The work of O'Reilly, Chatman and Caldwell (1991) had already shown that

P-O fit could predict a number of indicators such as commitment and satisfaction, along with performance. Other research has also demonstrated that when a candidate's personal characteristics and values matches that of an organisation, this P-O fit becomes stronger (e.g. Cable and Judge, 1997; Huang, You and Tsai, 2012); it influences the way a candidate and the organisation accept each other (Bretz and Judge, 1994, Lee and Jang, 2017); and it is vital to establishing a committed workforce (Sekiguchi, 2004, Bakker, 2010). This compatibility of a *person-organisation* fit (Kristof, 1996) may be something an organisation such as a school intentionally seeks out in order to ensure a teacher has both the knowledge, skills, characteristics and dispositions to perform the job, as well as shares the unique values of the school. This is important because, as Lauver and Kristof-Brown (2001) have shown, a person's perceptions of their fit with the organisation in which they work impacts on the person's overall attitude within the organisation, including its intention to leave the job.

In addition, the work of Bowen, Ledford and Nathan (1991) argue that by including the notion of fit within selection procedures in a manner that they work in tandem with other methods of selection, an organisation turns to people who hold similar values and beliefs, potentially reducing demographic bias. On the other hand, too much fit might not be a good thing. Hambrick and Brandon (1988) conclude that an organisation's management team must have a good fit as a group rather than all individuals having the same fit as an organisation, as it might lead to 'narrow vision, poor implementation of necessary strategy, and a general lack of firm competitiveness' (Schneider et al., 1997). These types of issues have been linked to 'similarity-attraction theory', where teacher-candidates that may have very similar traits to evaluators and thus, may be assessed more favourably due to first impressions and relationship formation (Delli and Vera, 2003).

Therefore, a selection outlook which seeks to find coherence and balance between *person-organisation* and *person-job* would likely have a more holistic approach in attempting to evaluate a range of personal characteristics that are needed to fulfil a specific post. Providing freedom of choice to individuals (and to organisations) may be thought of as potential filters for the benefit of both candidates and organisations. Rynes and Cable (2003) argue that this is particularly important in the recruitment and selection

of people in the current status-quo of a more market-based economy. Their work also allowed them to posit that candidates are more likely to put as much thought and effort about choosing a suitable organization for them to work in, as much as what might be the most '*fit-ing*' job for them. This difference implies an emphasis on a candidate having the power to choose to apply to an institution the candidate sees as sharing similar values to them (Searle, 2003). In an educational setting, this would imply a teacher being able to choose the school they would like to work in, as much as the ability a school might have in deciding which teacher might be most suitable to their vision.

Morley (2007) argues that institutions that used conventional selection protocols (previously concerned with work-oriented analyses through the determination of sets of knowledge and abilities required for a *person-job* fit) have been looking beyond the normalised status-quo of selection. Many different types of organisations have already shifted their priority from old models of selection based on job knowledge and job skill to recruiting and hiring people depending on their compatibility with the context they have applied to work. Consequently, education systems must address not only how they select candidates, but also the environment in which this selection happens. As Haberman (2011) poignantly expresses,

The notion that individuals can be hired into sensitive positions such as teachers without being personally interviewed leads one to suspect the intelligence of those in [government]... . [N]ot using in-depth valid in-person interviews ...results in ...continually hiring the wrong people.

(Haberman, 2011, p.931)

The classical approach to candidate selection of matching people with jobs through a standardised job analysis and a selection focused on academic variables and job performance, may be incompatible with a complex social profession such as education-related jobs. A standardised version of a person-job approach values discrete job tasks, ultra-managerialism and cost-effectiveness based on productivity, all of which are not easily measurable, nor necessarily desirable, within education and may lead to a reductionist and normalised version of teachers and their jobs. Including an emphasis on person-organisation fit would look at selection as a non-neutral

instrument *and* as a complex social process which refutes the instrumentalisation of standardised selection protocols. It argues that different situations, different organisations and contexts will have their own expectations and thus, the selection becomes a continuous and interactionist social process between candidates and the community of practice subjected to issues of identity, negotiation and, invariably, some subjectivity (Iles, 1999). Selection is also a socialisation process with the goal to achieve person-organisation fit since 'job-seekers are affected by [the] congruence between their personalities and personal attributes, and [the] organisations' attributes' (Anderson and Ostroff, 1997, p.424). Arguably, this type of socialisation should happen at all levels within an organisation, which is when the person-team (P-T) fit also becomes another significant element of selection.

#### **3.3.4. Person-Team (P-T) fit**

Schools are types of institutions that have not changed significantly in the last few decades. Classrooms, teachers and students are at the core of how schools are still known and represented. Technologies may have advanced, and different pedagogical ideas may have been introduced, but as the world modernises, and 'work organizations are characterized by decentralization, globalization and differentiation, and are designed around a "distributed" model, facilitated by information technology and team-based leadership' (Burch and Anderson, 2004, p.406-407), one must ask whether schools have also developed as institutions and places of work. Teaching is no longer a lonely job, and the development of professional communities of practice amongst teachers has been paramount to sustain meaningful learning networks (Lieberman, 2012).

Therefore, in order for a school to continue to improve its outcomes, the members that make up a school community may be conceptualised as critical elements of how a system or institution might wish to intervene to promote a more effective working environment (Tannenbaum, Salas and Cannon-Bowers, 1996). This type of intervention would potentially benefit not only the teachers but also the school and its students. As Burch and Anderson (2004) argue:

team-member selection is driven by a wider systematic personnel selection procedure, which tends to focus on identifying individual team-related competence, or the extent to which an individual demonstrates competence in the necessary skills for team-working.

(p. 407)

However, a system of teacher selection that prioritises and uses individual academic qualifications and examination outcomes does not take into account team-related skills and competencies. Additionally, when a system of teacher selection is centralised and does not involve the institutions in which these teachers have to work in, it automatically disregards an approach that may 'result in employees who are fully integrated into the work environment and [which] should produce more positive work-related outcomes' (Anderson and Ostroff, 1997, p. 414).

Ultimately, P-T fit in schools assumes that a teaching position in a school would require teachers to possess or develop excellent interpersonal skills that would help guide interactions with other group members such as teachers and students. When a new teacher is able to demonstrate such skills, it will affect their potential to make distinctive contributions to the school as a whole. The ability to effectively deploy these skills in a complex social environment are fundamental to teachers and their schools because they have the potential to enhance the performance of other teachers and of their students (Werbel and Johnson, 2001). This is because, arguably, interpersonal skills may be more important than any academic subject knowledge when evaluating a teacher's performance in schools (Montgomery, 1996). Moreover, to understand how selection impacts how individuals and organisations may effectively integrate and socialise in what is already a complex social environment, the idea of selection as a complex social process must be introduced. This is what the next section will discuss.

### 3.3.5. Personnel Selection as a complex social process

According to Anderson and Ostroff (1997, p.435)

selection procedures can have profound impacts on socialisation by providing information, influencing expectations and attitudes, and affecting behaviours... Some selection procedures...can provide a great deal of realistic job-relevant information but may fail to provide realistic information about the organisational context; hence their socialisation impact is limited to...expectations

Throughout the argument in this section (3.3) there has been an assumption that schools' (and therefore, governments)'s key task must be to construct a selection system around ways to maximise the selection of the best teachers. But how does one categorise the best teachers when considering selection as socialisation? Although issues of teacher quality will be dealt with in chapter four, it is important to highlight the work of Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson (2004) where they argue from their research that there are five clusters of visible personal characteristics and a set of seven classroom-based 'micro-behaviours', that make highly effective teachers. These are important at this point in the literature review as they allow us to frame teachers within a social context. The clusters are:

#### Characteristics

- Professionalism
- Thinking
- Planning and setting expectations
- Leading
- Relating to others

#### Classroom-demonstrable micro-behaviours

- Setting of High Expectations
- Short, Medium and Long-term planning vision
- Implementation of a variety of teaching strategies
- Consistent management of student behaviour
- Personal Time and Resource Management
- Use of Classroom Assessment
- Effective use of Homework Tasks



These dispositions/characteristics, behaviours and their meaning are intrinsically linked to the concept of teacher quality, and they make expressive contributions to what it means to be a classroom teacher and for teacher success (e.g. Goodwin, 2012; Kim, Dar-Nimrod and MacCann, 2017; Rowe, Wilkin and Wilson, 2012) but not all teachers possess all the characteristics all the time and hence, space, time, and support may be needed to improve those under-developed characteristics and behaviours (e.g. Darling-Hammond and Lieberman, 2012). Nevertheless, the characteristics, behaviours and values of teachers will influence their classroom practice and hence student outcomes (e.g. MacBeath, 2012). More importantly, it is this knowledge that allows a reconceptualization of *teacher* selection as a complex social process.

Therefore, it could be argued that they should also influence the way they are selected into individual schools. As such, personnel selection research argues that we must include ways to identify and select people that have all or some of these characteristics as well as people who have the potential to develop them further, while at the same time can consistently demonstrate this throughout their tenure at the school. This demands a teacher selection process informed by a socialisation perspective that is both continuous and supportive of teacher development and proposes an understanding of selection which intentionally targets the integration between job, candidate and organisation through a better understanding of person-job, person-organisation, and person-team fit (Anderson and Ostroff, 1997; Iles, 1999). Moreover, personnel selection also emphasises the need for a protocol to ensure both legal and ethical consideration of the candidates involved. Most importantly, a teacher selection protocol must be able to demonstrate that it is legally and ethically compliant in order to achieve a certain level of trust from all those involved in the process as well as the general public, regardless of how it is conducted.

It must also be transparent about its assumptions about how it understands the principles that guide people's decision-making, self-efficacy, attitudes and other characteristics. When applied to education, these assumptions (based on Iles and Robertson, 1983 and Iles, 1999), indicate that:

- *Teachers (and schools) regularly change in the course of their careers (existence) – so a selection on a point in time is not necessarily valid throughout one’s entire career;*
- *Teachers’ subjective self-perceptions about themselves are critical to their motivation and performance – so an assessment of teachers’ self-perceptions through a selection that purposefully matches teachers with schools would directly influence their motivation and performance;*
- *Teaching is an interactive and social profession that involves multi-skilled, flexible and self-directed work – so a selection that prioritises this and requires teachers to demonstrate how these attributes fit a given school would be more likely to produce a better match between teachers and schools.*

Given the arguments above, teacher selection can be interpreted and approached as a *complex social process* that deals with real people, in real life scenarios, to work with real people in diverse contexts. Therefore, it relies on multifaceted social judgements that must be guided by a moral and ethical compass that is rooted in laws associated with equality of opportunity without discrimination, where the values of different schools and different communities are likely to influence how schools and teachers will judge their *person-organisation fit*.

At the same time, as discussed in the P-O fit section above, schools would potentially tend to select individuals who are most similar to the ethos of their organisation and teachers might potentially move to schools they judge to be more attractive to them. If teachers have the freedom to relocate when vacancies emerge in different schools, and mobility within education is encouraged, it could be assumed that individual and organisational values are aspects for both teachers and schools that could be used in selection (Cable and Judge, 1997). However, as Arthur et al. (2006) explain, if the person-organisation fit is used for decision making, it follows that selection protocols must be held to the same legal standards as other types of selection. Additionally, educational systems must consider teachers’ bias towards choosing schools that may be perceived to be less ‘problematic’,

since 'teachers in schools serving primarily disadvantaged students are more likely to transfer to a new school ...and teachers in urban inner-city schools are more likely to migrate away from their schools than teachers in other areas' (Feng and Sass, 2011, p.2).

Therefore, this literature review chapter argues that selection must be conceptualised as a *complex social process* that is concerned with the intricate relationships between individual and employer (i.e. teacher and the school) and how it is organised within the local micro-macro context of where the selection is taking place (Iles, 1999), and likely to be under the administration of an independent agency for accountability purposes. This is different from traditional perspectives such as strategic management – which relies on organisations' short, medium and long-term planning of staffing needs and assessment –, or of a psychometric perspective – which contends that psychological differences between individuals is measurable and determine job performance against fixed-criteria. Selection as a *complex social process* requires a deeper connection between individuals and organisations, with the expectations that there will be an exchange of relevant information between them in order to have a two-way assessment of both a person-organisation fit as well as an organisation-person fit. In education, this explicit sharing of information between teacher and school is critical for achieving a mutual understanding between the needs of the teacher and the needs of the school. By specifically targeting the teacher-school (*person-organisation*) fit, one can argue that there is potential for consolidating a successful working relationship that may increase teachers' motivation, commitment and performance within the school, to the benefit of students and the local community.

This understanding of selection argues for a teacher selection protocol to be scrutinised as a *complex social process* (e.g. Anderson and Ostroff, 1997; Iles, 1999; Herriot, 1983) that attempts to expose insights on the idiosyncrasies of sociocultural constructs that are an integral part of the lives of teachers and schools. This would lead to a better understanding of how the knowledge, skills, characteristics, and dispositions of teachers can be embedded within a process of selection. The research presented in this chapter also seems to suggest that a perspective of teacher selection as a complex social process must be taken seriously because teachers and

schools are sociocultural and economic actors that have complex social interactions at their core. On the other hand, it is vital to put in place a system of accountability measures, laws, regulations, and codes that oversee these practices. Consequently, there must also be different levels of consequences for those that fail to abide by these rules since social interaction can also be biased and manipulated by those involved.

In the next section, I will explore the literature which focuses on teacher selection in order to understand how different systems have been selecting their teachers. This will allow a more meaningful analysis between these systems, the literature on personnel selection, and the Brazilian system explored in chapter two.

### **3.4. Teacher Selection**

This section follows from the development of our understanding regarding personnel selection research because it allows closer inspection of what selection is within the field of education. This macro-to-micro approach taken for the presentation of the research on selection, asks the reader to interpret teacher selection research with the knowledge of what selection research outside of education says. In this way, teacher selection research can be looked at through different lenses at the same time, providing a much more holistic understanding of teacher selection as the reader also draws on their personal experience to contextualise the research that will be presented in this section. This section first draws on the importance of teacher selection within education, it then explains the two main stages of teacher selection: initial teacher education and teacher hiring into schools, and the three different ways in which this often completed.

#### **3.4.1. The Importance of teacher selection**

The issue of teacher “recruitment” has currently been at the centre of the global educational debate (e.g. Gorard et al., 2006; Luft, Wong and Semken, 2011; Schleicher, 2011, 2012; PREAL, 2012) with specific calls to address it (OECD, 2018), since it is a vital responsibility of both politicians and educational leaders (Young and Castetter, 2007) and perhaps the most important responsibility (Stronge and Hindman, 2006).

Gilbert (1967) had already firmly called for research into teacher selection with a variety of approaches because of the lack of studies in the area. Flanagan (1967) called for research on teacher selection to find out the types of behaviours that may lead to good teacher performance in the classroom in order to aid selection. Importantly, Del Schalock (1979) then attempted to summarise the research undertaken since Gilbert and Lang’s paper, reaching a conclusion that most teacher selection research was mainly descriptive in nature (p.397) and without a framework to guide it (p.398). He then called for teacher selection research to be more predictive and

longitudinal, while taking into account 'at all times the impact of the setting in which teaching occurs on measures of teaching success' (Del Schalock, 1979, p. 408).

Later, Bredeson (1983) proposed a new conceptual 'decision-making' model for teacher selection based on impression formation, and inference, decision, and rating theory. Hanes and Hanes (1986) called for teacher recruitment and selection to be acknowledged as a critical component of a broad education policy strategy. In addition, Wilson (1986) had argued that 'selection systems have implications for the morale of entrants and for the public standing of the profession' (p.61). Something that Wise et al. (1987) comprehensively presented in their report 'Effective Teacher Selection' where they argued that a 'well-designed teacher selection process...enables [governments] to influence...and define...the nature of teaching and education [that is] expected' (p.1). Nicholson and Mcinerney (1988) proposed such a method, though it lacked a robust data and longitudinal research, as called for by Gilbert and Lang, to be able to accurately assess teacher-candidates' personal attributes which they argue 'are important in determining how that candidate is going to work out once he or she comes on board (p.88). Smith and Knab (1996) also attempted to propose a system to make selection more efficient, reliable, and cost-effective. They argued that 'the largest reason for [a selection] process redesign failure is the inability of organisations [i.e. educational systems and schools] to manage change' (p.6).

But the constant education policy changes seen in the 2000s and 2010s, particularly with the advent of international comparisons, have only served to intensify the pressure on teacher recruitment of qualified teachers as 'the most important task of a successful [education] reform programme' (Winter and Mellow, 2005, p.368). This type of strategic thinking can be exemplified by a document from the Scottish government (Donaldson, 2011, p.5) which affirms that

the foundations of a high-quality teaching profession lie in the nature of the people recruited to become teachers. Every effort must be made to attract, select and retain individuals with the qualities which are essential in a twenty-first-century teacher and potential school leader

In the passage above, Donaldson (2011) emphasises three steps within teacher selection protocols that must be understood as an integral and fundamental part of the entire process. These are: attract, select and retain teachers. Attracting candidates is associated with recruitment efforts, while the right selection mechanisms are central to improving the workforce, and retention efforts are focused on the sustainability of the teaching profession in the long term. Importantly, attracting candidates is a direct consequence of 'deliberate policy choices, carefully implemented over time' (OECD, 2018, p.30).

However, the global teacher education/recruitment/selection debate has begun to shift towards the assumption that school systems and their students' attainment will improve if graduates with higher academic qualifications (e.g. top 10%) become teachers and if they are developed into excellent 'instructors' (Barber and Mourshed, 2007). The McKinsey Report, as it is known, has been a driving force in recent teacher education policy changes around the world, with many governments using it as evidence to kickstart reforms, especially on the *types* of people who enter the profession (e.g. DfE, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Guarino, Santibañez and Daley, 2006; OECD, 2018) and the reduction of minimum selection requirements such as lower academic grades. When discussing the McKinsey Report's views on teacher education, Coffield (2012) argues that its conclusion of 'a highly complex set of relations is reduced to only one factor' (p.132). The McKinsey Report state that teachers 'best practices ...work irrespective of culture in which they are applied' (Barber and Mourshed, 2007 in Coffield, 2012, p.138). However, the report does not tackle how teachers' individual attributes and dispositions have a significant impact on teaching and learning (e.g. Nieto, 2006; Haberman, 2011; Wasicsko, 2007; Klassen and Kim, 2017; Klassen et al., 2018) nor how subject and pedagogic knowledge actually influence good teaching and learning (Brant, 2006).

Morris (2012) explains that governmental organisations must be careful when using a document such as the McKinsey Report for a policy shift, especially when it contains so many general statements centred around teachers as the main feature with which to improve an educational system. Such a hypothesis has a significant political impact due to its relative simplicity and 'easy-to-sell-to-the-public' vision. Additionally, Morris argues,

it is a hypothesis that is very hard to falsify because all other cultural, socio-economic and religious variables had to be excluded from the equation. For example, Martin Carnoy's (2007, p.13) study on Cuba's academic achievement in comparison with the Brazilian and Chilean cases, provides an insight into the role of culture in teacher quality when arguing that,

....families and collectives, such as communities and national governments, create social capital and that this social capital can greatly influence the amount of student learning that takes places in schools. This new dimension turns out to be an important explainer of student achievement within and between countries.

Additionally, it is also acknowledged that teachers' best practices are influenced by an education culture of performativity (e.g. Ball, 2003; Webb 2005, 2006; Woods, 1996) as well as a multifaceted array of personal and professional characteristics within specific school environments which may influence teacher quality and, therefore, student learning and academic achievement (e.g. Hanushek, 2009; Hanushek and Rivkin, 2006; Place and Vail, 2013; Staiger and Rockoff, 2010). This implies that the process of *how* teachers are selected becomes of the utmost importance.

Overall, different countries have selection practices that possess pre-determined rules and criteria which are varied and complex. It would be an arduous task to analyse every system to get a bigger picture of all the selection procedures. This is something that the OECD (2005, 2018) and Eurydice (2018) have recently achieved for European countries. According to Eurodyce (2018), the reality is that

Many countries have serious shortages of staff. In some cases, these are linked to specific subjects or geographical areas, while in others they are more general due to the ageing teacher population, drop-out rates from the profession and its attractiveness. Interest in the profession is also declining, resulting in fewer candidates for posts (European Commission, 2013b). In addition, there are significant gender imbalances in staffing at different levels of education which also need to be addressed.

(Eurydice, 2018, p.17)

When it comes to teacher selection, there are two main stages where teachers may be explicitly subjected to a variety of assessments or



evaluations of their subject knowledge and/or teaching competence in order to become members of a particular teaching workforce. There are a number of different protocols in place, and every country has designed their own system (e.g. Hobson, Ashby, McIntyre and Maldarez, 2010, Eurydice 2018). According to Hobson et al. (2010), these selection systems can be categorised depending on :

- *When* the assessment takes place in a prospective teachers' career;
- *How* a selection takes place or more specifically *what methods* are used to establish competence against a set of criteria.

On the matter of *when* selection happens, two main stages are identified: selection of candidates for initial teacher education, and selection for the appointment to a teaching post (*teacher hiring*). Thus, the intention of this section is to gain a deeper understanding of research on teacher selection and of the 'the mechanisms that countries use to select and recruit teachers ..., [because they] have potentially strong implications for educational quality' (OECD, 2005, p. 142). Hence, the sections below have the goal of identifying the current research on teacher selection by focusing on both stages mentioned above: initial teacher education and teacher hiring in order to help to provide a cohesive and valid body of literature that can support the contextualisation of the research questions in light of the data that will be collected and analysed for the case of Brazil.

### **3.4.2. Selection for Initial Teacher Education**

The selection of students for initial training to enter the teaching profession may happen at different points depending on the country, and on the type of institution. Eurydice (2002, 2018), classifies these stages into two: the first one called the *consecutive model*, where students must first receive an undergraduate degree before they are allowed to enrol in a teacher training course; the other is called the *concurrent model* where elements of teacher training and the university degree are practiced at the same time.

Within the consecutive model, there are countries like Finland, the Netherlands, the UK, and France, where most<sup>10</sup> pre-service secondary teachers need to achieve post-graduate qualification before they are allowed to qualify to teach in the classroom. In contrast, in the case of Brazil (and most other Latin American countries), students enrol for a teaching degree qualification (*licensure*) as a first choice for a university undergraduate degree (from age 18 onwards) although students are often allowed to decide to change into a teacher training pathway mid-way through their regular undergraduate degree, without any other formal selection.

In order to enter either an undergraduate or post-graduate qualification in teaching, most countries rely on academic qualifications as the primary (or only) entrance mechanism into the teaching profession. Rawlinson and Burnard (1978) in Australia, and Wilson (1986) in Scotland had extensively argued for a comprehensive development and understanding of issues surrounding initial teacher selection and education; arguing for their respective governments to recognise the 'hidden benefits and share the costs of selection [of new teachers]' (Wilson, 1986, p.57). Mitchell and Wilson (1986) went on to survey applicants and entrants into teacher education where they found that students thought entrance via academic qualifications only was not suitable as a means of selection.

The reasons for this were that people may have the necessary qualifications without a suitable personality or ability, that exam results only show the ability to pass exams, not suitability for the profession, and that a person's character cannot be assessed purely by written evidence

(Mitchell and Wilson, 1986, p.87)

The authors allude to the need to have other types of measures in the selection of potential teachers. However, other had argued that 'those who pass the test will be more effective teachers than those who do not' (Hyman, 1984, p.14). Guyton and Farokhi (1987) later reviewed and tested this assumption and found no relationship between academic scores and teaching behaviour. They conclude that 'elimination of students based solely

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<sup>10</sup> In some schools in the UK, teachers can be hired without a post-graduate qualification as it has now been decoupled from the Qualified Teacher Status (QTS)

on [academic] criteria may “weed out” a large group of potential students who would make good practitioners’ (p. 41), something that could prevent, demotivate and exclude future candidates which possess desirable teaching qualities (Kay-Cheng and Kam, 1990). At the same time, Applegate (1987) has argued that

...the characteristics necessary to be successful in college coursework may not in and of themselves be sufficient for successfully completing student teaching. For a selection effort to be meaningful, both programme purposes and developmental purposes must be considered

(Applegate, 1987, p.3)

An alternative might be the use of a personal interview, but this was shown to be much less effective than a group interview for trying to assess personality qualities (Schechtman, 1988) as asked by Mitchell and Wilson above. As such, Schmitz and Lucas (1990) found, through the use of correlational analysis with an interview instrument, that affective variables could predict perceived good teaching practice. In addition, Basom, Rush and Machell (1994) also looked into these non-traditional measures and found similar conclusions. In a study of selection of science graduates into post-graduate teacher education in the UK, Turner and Turner (1997) found that for an interview to be successful, candidates need to be explicitly aware of all the rating criteria prior to the interview. They also indicate that ‘suitability for the course is not just an issue of selection. Quite clearly many students enter the course who find that they are not suited to teaching’ (p. 134).

A study by Caskey, Peterson and Temple (2001) on complex admission selection procedures for teacher education found similar outcomes, in particular, the need to ‘better develop the communication to applicants about the procedures, justifications, and individual results’ (p. 20). Furthermore, a study by Byrnes, Kiger and Schechtman (2003) on group interviews as a method of selection found that ‘... academic criteria are not positive predictors of future student-teaching performance’ (p. 170). Byrne and Challen (2004) compared pre-service teachers’ initial grades at selection and their grades end of placement grade, and recommended that training providers consider ‘a more holistic picture of each candidate...[and] to devise assessments and criteria that indicate candidates’ potential to become highly

effective teachers...to [improve] consistency of judgements by assessors, [and] use refined criteria in order to recruit candidates of high calibre' (p. 7).

From the evidence above, it is possible to affirm the considerable complexity when dealing with the selection of candidates to enter initial teacher training. The requirements to develop a comprehensive and strategic process that enables an institution or government to purposefully select candidates that are suitable for the teaching career are challenging. Often, governments and institutions do not have the financial resources to engage in such a task, and as such tend to focus on existing academic measures, such as national standardised examinations at the end of formal schooling. In 2005, for example, due to concerns with teachers' academy quality, the Norwegian government demanded that the candidate's high school Grade Point Average (GPA) was above the national minimum standard in order for candidates to be accepted for a teacher training programme (Mastekaasa, 2011). This is a standard measure which has been used by several countries, but especially in the United States (e.g. DeLuca, 2012; Haberman and Post, 1998; Harris and Sass, 2009) with doubtful outcomes as of its effectiveness since there has been mounting evidence of teachers with high grades leaving the profession (e.g. Henke, Chen and Geis, 2000; Murnane and Olsen, 1990; Podgursky, Monroe and Watson, 2004), and that it is not a good predictor of later successful teaching (Atteberry, Loeb and Wycoff, 2015; Baskin, Ross and Smith 1996; Clark, 2010).

Moreover, in the USA, selection protocols tend to be unique to districts and states with an over-reliance on academic scores and interviews, although some also use references, personal statements and other tests (Casey and Childs, 2007). Guarino, Santibañez and Daley (2006) had found no study in the USA which looked at the actual framework of selection for initial teacher training. Studies tended to be focused on policies which might increase or decrease recruitment. In a white paper review of teacher education in the USA, Cohen and Wycoff (2016) corroborate this when they said that 'the lack of research on selection into traditional teacher education is an important gap in knowledge that may reflect few systematic efforts to differentiate among applicants' (p. 4).

Although effective teaching has been associated with attributes such as strong interpersonal, communication and leadership skills (Dunkin and Barnes, 1986; Schecthman and Godfried, 1993; Westbrook, 1998) as well as other qualities such as learning to learn, problem-solving and self-management (Relf and Hobbs, 1999; Rowe, Wilkin and Wilson, 2012), the emphasis on academic qualifications seems to continue. However, there is some recent evidence of a shift in perspective with the recognition that

good academic qualifications ... [are] not in themselves sufficient condition for being a good teacher ... Equally, prospective teachers should have the kind of personal qualities which allow them to relate well to young people and show characteristics of the attributes which they must develop as extended professionals

(Donaldson, 2011, p.26-27).

Deluca's (2012) extensive research on selecting inclusive teacher candidates in Ontario, Canada revealed that admissions policy failed to address the need to enhance the recruitment, screening and selection of diverse teachers 'who have a propensity for inclusive teaching' (p.27). This is something that Haberman and Post (1998) had already emphasised, especially for teacher training programmes that cater to urban, multicultural schools.

In light of both the lack of research and the inconsistency of approaches to initial teacher selection, Klassen, Durksen, Rowett, and Patterson (2014) argued that 'education systems need valid selection procedures because selecting the right people to work as teachers is critical for a nation's educational, social and economic well-being' (p.107) and thus, they have piloted a Situational Judgement Test (SJT) approach to address the lack of reliable measures to tackle non-cognitive attributes in prospective teachers. They conclude that SJTs are perceived as being fair and that candidates are less likely to fake than on other conventional methods of gauging personal attributes. At the same time, Klassen and Kim (2017), and Kim and Klassen (2018) argued that selection for initial teacher education must focus on both cognitive and non-cognitive skills, but that the continued overreliance on ad-hoc and non-systematic frameworks and procedures leads to a process that is highly unreliable and unpredictable.

Given the background and findings above, it is essential to highlight the work of Klassen and Kim (2017) who embarked on extensive research attempting to reliably address the issue of measuring non-cognitive attributes of prospective teachers in the UK. They draw on the research and model of teacher effectiveness by Kunter, Kleickmann, Klusmann, and Richter (2013) who had already demonstrated the significant contribution of non-cognitive attributes to effective teachers. Consequently, Klassen and Kim's research led them to propose a teacher selection model for initial teacher education that embeds a multi-stage process 'underpinned by an iterative evaluative cycle that has the capacity to continuously refine the selection process and assessment' (Klassen and Kim 2017, p.16). The contribution of research from educational and organisational psychology, and human resources, towards the understanding of how non-cognitive attributes can be measured, evaluated and implemented in teacher selection cannot be understated. Even more importantly, Klassen et al. (2018) follow-up work where they explore this model across cultural settings indicate both a level of universality in certain attributes 'such as reliance, empathy and organisation'. They also indicate how national and cultural context plays a vital role in how teacher effectiveness dimensions are understood and implemented.

There are so many variables which impact on educational policies and outcomes that it becomes hard to find common ground on which to analyse teacher training practices such as a heterogeneous culture and religious background, socio-economic standings, the country's susceptibility to corruption, the rural population, educational funding, the actual educational structure such as buildings, roads, transportation, etc, will all play a role in the development of a productive and effective teaching workforce. Hence, local political decisions will likely influence teacher selection practices, and as such, national socio-economic contexts must be taken into account when analysing the selection process for teacher training.

Ultimately, there is evidence to suggest that the assessment of interpersonal qualities is of great importance for systems and principals which report that characteristics such as working well with others, motivation, personal experiences, enthusiasm, communication skills, having a caring personality as well as strong teaching skills and subject knowledge as the main competencies they are looking for, rather than having the highest degree

grade (e.g. Abernathy, Forsyth and Mitchel, 2001; Delli and Vera, 2003; Harris et al., 2010). The majority of these traits cannot be measured by academic examinations or read on a curriculum vitae. However, personal critical incident interviews (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004), and other bespoke interventions such as SJTs are likely to inform some of these perceptions, though on their own, it may not provide enough substantiation to confirm these desired traits. Metzger and Wu (2008) challenged the validity of using commercial, standardised selection instruments for teachers, something common in the US, and argue that they are unlikely to correlate with future teacher effectiveness while at the same time proposing that the reality of interviews is very different from the reality of practice. As such, Metzger and Wu (2008, p.935) argue that

a teaching career [may] require one set of beliefs, attitudes, and values to get hired, another set to survive in school bureaucracy and parent-teacher community, and a different set altogether to be a pedagogically effective teacher.

Therefore, the selection for initial teacher education programmes may be thought of as an integral part of the entire process of training and future selection to schools. As this literature has already suggested having a good teacher is one of the most important factors influencing students' overall progress and attainment (e.g. Alfonso and Santiago, 2010; Guarino, Santibañez and Daley, 2006; Metzler and Woessmann, 2010; Rockoff, 2004; Sanders and Rivers, 1996), and the evidence for teacher quality being linked to people's individual characteristics continues to mount (Atteberry, Loeb and Wyckoff, 2015; Chetty, Friedman and Rockoff, 2014; Hanushek and Rivkin, 2012; Scott and Dinham, 2008; Klassen and Kim, 2017; Xu, Özek, and Hansen, 2015).

Thus, it becomes apparent that having a strong pre-selection system for initial teacher training which searches for a range of characteristics that may serve a purpose both within and outside the classroom becomes paramount to provide support towards the goal of enhancing the quality of the teaching workforce. These conclusions are especially critical for large, federal countries that have highly heterogeneous communities spread over large geographical areas; and often rely on impersonal academic qualifications as the only measure of selection into teacher education. The idiosyncrasies of

local, regional and national perspectives on teaching as a profession and teacher quality/effectiveness have to be carefully understood since they influence both the administration and methods of teacher selection (Steiner, 2012).

### **3.4.3. Selection for teaching posts in schools (teacher hiring)**

This literature review on teacher selection has uncovered some extensive reports and/or research in which there is a careful analysis of actual teacher selection protocols that deal with hiring practices of teachers. The starting point of this section is Shalock's (1979) extensive review of research on teacher selection. He expresses his critique of the field by saying that 'as critical as teacher selection is to the field of education, no framework has emerged within which to synthesise the research that has been done or to guide needed research' (p. 369). Shalock then highlights the build-up of research on teacher effectiveness and its paramount implication to teacher selection. However, by that time, research focused on describing teacher characteristics, how they may be related to each other, and their potential link to students' academic outcomes.

Shalock organised his research around the idea of 'predictors' of classroom teaching success of which he categorised as intellectual ability; personal traits and attributes; previous experience of working with children; knowledge related to teaching; ability to perform a classroom-based function consistently; and ability to engage students in learning activities. Albeit these all have different levels of what he calls 'fidelity' – defined as 'the extent to which a predictive measure is similar or "isomorphic" to the behaviour that is to be predicted' – p. 369), Shalock also highlighted the use of 'work-samples' as an alternative predictor. Work-sample infers the need to look at someone's reactions and performance under real-life conditions, such the use of micro-teaching or assessment-centres where candidates/participants are able to 'demonstrate competencies related to the role for which they are applying' under controlled conditions (Bieri and Schuler, 2011, p. 401).

His research also highlights the need to consider school effects as a potential predictor of teaching success. This is something that the research on



personnel selection in section 3.3. agrees with, mainly through the concept of person-organisation fit. Moreover, Schalock indicates that school effects also include the school climate, the socioeconomic and cultural background of its student body reinforcing that notion that this cannot be dismissed when looking at teaching success. However, by the end of his review, he critiques the research at the time for its overemphasis on teacher *preparation* and its focus on effectiveness. Instead, he calls for systematic research on the process itself and puts forward a framework with four propositions. It needs to be predictive; it should be driving through teacher preparation programmes that have access to both stages of selection (pre/post training): it must be longitudinal, and it must 'take into account the impact of the setting in which teaching occurs on measures of teaching success' (Schalock, 1979, p.399).

Another such study comes from Wise, Darling-Hammond, and Berry (Wise et al., 1987) entitled "Effective Teacher Selection" from RAND's Centre for the Study of the Teaching Profession. This is an extensive, 102-pages long, American-based, research that produced invaluable insights into the process of teacher selection. Wise et al. reach ten conclusions with a total of 20 recommendations addressing issues of recruitment; screening; hiring; school placements of beginning teachers; induction; and evaluation. One important conclusion from their work highlights

teacher selection [as] a process embedded in a socio-political-organisational context. As practised today, it is the result of both careful planning, historical accident, and political compromise. Improving teacher selection, especially in the face of increasing demand for teachers, will not be easy.

(Wise et al., 1987, p. 79)

This realisation that teacher selection is a complex social process corroborates the literature and the arguments put forward in section 3.5.3. The report challenges some of the instruments in use in the USA at the time, in particular, biased interviews, screening criteria, and the quality of teacher education programmes; as well as the inadequate allocation of teachers by school districts (in the case of centralised hiring) and need for consistent induction support to advance teaching success. As highlighted by Shalock (1979) before, the setting and working conditions where teaching takes place

is a crucial variable. This observation agrees with the literature on '*fit*' presented in section 3.3.

In 2003, the Education Testing Service (ETS) put out a report called 'Preparing Teachers Around the World' (Wang, Coleman, Coley and Phelps, 2003) as a response to the US poor performance on TIMSS in 1999. Their goal was to survey seven high-performing countries and their teacher policies, in particular, those related to recruitment, screening and selection of teachers. They focused on Australia, England, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, The Netherlands and Singapore. They note how the 'scale' of the workforce and of the number of institutions involved in training teachers has a significant implication on outcomes, which directly links to the issue highlighted about Brazil in chapter two. Similarly to Wise et al. (1987), they focused their attention on the issues of Teacher Education; certification; qualifications; hiring practices; and induction. One of their main conclusions was that

some practices are simply not transferable [between countries], no matter how successful ...[it] might be in other countries...[in particular] where single national programmes can be operated that all teachers can travel to and from within a day's time...the approach is not practical, and our federal governance structure, with states being the original founding entities that retain authority over education matters, would not allow it simply as a matter of constitutional law

(Wang et al., 2003, p.41)

One may put a similar argument forward in the treatment of Brazil, India or even Australia as large federal countries. However, arguably, this perceived impossibility goes beyond constitutional laws, since the laws are made by politicians. It is a matter of political will and purposeful policy-making that decides the consistency of teacher education policy. In Brazil, for example, Senator Cristovam Buarque (former Minister of Education) wrote a policy brief on the federalisation of 'basic fundamental' education (Buarque, 2012) and put it forward as a constitutional project in the Brazilian Senate in 2015. Buarque and his team expertly prepared a full treatise with costings, implementation and operational plan. The project was unanimously approved in April 2017, which also includes the federalization of a National Career Plan for Teachers that will not only raise salaries to the federal level

but include more funding and resources for schools. One caveat of teacher selection is that teachers will have to teach in the cities in which they perform the *concurso*, maintaining the status quo of teacher mobility, although, transfers between cities are likely to be easier to achieve as it happens in other federal services across Brazil. This measure will also need to go into a national plebiscite before it can be fully accepted into law. Nevertheless, this is a remarkable step for a country of continental proportions like Brazil.

In 2005, the OECD's released a report specifically focusing on teacher selection issues called "Teachers Matter: attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers" (OECD, 2005), and it provides a thorough international outlook on the teaching profession, with data gathered from multiple educational systems. Chapter Five is the most pertinent here as it focuses on the recruitment and selection of teachers. From the evidence collated, the report confirms Eurodyce's (2002, 2012, 2018) survey on the variety of approaches to personnel selection. However, its data argues that countries where individual schools have relatively higher levels of autonomy for 'selection and management tend to be associated with better student outcomes' (p.142).

The report then differentiates between two main branches of teacher hiring practices for schools: *Central* versus *School Involvement*. Centralised hiring protocols are those in which the central government (or other local authority) tends to dictate the norms and procedures for the screening and selection processes. The report argues that

[this] process of teacher selection is often highly impersonal, and it is hard for teachers to build a sense of commitment to the schools where they are appointed.... This raises concerns about whether schools have the teachers that fit their particular needs.

(OECD, 2005, p.150)

The passage above is evidence of the manifestation of a standardised perspective of teacher selection, assuming that written tests are predictors of performance and of quality of teaching. It relies on a fixed selection criterion (a standardised test score) to establish validity against a multidimensional work output, which Cook (1998, 2016) argues has low

predictive power against work performance and occupational success with its validity decreasing sharply depending on the time elapsed since graduation.

Alternatively, the *School Involvement* indicates a system where the school's principal and its staff, and/or its board of governors have total or partial responsibility for hiring, asking for reassignment and/or dismissing teachers (within the boundaries of local law and teacher union regulations). The report argues that in this type of system,

[a] direct interaction with the applicants takes place, typically through interviews [and other selection methods], and allows the use of a more complete set of criteria that match with the school's educational approach. This process of open recruitment also offers advantages to applicants since they can more directly choose the school and have close contact with the school before the decision is taken.

(OECD, 2005, p. 150)

However, each country's laws and practices must be taken into consideration, as well as their socioeconomic and cultural contexts and nuances which have to be identified in order to analyse hiring procedures carefully. The report argues that the

...evidence suggests that all too often the selection process follows rules about qualifications and seniority that bear little relationship to the qualities needed to be an effective teacher

(OECD, 2005, p. 163)

These aspects were confirmed by their follow-up report 'Effective Teacher Policies' (OECD 2018), although it also highlights how school autonomy for hiring practices might lead to higher costs and larger disparities in teacher distribution amongst schools. This is an important point that has to be taken into account when dealing with a centralised system of selection in a large federal country because different centralised systems distribute their teachers differently post-selection. In addition, some studies suggest that when school principals have certain controls over hiring, they tend to look for a variety of different academic and personality traits (e.g. Abertathy, Forsyth, and Mitchell, 2001; Harris et al. 2010; Theel and Tallerico, 2004) although

questions remain on whether the running of these screening and selection procedures actually means the “best” teachers are selected, in particular, due to selection bias (Rebore, 2001). When selection is devolved to schools, it is paramount to have systems in place to deal with issues of nepotism, favouritism and discrimination that may become more visible if principals have total control. Decentralising teacher selection cannot mean to just pass responsibilities on to the school as those involved in the selection process must be thoroughly trained as well as accountable for the selection they make (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004). Therefore, an educational system must implement satisfactory regulations and training for selectors, while procedures must be regularly inspected with institutions being held accountable for their procedures so as to maintain the integrity of selection through a system of checks and balances. Additionally, there are both ‘societal and legal pressures that affect the manner in which selection procedures are used and their impacts on an organization’s workforce’ (Schmitt and Chan, 1998, p.10).

On the other hand, the more centralised a system becomes, the more difficult it will be for it to adapt to the changing needs of local schools, since a system that is founded on secured tenure within a given school is unable to transfer and/or add new teachers into the system without a highly bureaucratic framework (OECD, 2018). The new report (OECD, 2018) also highlights the variety of selection systems across high-performing countries but focus on three common themes of the process as a whole.

- An extended, clinical practicum with effective mentoring. This is associated with the teacher education aspect of the process;
- Multiple in-service training opportunities, often associated with systems which give schools more autonomy. This is associated with post-selection;
- A form of teacher appraisal mechanism which is often present in the law or embedded in school practice. However, the focus of the appraisal is developmental rather than punitive. This is associated with the sustainability of the system.

The employment status of teachers is a variable which demands careful consideration since job security is one of the tenets of the 'career-based' systems. However, at the same time, those in 'position-based' systems are also protected by employment law. Countries that have central-control over hiring practices often have 'career-based' systems where teachers are civil servants (Eurydice, 2018; OECD, 2018). According to Schleicher (2011), this type of 'contract' often associates the quality of the teaching workforce with their achievement at the end of teacher training with an academic qualification. For 'position-based' systems, there is an expectation of teachers' developing on the job. The induction system is very different. In a *centralised* system ('Career-based') the induction is focused on 'probation' and measures unrelated to the new teachers' progress in their teaching and tend to focus on general behaviours and attendance. In a *school-involvement* system ('position-based'), induction is more personalised, with a large number of classroom observations and feedback from senior teachers on how the new teacher is able to continue its development.

There is evidence that improving the quality of the teaching workforce is the best strategy at improving educational outcomes (e.g. Barber and Mourshed, 2007; Greenwald, Hedges and Laine, 1996; Hanushek and Rivkin, 2012; Hattie, 2012; Klassen and Kim, 2017; Sanders and Horn, 1998; Wiliam, 2011). However, it is the definition of 'quality', and how it is measured which becomes problematic. Selection for teacher training allows governments and institutions to focus their efforts on those candidates they believe have shown the required aptitude and qualifications to train to become teachers, but 'the power of the state to affect what happens in teacher education programmes depends on the administrative organisation of each country and the nature of the teacher education institutions themselves' (Avalos, 2000, p.463). Hence, it is important to reinforce the idea that a strong selection for initial teacher training alone does not provide the entire picture in achieving the goal of having excellent teachers in the classrooms. According to Darling-Hammond et al. (1999, p.185), in order to achieve this, countries must have

a framework for policy that creates a coherent infrastructure of recruitment, preparation, and support programmes that connect all aspects of the teacher's continuum into teacher development system that is linked to national and local educational goals.

In spite of the varieties of frameworks, after dealing with initial teacher training and certification, all teachers have to insert themselves into the educational marketplace and face another selection procedure in order to start teaching at an individual school. There is evidence that shows that ‘too often the selection process follows rules about qualifications and seniority that bear little relationship to the qualities needed to be an effective teacher (OECD 2005, p.14) as well as often being ad-hoc and unsystematic (Staiger and Rockoff, 2010, Goldhaber, Grout and Huntington-Klein, 2014). In reality, practices, rules and criteria of teacher selection to public schools in individual systems are varied and may include the following:

- Age restrictions,
- Basic Skills Tests (literacy and numeracy)
- Local Certification/Qualification
- Academic Background
- Citizenship
- Proficiency in the country’s language of instruction
- Medical and security checks
- Centralised Written and/or Oral Examination
- Interview (By Central Agency or School)
- Teaching Skills (Assessed in Interview)
- Interpersonal Skills (assessed in the interview)
- Portfolios of Practice

(Hobson et al., 2010):

Furthermore, even though selection for teaching posts can also be classified as having central or school involvement, ‘virtually all countries use eligibility criteria involving certification/qualification, citizenship, proficiency in the language of instruction, medical and security checks’ (OECD, 2005, p.150). Additionally, from the 23 countries looked at by OECD (2005, 2018), only 12 require *teaching skills* as a criterion for employment in a public school; and in places where the system is greatly centralised, an interview is *not* an essential part and thus ‘the process of teacher selection is often highly impersonal’ (OECD, 2005, p.150). In order to make sense of these differences, the OECD (2005, 2018) and Eurydice (2002, 2012, 2018) have defined three main procedures for hiring practices for first appointments: the *competitive examination*; the *candidate list* and the *open recruitment*. Each

of these hiring methods has their own idiosyncrasies, making a direct comparison between countries somewhat more complicated.

The term “**competitive examination**” is used to designate public, centrally organised examinations and other assessments that are held to select candidates for the teaching profession.

A **candidate list** is a system whereby applications for employment as a teacher are made through submitting candidates’ names and qualifications to a central or local educational authority, candidates being ranked on the basis of a number of criteria.

The term “**open recruitment**” refers to the method of recruitment where responsibility for publicising posts open for recruitment, requesting applications and selecting candidates is decentralised. In this case, recruitment is usually the responsibility of the school, sometimes in conjunction with the local authority; the process of matching those teachers seeking employment with available teaching posts taking place on a school-by-school basis.

(OECD, 2005, p. 151)

Hence, it becomes imperative to understand the processes defined above, how they are used in particular countries and their advantages and disadvantages.

### *The Competitive Examination (Open Competition)*

The system of competitive examination has a centralised structure developed by governments to screen and classify teachers for available posts in public schools. It does not involve contact between teachers and respective schools and the examinations ‘are not framed in terms of what teachers should know or be able to do as competent professionals’ (OECD, 2005, p.153). This system is widely used in Europe, for example, France, Greece, Portugal, Italy and Spain use country-wide or regional competitive examinations as the ‘key means of determining which applicants are eligible to be recruited as teachers’ (OECD, 2005, p.153). This is also true of many Latin American countries, like Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay and Bolivia. Chile on the other hand, after far-reaching reforms, debates and crisis, has stepped away from the more centralised approach.



Competitive examinations are often associated with the idea of prestige in the countries where they exist (OECD, 2018), although this prestige is often associated with the 'career-based' and tenured aspects of the civil servant profession than with the actual 'act' of teaching. This is line with Beattie's (1996) argument on prestige of the French concours. Moreover, a system that relies on competitive examinations is a critical step in controlling and guarding the entrance to the profession based on government-defined and standardised parameters. However, one of the main critiques of this model is that it is not framed on teachers' professional standards and classroom competencies. For example, the OECD (2005, p.154), argues that:

In the [old] case of [South] Korea the Country Background Report notes: "The paper and pencil test of the employment examination is irrelevant in evaluating the candidate's ability and aptitude for teaching ... Due to the absence of a standardised domain of the test questions and curricular differences among teacher education institutions, examinees have difficulty in systematically preparing for the examination. ... The interview is also criticised for its formalistic nature ... [and] cannot evaluate the capacity and character required for teaching.... most students attending secondary teacher education institutions concentrate on studying [for] the employment examination. This is at the expense of sacrificing 'normal' learning through university courses, which were originally devised to nurture the capacity for the teaching profession

This type of standardised processes places very high stakes on this stage of teachers' career, where entering the civil service guarantees employment for life. Thus, due to its strict, standardised nature, it often acts as barriers to teacher mobility, and it may also discourage other professionals who may wish to change careers to enter teaching (OECD, 2005). As explained above, in countries where competitive examinations are used, teachers are usually regarded as *civil servants* and thus, lifetime employment is guaranteed by law either immediately after taking on the post or some time thereafter. These are called 'career-based' systems and they 'often lack flexibility and the capacity or even incentives to tailor services to meet diverse needs in different settings' (OECD, 2005, p.161). With respect to teacher training, Klassen and Kim (2017) argued that 'the purpose of selection ... is to identify the cognitive and noncognitive attributes, and background factors believed to be critical for success in the program and in subsequent teaching' (p.13), however, this is not true of Brazil, since selection for licensures is also

performed by the use of a set of standardised knowledge-based examinations.

The distribution of teachers to schools based on a score is often biased towards candidates that have had more time to study, practice, as well as more likely to have academic and teaching experience (OECD, 2018). It may also actively discourage schools from trying their best to attract the best teachers to their school. This practice used for the selection of a teacher – where neither the teacher nor the school can be consulted – raises some issues regarding the accountability of teachers and schools. For example, if schools are not responsible for hiring the best teachers for their school and teachers have not chosen the school in which they work at, how can they be held fully accountable for students' overall outcome? (Seyfarth, 1991, Watson and Hatton, 1995). Nevertheless, the rationale behind the use of centralised examination claims that all schools would have access to 'equally' qualified teachers who would then be able to provide 'equal' educational experiences for all students.

However, as countries move towards a system of more accountability with national educational indexes based on standardised examinations, the 'competitive examination' procedure for hiring teachers into the public sector is weakened by its 'equality' argument since the inequality of achievement within educational systems is large. On the other hand, 'competitive examinations' can be considered 'impartial' because it is the same exam for every single person that decides to take it. This impartiality also assumes teachers will be taking the '*competitive examination*' examination in equal terms against each other; and that all teachers are equally qualified by their universities and are equally ready to teach in any school across the system. Finally, because it relies on a ranking system from a single examination, its logic assumes that those who have scored the highest are better teachers than others.

But when principals and the senior staff within the school have more flexibility in determining which teachers should be hired, and teachers that have more flexibility in deciding the school in which they would like to teach, they are more likely to form a more successful partnership, especially since there would be greater 'opportunities to meet, interview and assess candidates

before appointment' (Schaefer and Terhart, 2006, p.514). However, the decentralisation of selection procedures requires a further understanding that educational reforms, if brought forward in isolation, may introduce impossible demands in countries where principals have little or no training in educational management and in hiring procedures. Also, other stakeholders such as teachers' unions and teacher training institutions must be on board in order to successfully embed a new programme. In federalised countries, '[d]ecentralisation policies ...may not be a good policy if provinces [, states] or even individual institutions re-instate bureaucratic constraints of the central power. Individuals within institutions are also sources of restraints when changes come about' (Avalos, 2000, p.472).

### The Candidate List

Argentina is one of the few countries that use the candidate list system for entering the teaching profession. In many ways, it has similarities with the competitive examination system. '*Ingreso a la Docencia*' (entering teaching) is a specific category in Argentina which relates to being officially tenured by the Argentinean government. This is different than entering the 'system' since teachers may be assigned to individual posts on a temporary basis or as a cover teacher.

In order to be a fully recognised civil servant teacher, one must apply to the *Juntas de Clasificación* (Classification Offices) which organises the 'competition' for places according to the *Estatuto del Docente* (Teacher Statute). In Buenos Aires alone, for example, there are nine different *Juntas*, one for each educational area which means multiple applications if teachers want to compete for places in different types of school even within the same city. The *Juntas* have different functions which include, for example: assess teachers' academic qualifications and background, formulate the various candidate lists, dictate the requirements and assign a 'juror' (assessor) for the practical exam and assign and match vacancies with candidates (Valliant 2011).

The final score produced by the *Juntas* is based on experience, academic qualifications and other courses along with other educational experience by giving these candidates extra points. Once this final *candidate list* in

produced, the teachers who have been pre-selected are then given the right to take part in the '*prueba de oposición*'. This is composed of a theory exam and a practical exam, although only candidates that have managed to achieve a minimum of five (5) points out of ten (10) are allowed to proceed to the practical exam (Argentina, 2015, p.29-30). Teachers are then allocated in order of their score. Consequently, Argentina makes use of both the candidate list and the competitive exam system in order to sift through the different candidates.

The rationale of a candidate list is very similar to the competitive examination system and relies on the assumption that teachers are well-qualified because they attended a 'trusted' university and teacher education course, and that their formal experience is a guarantee of good teaching skills. In contrast, in decentralised systems 'formal qualifications, such as education and experience, are generally not regarded as sufficient indicators of teacher effectiveness (Rivkin, Hanushek and Kain, 2005), and appointment decisions are often partly based on informal characteristics of teachers' (Naper, 2010, p.658).

Certainly, both the candidate list and competitive examination have their strengths, in particular, the perceived job security through tenure, competitive government pensions, and prestige of a civil servant career. But evidence from Naper (2010) from a study of the Norwegian system suggests that places which have a decentralised system of teacher-hiring tended to be more efficient than centralised systems. However, 'decentralisation is expected to work better for schools with an excess of teacher supply, and the effect should, therefore, be stronger the higher the persistence in teacher supply' (p.666). This is also a conclusion reached by the OECD's latest report (OECD 2018). Additionally, large decentralised systems are likely to struggle without qualified and structured local governance at the school level, and appropriate accountability measures (Burns and Köster, 2016).

### Open Recruitment

Open recruitment is understood as a decentralised model of teacher selection, where the power to select individual teachers is devolved to schools and/or local authorities (i.e. school districts). In this specific case,

there is a direct interaction between teacher and school, as well as other members of the school community. It relies on both the school searching for the best available teacher for a specific vacancy, but it also relies on teachers actively looking for teaching positions in schools and/or areas in which they are interested (OECD, 2005). It has the potential to empower teachers and put them in a position of decision-maker about where they would like to work and under what contractual conditions (Young, Rinehart and Place, 1989). That means there are meaningful discussions and interactions that must happen between the school as the employer and the teachers as the employee before any decisions are made.

Furthermore, this type of selection model has significant consequences for school management that must not be disregarded. Firstly, it requires a devolved management model and the establishment of a governing body within the school to oversee selection processes and overall school organisation and compliance with local laws and regulations. This is a necessary arrangement as it removes the power from the school principal as the only person with administrative powers. Devolved management in schools often means a group of people that includes teachers, senior school leaders, local community leaders, businesses and parents to be active participants within the school. It also requires the school to elaborate its own ethos and code of practice, particularly when it comes to approval of financial transactions and teachers pay, although a decentralised system of selection does not necessarily mean a decentralised pay and conditions<sup>11</sup>. Additionally, it must collaborate with its staff to ensure that rules are enforced and comply with current legislation. This leads to the second point. It requires a devolved budget to schools. Putting schools in control of their own budgets is a controversial decision and one that also brings significant accountability measures to the school. It requires all schools to have financial administrators and accountants to ensure compliance with government rules and avoidance of fraud. At the same time, it brings the school more freedoms to use their financial allocation according to its local needs without many bureaucratic hurdles.

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<sup>11</sup> The UK for example, until recently, had a standardised pay and conditions for all teachers in public state schools. This was removed with the advent of new types of state schools that were free to set their own pay scale and conditions.

This is an important consequence of open recruitment model because it allows the school to dictate its own curriculum and, more importantly, it gives them a choice to recruit their own teachers according to their needs. Also, it gives teachers a choice to move schools if they do not feel they fit in with the school ethos and overall way of working. This is often not the case in centralised systems, where teachers are allocated to schools, schools have no choice in the teachers they receive, vacancies remain unfilled, teachers' pay is centralised by the government and, schools have limited control over their budgets. However, in an open recruitment system, 'the extent of school autonomy in teacher recruitment might be restricted by a complex set of rules' (OECD, 2005, p.152).

The report (OECD, 2005) goes on to indicate that 'countries with greater levels of school autonomy in particular areas tend to perform better'. Nevertheless, a major concern and often a criticism of this model is that greater freedom will lead to inequality in academic achievement. Although PISA results have shown that greater school autonomy in countries like Finland, Sweden and Iceland is not necessarily associated with large differences in school achievement (OECD, 2005), the report does not take into account these countries are largely homogenous both in its population but also in its wealth distribution. In large federalised countries, socioeconomic and cultural disparities are substantial. Liu and Johnson (2006) have argued that centralised selection 'does not take into account the specific characteristics of teaching vacancies and the particular needs of local context' (p. 332), something that Haberman (1987, 2011) has argued extensively, in particular for poor urban communities.

In a study from 1983 in the USA, Rynes and Lawer found that given the choice of hypothetical school vacancies, teachers tended to choose schools that kept them near to where they lived and out of inner city schools. Something that Ludke and Boing (2012) have also argued in the case of Brazil. This potential bias against particular cities, regions within cities and specific schools (given the cohort of students) is something which the open recruitment model needs to have systems in place in order to deal with. In countries with open recruitment such as the UK, inner-city schools are frequently understaffed. Routledge et al. (2008) describe '[u]rban and rural districts face more challenges in filling positions than do affluent suburban

districts' (p.242). However, this is usually addressed by higher salaries and other alternative types of recruitment and selection programmes such as Teach First/Teach for America that places teachers directly onto schools in so-called 'difficult areas', with the added benefits of quicker promotion and higher starting salaries. However, research by Young, Rinehart and Place (1989) have found that teachers were more influenced by non-pecuniary aspects of the jobs and more by the working conditions and overall ethos of schools. This reflects the literature on person-organisation fit from section 3.3. which argues that systems must also consider teachers as 'active decision makers within the selection process' (Young and Deli, 2002, p. 588).

Overall, open recruitment as a method of teacher selection creates a number of possibilities for both teachers and schools by giving both more freedom of choice and mobility within the profession. At the same time, this can cause other strains within the system such as the tendency of teachers to move towards schools with higher academic achievement in the expectation of better teaching conditions (Imazeki, 2005; Luekens, Lyter, Fox and Chandler, 2004) or with a different student population (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb and Wyckoff, 2005; Feng and Sass, 2011; Scafidi, Sjoquist and Stinebrickner, 2007). In countries with a high level of poverty and poor working conditions, different incentives would have to be in place along with strong accountability measures to ensure school staffing is appropriate to minimise academic disadvantage.

In the next section, we move into a discussion of how teacher quality and teacher dispositions are interlinked with the idea of teacher selection. Since this and the previous section has put forward the idea of teacher selection as a complex social process, by understanding the interactions between dispositions and quality in teachers and classroom teaching, we may begin to understand how education systems may be able to use these concepts to improve their teacher selection processes.

## 4. Literature Review III: Teacher Quality

### 4.1. The importance of teacher quality for selection

When issues about personnel selection are seen as part of a complex social process and are combined with the development of a framework for teacher selection, it becomes important to address concerns over the concept of ‘*teacher quality*’ and ‘*teaching quality*’. In the paragraphs below, I will discuss some of the most relevant literature for the purposes of this work, but the review provided here is by no means definitive. What is clear though, is that ‘*teacher quality*’ and *teaching quality* are concepts that are influenced by a number of variables influenced by both local and global contexts (Maruli, 2014). But, independently of context, selection protocols tend to look for *quality* in different ways because each system will have a different conceptualisation of what *teacher quality* and *teaching quality* means; as well as how these concepts may be assessed by their selection protocol (Rutledge et al., 2008).

There is a critical assumption in all selection processes: they all, in principle, intend to select the best possible candidate for the job. However, in education, this assumption often focusses selection on a person’s academic output, rather than on a measure of the quality of their actual classroom teaching (Kennedy, 2006). Arguably, for ‘*teacher quality*’ and ‘*teaching quality*’ to be formalised as constructs, the teaching ‘profession’ needs to have an agreed and standardised professional standards of practice, as well as a set of recognisable and agreed professional outcomes that can be evaluated (Adoniou and Gallagher, 2017); an agreed set of long-term outcomes that may be classified as desirable by the teaching profession as a whole that can actively addressed throughout the entirety of a teachers’ education (Goldhaber, 2015). Therefore, because of the

evidence that variation in teacher quality affects student achievement (Rivkin, Hanushek and Kain, 2005; Sanders and Horn, 1998), the ways in which teachers are screened and selected is of increased importance, potentially resulting in long-term gains in student outcomes...

(Rutledge et al., 2008, p. 238)



This implies that if teacher quality and teaching quality are vital components for successful outcomes, so must teacher selection.

## 4.2. Understanding teacher quality

The layered reality of classroom teaching has led governments, schools and other education-related stakeholders to reflect about the relationship between teachers' subject knowledge proficiency, their pedagogical expertise and other perceived desirable traits that may be associated with a construct called *teacher quality*. This has driven much of recent education-related research to focus on teacher quality and its potential links to students' academic achievement. Teacher and teaching quality when externally driven by policy and without self-regulation or professional standards is likely to lead to tension between government and teachers (e.g. Ball, 2003, 2012). At the same time, the actual processes, criteria and protocols that are used for selecting candidates into initial teacher education; or teacher hiring protocols for working in educational establishments have received limited attention.

The idea and conceptualisation of *teacher quality* has once been alluded to as a 'mystery' (Goldhaber, 2002), although a number of studies have made links between a given concept of 'teacher quality' (often teacher qualifications/certification status) and student outcomes (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 2000; Feng and Sass, 2011, 2017; Goldhaber and Brewer, 2000; Wright, Horn and Sanders, 1997). However, as Rotherham and Mead (2002) have argued

there is considerable disagreement among educators, researchers, and policy-makers about how much and what types of pedagogical training, knowledge, and skills teachers must attain to teach students effectively.

(p.67)

This is still the case to this day, as the literature on teacher quality intensifies through an endless search for a "magic" measurement that can solve all problems. For example, an American-based project called MET (Measures of Effective Teaching) has developed a research outline by using multiple indicators to the extent of randomising the matching of teachers to classrooms to try and successfully identify what effective teaching looks like

and how to measure it. Based on a vast amount of data collected they have put forward the idea that to judge best-practice one would need (Kane and Staiger, 2012; Ho and Kane, 2013):

- Multiple high-quality lesson observations with clear and specific criteria;
- Standardised and periodic student feedback;
- Value-Added student achievement gains from standardised examinations.

In addition, their findings were only able to attempt a judgement of teachers that have been teaching for a certain period of time and with observers that have been thoroughly trained (Coe et al., 2014), restricting the scalability of the project. After a long period of research, their findings are limited in scope and found that students' academic achievement and access to teacher quality were not significantly better than for comparable schools that were not in the original sample (Stecher et al., 2018).

Therefore, a distinction must be made between 'teacher quality' and a 'qualified teacher' because there must be a collective understanding of how to create systems for controlling the quality of those entering teaching (Arnold et al., 1977). On the one hand, a 'qualified teacher' is someone that has studied for a set period of time according to the in-country requirements in order to obtain an agreed degree, certification, and/or license which allows them to teach in certain educational establishments and a given age-range. Although training programmes may be branded as of 'high quality/outstanding' by respective governments and their inspection agencies, it does not follow that every graduate from the same institution has the same teaching quality. They do, however, finish the same course, in the same institution and have acquired the same qualification.

Importantly, 'teacher quality' and 'teaching quality' are both constructs that currently do not have a universally agreed definition. One is focused on the teacher as a person, and the other focuses on that person's actions in the classroom – their teaching. Albeit they are often intertwined, it is important to differentiate between the two. A study by Chen, Brown, Hattie and Millward (2012) have argued that,

the point of teaching quality or excellence is that excellent teachers work more on the nature of tasks and activities so as to engage their students in conceptual understanding, analytical thinking, and reasoning during instruction rather than engage in either teacher-centred or student-centred teaching practices.

(Chen et al. 2012, p. 937)

Chen et al.'s work summarise teacher quality as a composite variable that must be understood holistically, while other researchers use the notion of teacher quality by measuring individual teacher effects on students' academic achievement (Feng and Sass, 2011, 2017) which often includes constructs such as socioeconomic conditions of students' family, their peer, teacher's qualifications and/or standardised scores in exams, their years of experience, salary and others (Hanushek and Rivkin, 2006). In contrast, in most low-income countries, teacher quality is often associated with a teacher having a qualification because of rudimentary research, overall working conditions, and ease of control (e.g. Unesco, 2015; Zafeirakou, 2007). Dylan Wiliam (2011) has argued that in the past

'as long as [teachers] were properly qualified, all teachers were [considered] equally good, so on average, students should progress at the same rate in all classrooms.... the assumption was/[is] that all teachers were pretty capable and therefore were treated like a *commodity*'.

(p.17)

This is important because most evaluations of quality of practicing teachers are compared with teacher qualifications and the outcomes of their students in standardised assessments (e.g. Adnot et al., 2017, Aaronson, Barrow and Sander, 2007; Gerritsen, Plug, and Webbink, 2017; Hanushek, 1992; Murnane and Phillips, 1981; Rivkin, 2005; Rockoff, 2004; Todd and Wolpin, 2003), or based on observations of classroom teaching (e.g. Ho and Kane, 2013; Strong, Gargani and Hacifazlıoğlu, 2011; Vagi, 2017; Whitehurst, Chingos and Lindquist, 2014). However, Buddin and Zamarro (2009) have argued that student progress does not correlate with teachers' academic qualifications, and therefore, neither the quality of their respective institutions.

If 'teacher quality' were to be solely associated with how effective a teacher is in the classroom in ensuring their students have learnt a given amount of subject knowledge content, and that was their sole responsibility, then a measure of subject knowledge acquisition may have a place within the

system and to be considered a fair measure (Fenstermacher and Richardson, 2005). Yet, this is not the reality of a teacher, nor the reality of teaching and learning. Although teaching is often associated with imparting subject knowledge and preparing students for examinations, this is not the only job teachers are expected to do. NFER's report 'Mapping of seminal reports on good teaching' (Rowe, Wilkin and Wilson, 2012) and The Sutton Trust's 'what makes good teaching?' (Coe et al., 2014) have highlighted a number of different teaching strategies, teacher dispositions/characteristics, and teaching environment that help support teacher and teaching quality, albeit the reports do not explicitly link them to professional standards. In addition, James and Pollard (2006), Kyriacou (2007), Emery (2010), and Stronge (2018) showed that teachers must have an excellent foundational subject and pedagogical knowledge to avoid a mechanistic approach to teaching and ensure that contextual differences are considered by teachers while planning for their students' needs. However, teachers are also expected to plan engaging lessons, deliver them to high standards of inclusion, to assess their students' personal and academic progress, to be attentive to students' emotional changes, report to parents, etc., something that measures of teacher quality in standardised teacher selection often do not target.

Moreover, for learning to take place, a student's willingness and effort to learn, a supportive school and home environment may be just as important as the quality of the teacher in any given classroom (Hajovsky, Mason, and McCune, 2017). Arguably, for teacher quality to flourish, the organizational culture of the school, opportunities for collaboration and distributed leadership, good infrastructure and working conditions are very important factors that must also be taken into consideration; something that Podolsky et al. (2016) found plays a large role in teachers' decisions about where to work and whether to remain in the profession, where and when those choices are allowed.

Hence, defining and pinpointing teacher quality has proven to be extremely difficult, and recent research has not been able to consistently ascertain which features of teachers and of teaching are most important in determining improvement in students' academic achievement and other educational outcomes. The only tenuous exceptions are teachers' classroom experience (mainly the increase in expertise during the first two to five years), as well as

the relationship between student academic achievement in mathematics and teachers' mathematics subject knowledge (e.g. Gerritsen, Plug and Webbink, 2017; Goe and Stickler, 2008; Hanushek, 2002; Hanushek and Rivkin, 2006). Moreover, Croninger et al. (2007) have argued that although qualifications may be a reasonable proxy for teacher quality, 'they do not identify the important processes by which these qualifications influence teaching' (p.323). This is corroborated by Mockler's work (2018, online) who argues that 'the ongoing use of teacher quality in relation to school teachers reinforces the idea that there is something implicitly wrong with the teachers themselves, rather than with their practices'.

Accordingly, the local interplay of culture, socioeconomic status, political situation and historical inheritances will most certainly shape how the stakeholders included in this research understand the ideas of 'teacher quality' versus 'teaching quality'. Moreover, there are global forces at play. For example, there are sociopolitical pressures brought about by adhering to OECD comparisons and other accountability measures; perceptions of excellence from foreign educational systems (e.g. Coffield, 2012; Morris, 2012). As previously explained, the teacher and 'teacher quality' are seen as the key driver to academic achievement (Barber and Mourshed, 2007) even though 'most studies have failed to find a systematic link between formal teacher training [hence their qualifications] to student performance' (Chudgar, 2013, p. 69); while many attempts at financially incentivising teachers to develop, especially in Latin America, have not led to improvements in student's academic achievements (e.g. Carnoy et al., 2009; Santibañez et al., 2007; Luschei, 2013). At the same time, research on the impact of teacher certification (beyond getting a qualification) is equally unclear (Boyd et al., 2006; Coggshall, Bivona and Reschly, 2012; Darling-Hammond, 2001; Wilson and Youngs, 2005).

Thus, it is vital to introduce the assumption that the quality of any cohort of new teacher-candidates entering a teaching qualification will also be influenced by external labour market forces at any particular point in time, leading to conflicts where

National governments must strike a balance between the short-term need to get teachers into the classrooms and the longer-term goal of building a high-quality professional teaching workforce.

(Oslo Declaration, 2008, p.3)

This would include negotiating satisfactory agreements on matters such as teachers' pay and working conditions, schools' infrastructures, and local society's degree of respect towards teachers (Destefano, 2013). Wiliam (2011) goes on to argue that 'to be a good teacher, you have to like working with children and young people'. This is another complex construct, but an important precondition for teaching since it is the teachers' ability to engage and develop good relationships with students, while managing and creating a professional classroom environment that is likely to be a part of the core of good teaching (e.g. Kember, 1997; Hay McBer, 2000; Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004; Day, 2012). Hopkins and Stern (1996) did an extensive meta-analysis to try to identify the most important characteristics of teacher quality. They also found that good teachers are deeply committed to working hardest for their students and have a desire to develop a caring relationship towards their students. Moreover, teacher quality is also associated with attributes such as strong interpersonal, communication and leadership skills (e.g. , Abernathy, Forsyth and Mitchell, 2001; Dunkin and Barnes, 1986; Schecthman and Godfried, 1993; Westbrook, 1998) as well as other qualities such as a teacher's ability to self-reflection, learning to learn, problem-solving and self-management (e.g. Relf and Hobbs, 1999; Ure, 2010). Moreover, Klassen and Kim (2017, p.4) summarise well when they say that

educational psychologists have found non-cognitive attributes such as self-efficacy (Klassen & Tze, 2014), personality (Kim & MacCann, 2016; Robertson-Kraft & Duckworth, 2014), and teachers' beliefs about the nature of teaching and learning (Fives & Buehl, 2008; Sosu & Gray, 2012) to be associated with [higher] teacher and student outcomes.

This corroborates the view of teacher selection as a complex social process since what makes a good teacher is just as complicated as selecting the best potential teacher from a pool of applicants. In addition, research on selection practices exposes how diverse criteria and protocols have a remarkable effect on the actual selection of different types of candidates (e.g. Darling-Hammond, Wise and Klein, 1999; Wise et al., 1987).

The apparent subjectivity in the decision process of what a good teacher 'looks-like' and what best classroom practice means is a difficult concept to embed within a system that relies on an examination to select its teachers, although recent methodologies such as the situational judgement test (SJT)

have emerged in an attempt to evaluate 'key noncognitive attributes associated with success in training and professional practice (Campion, Ployhart and MacKenzie, 2014). SJTs are a measurement method designed to assess candidates' judgments of the implications of behaving in certain ways in response to contextualized scenarios.' (Klassen and Kim, 2017, p. 17). However, in order to fully appreciate the potential qualities of a new or existing teacher, we must ensure that they are given time to practice and develop in front of an actual classroom rather than making judgements based on their academic qualification or result on a single knowledge-based examination or psychometric test.

Making judgements on potential in new teachers is a much more difficult task, especially when academic ability is not directly related to outstanding teaching (see DfE, 2010, 2011) especially when further research advocates it should not be the main tool used for candidate selection into teacher training (e.g. Adair, 1986; Bieri and Schuler, 2011; Byrnes, Kiger and Schechtman, 2003; Guyton and Farokhi, 1987; Haberman, 1987; Hobson, Ashby, McIntyre and Maldarez, 2010; Lowman, 1984; Schechtman, 1989; Russell et al., 1990; Wilson, 1986).

Another study also corroborates the arguments above by saying that '...findings show that academic criteria are not positive predictors of future student-teaching performance' (Byrnes, Kiger and Schechtman, 2003, p.170) while '...the characteristics necessary to be successful in college coursework may not in and of themselves be sufficient for successfully completing student teaching, for a selection effort to be meaningful, both programme purposes and developmental purposes must be considered' (Applegate, 1987, 3). Thus, a selection system which relies *only* on academic ability to select its candidates for teacher training is likely to be unsuccessful in developing teachers that possess the personal characteristics described above, albeit a minimum level of academic (subject-specific and pedagogical content knowledge) ability must be expected.

There is further evidence to suggest that the assessment of those personal qualities is of great importance for school principals who often report that features such as working well with others, motivation, personal experiences, enthusiasm, communication skills, having a caring personality as well as

strong teaching skills and subject knowledge as the main competencies they are looking for (e.g. Feng and Sass, 2011, 2017; Harris and Sass, 2007, 2009). Personal interviews or other personalised assessments are likely to address some of these perceptions, albeit with caveats as on their own they may not provide enough substantiation to confirm these desired traits (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004) although it is a strategy which has been shown to give good results (e.g. Goodwin, 2012; Sahlberg, 2012). As, for example, an interview panel which

‘...will assess your communication skills, interest in teaching, goals and aspirations, and your willingness to learn. More importantly, you must have the passion to teach and the belief that you can make a difference.’

(Singapore Ministry of Education, in Goodwin, 2012, p.28)

All the elements discussed above leads to an assumption that measuring ‘quality’ means an elaborate and robust evaluation which includes self-evaluation, as well as evidence from students’ academic achievement over time, might be possible. It is important for teacher selection research that the understanding of both ‘teacher quality’ and ‘teaching quality’ continues to advance towards it being legitimate constructs that can be decomposed and assessed towards a potential measure of teacher effects on students’ overall personal and academic achievements. The review above on teacher quality and teaching quality are a valuable starting point to develop a pathway towards the improvement of a given educational system, albeit not the only one. Recruitment, screening and selection play a pivotal role in the makeup of teachers that make up a countries’ education workforce.

### **4.3. Teacher quality and teacher dispositions**

As shown in the previous sections of this chapter, teaching is a career that demands excellent interpersonal skills to deal with children of different ages and abilities as well as adults (parents and other staff) in a complex school environment.



Teaching is a professional activity underpinned by qualifications, standards and accountabilities. It is characterised by complex specialist knowledge and expertise-in-action. In liberal societies, it also embodies particular kinds of values, to do with furthering individual and social development, fulfilment and emancipation.

(Pollard, 2010, p.4).

Teachers that possess or are able to develop this multi-faceted set of features of good teaching will be more likely to fully contribute to the enhancement of teaching and learning outcomes of students. This is a central component of the overall teacher competence within the classroom (e.g. Coe et al. 2014; Rutledge et al., 2008; Rowe, Wilkin and Wilson, 2012; Young and Marroquin, 2006). One problem emerges when governments attempt to define the characteristics of good teaching without much consultation with the members of the teaching profession, as well as taking a firm political stance towards the expectations of teacher education and of the outcomes of teaching (e.g. Chudgar, 2013; Luschei, 2013; Sacilotto-Vasylenko, 2013; Wang and Fwu, 2007). This is because separating the impact a teacher has on students' academic achievements from other contextual inputs, which often change over time, is very difficult (Ladd, 2009), if not, undesirable. However, according to Hanushek and Rivkin (2006), in the future, the amount of data and parameters collected on teachers and students (particularly in the US), is likely to lead to a better understanding of these individual effects. Staiger and Rockoff (2010) took to the challenge and based on their research on teacher performance and credentials argue that a system of recruitment, selection and tenure based solely on academic qualifications and other similar types of certifications contradicts the current research and data on teacher effectiveness/quality. But as Rutledge et al. (2008) had argued, it is when measures of teacher quality include an agreed and standardised version of variables such as teachers' personal attributes, characteristics and dispositions that the processes of selection would be able to improve the outcomes of their protocols.

Nevertheless, these teacher characteristics and dispositions have been studied at length by Nieto (2006), Haberman (2005, 2011), Wasicsko (1977, 2007), and Biesta, Priestley and Robinson (2015), for example. Haberman (2005) has extensively worked with teacher selection in urban schools and explains how the best teachers need to have high levels of relationship skills, local community knowledge, empathy and cultural human development,

amongst other attributes that one cannot measure in an examination. His 2011 paper 'The myth of the "fully qualified" bright young teacher', Haberman uses Kohlber's theory of moral development to propose that people need to enter the teaching profession (particularly secondary school teachers) at a much older age, once they have matured their understanding of themselves as people, their characteristics and their goals. He argues that adults must have the realisation that they must focus 'on their students rather than on themselves'. He also recognises that not all adults have the capacity to become teachers. This view of human dispositions, when placed against the different modes of selection discussed in section 3.3, it is likely to become unsustainable. In the case of Brazil, there is no paid alternative route for career changers. Most people that decide to become secondary school teachers have to complete a new teaching degree and do so in a part-time fashion or during the evening shift at university, having to work full-time while doing it. Nevertheless, this does not mean that younger adults do not have similar levels of maturity and life experience, as proposed by Haberman, since life-experience is also contextual, but it is the ability to articulate those experiences to others that makes an impact.

As such, an individual's personal characteristics and dispositions are likely to play a more prominent role in students' personal attraction towards a career in education and academic development, instead of their age or level of 'maturity'. Wasicsko, Wirtz and Rasor (2009) have taken this further with their research on dispositions and argue that 'there are identifiable perceptual characteristics associated with teacher effectiveness[quality] that can and should be taken into account in teacher education programmes' (p. 21). Their research with over 2000 undergraduates found that those that scored the lowest in their disposition scales as scored by trained assessors had the most difficulty assessing their own dispositions (p. 23). This result leads them to argue that many people will have the wrong perceptions of themselves and their dispositions/attributes to become teachers, and hence, teacher education programmes should actively assess them to prevent future disappointments. The question then becomes about the legality of rejecting applicants on dispositions, even when based on validated instruments. In a country like Brazil, which uses a centralised system of selection based on academic qualifications, introducing a system based on dispositions would likely require acceptance not only by the academics, and

the public, but it would also have to be included in civil law. The level of training required to ensure assessors have enough internal consistency and validity (Cook, 2016) may be considered too costly.

However, this is not necessarily a good reason to entirely dismiss dispositions/attributes from the process, especially since a recent study by Kim, Dar-Nimrod and MacCann (2017) has shown that students of teachers with personality characteristics like conscientiousness, agreeableness and emotional stability felt more supported academically and had higher expectations of their future achievement; although students' academic achievement as measured by standardised tests was not directly correlated to these traits. Klassen et al.'s (2018) work on initial teacher education has shown that there may be some universal traits of good teachers which are potentially measurable through situational judgement tests. Arguably, these types of tests are more likely to be acceptable by governments in large centralised systems than one where it relies on an external assessor because of both financial and logistical aspects of such a task. In addition, it is important to highlight that some of these non-cognitive attributes are not necessarily associated with students' better academic learning (Coe et al., 2014).

As a social profession, teaching is an activity that requires more than a person's competent subject knowledge. Thus, in order to select candidates with the potential to become the best teachers, the selection protocol must go beyond tests of academic knowledge. A selection protocol must have a recurring element that seeks out those with these specific attributes/characteristics/dispositions (Ryan and Alcock, 2012). The variables above have the potential to be successfully re-drafted if developed in conjunction with stakeholders within a particular community (a country, state, city) and its professionals (e.g. Levin, 2012). At the same time, this may involve information about candidates which might not necessarily be valid. It could be 'inaccurate, incomplete, irrelevant, or simply false' (Bredeson, 1983, p.5) due to the candidates' influence over their own responses and desire to fit the profile created by those in power. Doyle (1986, in Brooks, 2007) has attempted to analyse teaching as a profession and identified six key attributes that put forward the case of its complexity. For Doyle, teachers must have:

- **Multidimensionality**: Secondary school teachers in Brazil teach around 30 to 50 students per classroom. Taking a teaching period to be one hour and teacher contracts have at least 20 hours of contact time, and often in different school contexts, this could mean, potentially, up to 1000 different students. Teachers have to take part in events that have multiple consequences.
- **Simultaneity**: Within a particular class, several different things may be happening all at once: teachers must speak, listen, observe and act, all within a single classroom time-frame.
- **Immediacy**: order in the classroom, holding students' attention, teaching and learning all happen at the same time.
- **Unpredictability**: Classrooms have multiple interactions all happening at once. Teachers have a short time to make decisions in the classroom; hence planning lessons in detail are paramount to minimise the unexpected, even if teachers diverge from their plans due to their professional judgement. Anticipating problems and deductive reasoning have to be innate when distractions and interruptions occur very often.
- **Publicness**: Teachers are dealing with a large number of students per day, people make judgements about each other all the time. Teachers are continually being judged by their students, parents and society when teachers are brought to the limelight for one reason or another.
- **History**: Due to the routine nature of teaching, teachers and students build relationships that have significant consequences for the long-term conduct of the class and their outcome. Following rules, consistency and conduct shape these relationships that are very fragile since all participants have their own interactions outside the classroom.

(Doyle, 1986, in Brooks, 2007)

Furthermore, evidence from Hay McBer (2000), Witcher and Onwuegbuzie (2001), Minor, Onwuegbuzie, Witcher and James (2002), Onwuegbuzie et al. (2007), and Rowe, Wilkin and Wilson (2012) have all recognised pre-service teachers', teachers' and students' perceptions of outstanding teaching as being linked with teachers' overall classroom and behaviour management, subject knowledge, teaching methodology, enthusiasm for teaching, love for students, being supportive of students, professionalism and classroom environment. This acknowledgement that teachers' dispositions are multi-layered and dynamic bring their own set of issues to the progress of 'teaching as a profession' as well as to the selection criteria that may determine access of those wishing to become teachers, selection of teachers into schools, and evaluation of teacher quality. It is largely recognised that teachers play an essential role within students' achievement and some of the qualities above may 'ha[ve] contributed to enhancing the contemporary status of the profession and pride teachers feel in their work' (Larsen 2010, p.230). However, this feeling has not spread throughout the world and present in education policy as,

[s]ustained progress in education quality depends on making sure that all schools have sufficient teachers, that the teachers are properly trained and supported, and that they are motivated. None of these conditions is currently being met.

(UNESCO, 2011, p. 83)

That is still true today (OECD, 2018). Unsurprisingly, having a qualified teacher supply is the first hurdle to be surpassed. This is based on the idea that 'if teaching is believed to be the most important factor in determining student achievement, then teachers and the quality of teaching become the target of criticism and blame when achievement is perceived to be deficient' (Delandshere and Petrosky, 2004, p.5). As has been argued in this chapter, the majority of these perceived qualities are not directly measurable by a written academic examination and thus, must be subjected to a different kind of evaluation that is able to identify and verify these attributes and characteristics. This is a distinction which goes back to both the aims of education and the definition of teaching. Is it only about academic learning through demonstrable knowledge gains in standardised tests, or is it *a/so* about providing students with the necessary intellectual and interpersonal tools for seeking a flourishing life? (Reiss and White, 2013).

#### **4.4. Teacher professionalism as a precursor to teacher quality**

After securing a qualification that is associated with a specific license to practice in schools, teachers enter the education labour market in search for vacancies in schools. In their view, they are now 'qualified' teachers. However, as discussed above, having a teaching qualification is not the same as having 'teacher quality' or 'being an effective teacher'; which leads to another essential assumption that teacher quality is *cumulative*. The more teachers learn about teaching and the greater the total amount of hours of classroom teaching accumulated, the more likely teachers are of becoming better at it. The caveat of this assumption is that in order to improve over time, teachers need to critically engage in a process of self-reflection and self-appraisal to modify their classroom practice. Nevertheless, possessing a teaching qualification is the first step to becoming a part of a community of practice that seeks professional recognition, even though different countries employ different hiring methods and selection instruments in order to allow qualified teachers to practice. The choice by which teachers are selected plays a key role in understanding how countries conceptualise teacher quality, and how they recognise teaching as a profession.

There are numerous discussions on the criteria of professionalism, especially considering the current wave of managerialism (e.g. Ziegler and Jensen, 2015); as well as more specific discussions about teachers' professionalism (e.g. Darling-Hammond and Goodwin, 1993; Day, 2012; MacBeath, 2012; Malm, 2009; Ozga and Lawn, 2017). One of their main conclusions is that in order to establish teaching as a formal profession, two key strands are necessary. First, an independent and self-regulated council for teaching. Secondly, an agreed set of professional teaching standards which are drafted by multiple stakeholders, but in particular those in the profession itself, and is abided by all members of the profession.

In an education environment that demands high accountability from its teachers, it is important to consider a characterisation of teaching that goes beyond describing it as 'a profession that entails reflective thinking, continuing professional development, autonomy, responsibility, creativity,

research and personal judgements' (ATEE, 2006 in Malm, 2009, p.80). Albeit the Association for Teacher Education in Europe (ATEE) identifies values and dispositions for teachers to uphold, it does not necessarily help to address teachers' claim to professional status within the context of a civil servant. It also does not help teachers to move towards a better conceptualisation of teacher quality. As a complex social profession that requires multiple daily contacts with children (and adults), teachers must turn those values, their subject knowledge, their pedagogical subject knowledge, their personal characteristics, and dispositions into concrete and visible actions and professional standards of classroom practice and behaviours that makes the case for teaching as a profession. In addition, evidence from OECD's top-performing countries that have implemented national standards developed with teachers and teaching unions shows an improvement of teachers' professional status in a meaningful way (e.g. Darling-Hammond and Lieberman, 2012). Therefore, the 'autonomy' of teacher education and the move towards having a minimum national teaching standards becomes another branch of the teacher selection issue, especially since standards tend to tighten up the grip on teachers and their development, modifying and imposing on teachers' intellectual mindset values and criteria that try to define pedagogical understanding and curricular coverage (e.g. Bull, 2000; Delandeshere and Petrosky, 2001, 2004).

Importantly, this short subsection attempts to finish this section and chapter by positioning the argument that to any country that wishes to start a conversation about teacher selection, teacher quality, and teaching quality, must have a clear understanding of their meanings. In particular, teaching must be structured by a set of standardised professional standards that is *self-regulated* by its own members, while adhering to a pre-determined and agreed set of criteria for a profession. Importantly, the concept of 'teaching quality' and of 'teacher quality' should also emerge from a conversation with its own members and teaching unions so that it becomes a robust and acceptable collection of professional standards (Adoniou and Gallagher, 2017). Although general standards and quality of 'teaching' will vary from classroom to classroom, school to school, city to city, state to state, and country to country – in the same way that standards of medical care vary widely – the professional standards that are expected of those that perform at the highest level need to be recognisable, visible, tangible, and passive of

both self-evaluation and external evaluation (Hattie 2012). Therefore, developing a set of professional standards agreed by the teaching community itself, along with a shared definitions of what teachers are expected to do while in school and in the classroom becomes a precursor to any possible future definitions of teacher and teaching quality, especially when considering how teacher selection might incorporate these definitions in their protocols as a way to improve the teaching workforce in the long term.

#### **4.5. Reflections on the literature: revisiting the research questions**

This literature review sought to provide a comprehensive overview of the research on personnel selection with a focus on the significance of the idea of '*fit*' and its influence on future impact on both the person choosing the job and the organisation choosing the person. The interplay between these two aspects of selection led to the understanding of selection as a complex social process that requires careful attention in order to maximise potential outcomes in the long term. The review then moved on to teacher selection with the intention seek out research that had looked at the process of teacher selection itself, people's views about selection, and its outcomes rather than on descriptions about characteristics of teachers that are selected or the state of teacher education. It seems clear that most of the published and widely available research on teacher selection process is focused on English-speaking countries, in particular, the USA.

Arguably, this is likely to be because these countries (i.e. USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand) have a decentralised system of selection with devolved responsibility to schools and their leaders, granting them a high level of autonomy about hiring decisions. This would then lead to multiple different processes being implemented without formal regulation and/or agreement of standards. Countries like Brazil, Mexico, France and Greece have highly centralised systems of selection which focus on the idea of competitive examinations, and as such, research does not seem to concern themselves with the process itself nor its potential and practical consequences for



schools and teachers because it is a system founded on legislative marks that are then accepted as the norm. On reflection, I would argue that this might be a function of these countries' socio-political and cultural histories, and perhaps something that might emerge during the empirical aspects of my research. This leads me to think that my research questions are indeed pertinent since they seek to provide insight into the views and understandings of stakeholders about the process of selection.

At the same time, this review seems to have added another layer to my research questions. My first research question seeks to understand the views and understanding of stakeholders about the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, while my second research question focuses on their understanding of teacher quality and its intrinsic link with the selection of people. The literature review has provided sufficient evidence to validate those research questions, particularly within the context of Brazil. Therefore, in light of the literature review, the empirical research still aims to find out :

**1) *What are the views and understandings of Brazilian secondary state school teachers, principals, teaching union representatives, and policy-makers about the concurso as an instrument of selection and its functions within the education system?***

**2) *How do these stakeholders understand the concept of teacher quality in relation to their views about the concurso?***

However, the literature review presented on personnel selection, teacher selection and teacher quality, and the research evidence towards the importance of selection for the benefits of an educational system or organisation, is overwhelming. This has led me to want to answer another important question about the *concurso* in Brazil.

**3) *Why has the concurso endured in Brazil without major modifications?***

With this new question in mind, and the knowledge gained by this literature review, the next chapter presents the choice of methodological approach, the conceptual framework developed, and the choice of method for the data collection and analysis that guides the empirical research.

## 5. Methodology

One of the main obstacles a researcher faces when studying educational issues within a federal country of over 200 million people such as Brazil, is to make decisions regarding the type of study they wish to conduct. In these circumstances, the research must have an adequate methodological and conceptual framework, along with appropriate methods of data collection and analysis, and a suitable sample of participants with which to engage. Researching a large country requires a compromise between ‘depth’ and ‘breadth’. This dilemma has led to a search for a methodological framework that would be able to accommodate this context.

Subsequently, a decision was made to employ a comparative case-study (CCS) methodology as described and explained by Bartlett and Vavrus (2006, 2017). This decision was vital since a case-study, ‘in not having to seek frequencies of occurrences, [ ] can replace quantity with quality and intensity ... [with] significance rather than frequency [which] is a hallmark of case studies offering the researcher an insight into the real dynamics of situations and people [involved in particular situations]’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.294). Many different authors (e.g. Stake, 2003, 2006; Sturman, 1999; Yin, 2011, 2014) have classified case-studies with different parameters; but when trying to identify where this research would fit, it became clear that the subject of this work – teacher selection in Brazil – and its unit of analysis – the *concurso* as an instrument of selection across Brazil – fell within several categories. This led me to believe that the work by Bartlett and Vavrus on Vertical Case Study (2006), later reconceptualised as the Comparative Case Study (2017), was the right methodology to be chosen for this thesis. This is explained below.

### **5.1. The Comparative Case Study (CSS) as an epistemological and methodological framework**

This section draws heavily on the work of Bartlett and Vavrus (2006, 2017) and their distinctive take on research called Comparative Case Study (CCS) (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017). When I first decided to embark on a multi-layered approach to this thesis, I sought for a methodological stance that would allow me to not only compare views of different stakeholders (i.e. between teachers, principals and policy-makers) but to also compare views within a given stakeholder position (i.e. amongst teachers). At the same time, the Comparative Case-Study approach already existed within a cohesive epistemological foundation that I would be able to draw from in order to seek to understand both the sociocultural and historical narratives associated with the *Concurso* through the lenses of the research participants. Epistemologically, the comparative case study 'highlights the importance of examining how cultural, economic, historical, and political forces within a given context play out' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2006, p.96) while at the same time providing a systematic methodological approach of the 'relationship between context and process, structure and action' (Broadfoot, 1999, p.226).

The comparative case-study draws on critical theory to inform our understanding of 'structures, process, and practices of power' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.39) and therefore be able to reveal how they help sustain the current status of people's reality. In the case of Brazil, this invites a critical analysis of the *concurso* as instrument of selection and how it permeates Brazilian society. CCS also encourages the researcher to peer at the micro-scale - teachers in schools - without losing sight of the macro-scale: the educational policies driving their reality. The argument follows that the federalised nature of Brazilian education policy required a methodological approach that was also able to draw on a quasi-pragmatic epistemological stance in order to enable a research design that would bridge between the multiple layers of the *Concurso*. As Farrell (1979, p.4, in Bray and Koo, 2005, p.238-239) argues:

we will have something useful to say only when our observations regarding any particular policy problem are rooted in a more general understanding of how educational systems work, which is in turn based upon cumulated discoveries organised into and by theory.

Therefore, this comparative case-study sought an understanding of how specific policy features impact directly on stakeholders, while at the same time aiming to reveal how a 'devolved responsibility' education system (with state and municipal responsibilities), with a highly centralised teacher selection system, operates through state-level execution of federal policy. Further still, this comparative case study forced me to critically assess the local production of knowledge (*the reasons why the concurso exists*) and the role played by this knowledge (i.e. *what does the concurso do as an instrument of selection and what are its practical consequences*) across the multiple layers of policy-recipients. Bartlett and Vavrus (2006) continue their argument by saying that CCS also 'recognizes the decentring of the nation-state from its privileged position as the fundamental entity of analysis to one of several important units of analysis' (p.99). In this case, the layers of analysis would consist of the different levels of stakeholders involved in creating, enacting and reacting to teacher selection policy.

As we have learnt in chapter two, in Brazil, states and municipalities have autonomy and control over implementation and interpretation of policy, within federal laws and constitutional boundaries, even though states may not even fully adhere to them (e.g. see Jacomini and Penna, 2016, on Brazilian state and municipal governments not complying with federal laws on teachers' minimum pay). Nevertheless, it was important to approach the research design in a way that promoted a critical look into stakeholders' familiar territory and illuminated the existing features of this process of selection.

Moreover, the arguments put forward by Bartlett and Vavrus (2006, 2017) on the strengths of comparison within the same overarching case (teacher selection in Brazil) provide the skeleton on which its epistemological and methodological framework rests. By proposing a way to examine a cultural structure through its stakeholders and by including both comparison and divergence as critical analytical tools, Bartlett and Vavrus challenge the status-quo of the case study. For example, they argue that there has to be a multifaceted discussion of the 'dynamic historical and cultural production of

meanings and structures' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.36) through the lens of the stakeholders involved. It is through them that these aspects of the *concurso* would "emerge". In this way, the CCS rejects the holism of many traditional case studies by adopting a processual approach that 'tends to see the world in terms of people, situations, events and the processes that connect these' (Maxwell, 2013, p.29). This comparative case study searched for an explanation on how specific events in people's lives (the *concurso*), or contexts (their lives within/outside schools) might influence others and their own understanding of the world around them. Especially in the case of studying and analysing stakeholders' views of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, the place of the *concurso* within the existing educational structure, and the sociocultural narrative surrounding it.

Firstly, as we have seen in the literature review, the *concurso* as an instrument of selection is not a phenomenon that is unique to Brazil. The system of competitive examinations to civil service is widespread in Latin America, Europe and in many Asian and African countries. At the same time, it is likely to have unique conceptualisations that are derivative of its socioeconomic and cultural contexts under a constitutional umbrella that defines its specific parameters. Therefore, it is necessary to contrast its different manifestations as well as stakeholders' views of such a phenomenon. However, because the *concurso* is also both a historical and cultural process, I must also take account the *how* and *why* this phenomenon exists within the Brazilian context through an iterative combination of personal views, policy features, and actors. The CCS 'approach is aimed at exploring the historical and contemporary processes that have produced a sense of shared place, purpose, or identity' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.39). In addition, Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) assert that 'CCS calls on researchers to think about how they might achieve cultural understanding of the production and appropriation of policy [through stakeholders' views] by doing short-term periods of research in multiple sites across different scales to create a case-study attentive to horizontal, vertical and temporal comparison' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.40). This is precisely my intention with this study as it will be explained in the research design.

Secondly, policy 'profoundly shapes our view of the world, how different actors behave within it and what the consequences should be if rules are not followed... [ and policy does not exist without a] ...complex process of

*appropriation*, during which social actors interpret and selectively implement policies' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.2). Hence, this study of the Brazilian case of the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection fully embraces Bartlett and Vavrus's call for a comparative case study that attempts to address how culture is interpreted and enacted by actors within the context of the Brazilian process of teacher selection; seeking to engage in a research across its three axes: the horizontal, the vertical and the transversal.

The horizontal axis compares how similar policies unfold in *distinct locations* that are *socially produced* (Massey, 2005) and "*complexly connected*" (Tsing, 2005, p.6). The vertical axis insists on simultaneous attention *to and across scales* (see also Bray & Thomas, 1995; Nespor, 2004, 1997). The transversal comparison *historically* situates the processes or relations under consideration.

Bartlett and Vavrus (2017, p.3, italics in the original)

This Comparative Case Study of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection for state secondary school teachers in Brazil is an ambitious take on an issue that impacts millions of stakeholders. In the next sections, I explain how the three different axes proposed by Bartlett and Vavrus work (5.2), and how they interweave with the conceptual framework which structures the research design (5.3).

## **5.2. Understanding the transversal, horizontal and vertical axes**

The three axes of the CCS approach help to provide both an epistemological and a methodological framework in which to position this research so that the reader is able to navigate the complex nature of the *concurso*. At the same time, they must be understood as being interwoven with the conceptual framework I developed in section 5.3. This conceptual framework, in turn, aided the thematic analysis of the data that was collected. Since multiple data sources were used across the three axes, it is paramount to systematically synthesise this data to ensure coherent arguments can bring together what might seem as thematically disparate and at times, contradicting findings (Sandelowski et al., 2012). In order to answer the

research questions, this thesis relied on the analysis of the literature reviewed in chapters two, three and four. It also relied on stakeholders' recognition and engagement with their own reality and that of the *concurso*. This is because a comparative case study takes an iterative and processual approach to research.

As such, the transversal axis attempted to trace and understand the interconnections between policy and stakeholders *across and between space and time*. The transversal axis is not a sociocultural and historical analysis, but instead, it is a frame to develop an understanding of the *concurso* through the eyes of the stakeholders involved in the research. This is because all contemporary social phenomena have 'historical roots' which may be connected by *location*, i.e. how a particular issue evolved with time within the same site (i.e. Brazil); it may be connected *across* sites, i.e. how policies have been adopted across local borders (i.e. Brazilian states); or how the *concurso* may be interconnected by ideological foundations that have been socially constructed over time. The account provided in chapter two of how the *concurso* became established and how it operates in Brazil aims to support a more meaningful engagement with the current status of this policy as well as 'reveal[ing] insights about the ... cultural, social, political and economic systems [that Brazil has] developed and sustained over time' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.93).

Therefore, the transversal axis of comparison provided a background on which the interconnections between the horizontal and the vertical comparison axis could be explored and revealed. Importantly, for this research, the transversal axis is not the "place" where the analysis happened, but instead, it was part of the process to evaluate the place of the *concurso* in Brazil. It is how the *concurso* was be interpreted by stakeholders in light of their own interpretation of '...how social institutions function and how social relations are similar and different' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p. 93). In this way, one may be able to heighten the 'ability to question assumptions about the shape and form [the *concurso*] has taken' (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.94). Moreover, in this study, the transversal axis was not a longitudinal component, and not part of a separate analysis. Rather, it supported a critical analysis of how local policies of the *concurso* were seen and understood by stakeholders, so as to address the research questions proposed through the horizontal and the vertical axes.

The horizontal axis dealt with individual “groups” of stakeholders’ views on the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, but at the same time, it enabled the inclusion of contextual information from different “layers” from the same case to aid comparison. It is important to realise that a comparative case study is not a study of individual layers but instead, the layers within CCS allow the research to visualise the networks between layers (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017). The vertical axis provided the research with the possibility of going deeper in understanding these networks as it approached the data across the layers of stakeholders. This was because the study of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, exposed how stakeholders related to each other without looking at them as separate units. This facilitated the visualisation of the processes which may have created these relationships in the first place. Therefore, ‘comparison’ in this study should be seen as a

reflection on our conceptual framework as well as on the history of interactions that have constituted our object of study...it is not a relatively simple juxtaposition ...but a complex reflection on the network of concepts that underlie our study of society as well as the formation of those societies themselves

(van der Veer, 2013, p.3-4)

In the context of this thesis, the principal object of our study was the ‘*concurso*’ and the image below attempts to help visualise this comparative case study.

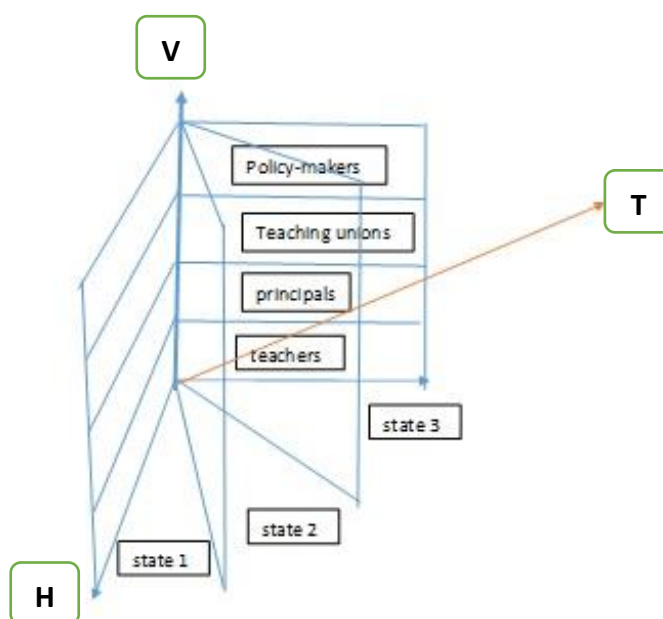


Figure 5 - The Comparative Case-Study structure. H (horizontal axis) representing the individual layers of participants; V (vertical axis) representing the hierarchy of participants, and T (Transversal axis) representing the sociocultural and historical context in which the layers and structures are present.



The image shows how the vertical axis traces connections across multiple actors in a supposed hierarchical fashion when it comes to policy-making to policy-enacting. Teachers are on the receiving end of the selection policy. Principals of state schools in Brazil are also on the receiving end of policy, but as people in positions of power within schools, they will have valuable insights on the issue of teacher selection since they have no choice over which teachers arrive at their gates. Teaching unions tend to represent most teachers in Brazil, and often attempt to influence both teachers and policy-makers. The three bottom slices represent the choice of sites of three Brazilian states in which this research will take place. These choices are discussed in section 5.4.

This structure for the vertical axis followed the policy of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection across different layers of practice because

policy studies would benefit by tracing the processes by which actors and “actants” come into relationship with one another and form non-permanent assemblages aimed at producing, implementing, resisting, and appropriating policy to achieve particular aims’

(Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p. 76).

Thus, in the next section, I explain the conceptual framework I developed which draws on specific elements of the literature reviewed and on the methodological framework explained above. This informs both the research design and the method of data analysis.

### **5.3. Conceptual Framework for the research design and analysis**

The conceptual framework starts with the realisation, after researching and writing the literature review, that the *concurso* can be reconceptualised as sociocultural ‘institution’ (Beattie, 1996) that is driven by ideology (Fontainha et al., 2014). Further still, the conceptual framework attempts to demonstrate how the selection of employees is a highly social and complex event that relies on a number of individual variables that may not always be visible to the instrument used in the selection, nor visible to the organisation leading the selection process. The literature review hoped to promote a deeper

understanding of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. It also showed how selection and teacher selection could be conceptualised and organised. This led me to focus beyond a description of processes (and people's understanding of them) and instead, moving towards a conceptualisation of how selection impacts many different aspects of people, organisations, and policy.

A conceptual framework is a 'model of what is out there that you plan to study, and of what is going on with these things and why — a tentative theory of the phenomena that you are investigating' (Maxwell, 2013, p. 39). Maxwell (2013) also argues that a conceptual framework is not a review of what has happened, but a constructed model that *draws from* the literature review in order to help explain and justify what is being studied. Thus, the conceptual framework uses CCS as methodology and epistemology to peer into selection policy and 'the key factors, concepts, or variables [to be studied] — and the presumed relationships among them' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 18).

Beattie (1996) attempted to describe and explain intrinsic features and assumptions of the *concurso* (see chapter two, section 2.4), and although he does explore some of their historical roots, values and practical changes within France, their outward sociocultural influences remained somewhat elusive in his work. Beattie (1996) ends his paper by hoping for a better appreciation of the idiosyncratic nuances between policy and processes of teacher selection. At the same time, there must be an acknowledgement that the Brazilian reality is very different from the French. That is a key reason for bringing forth the work of Fontainha et al. (2014) on the Brazilian *concurso* (see chapter two, section 2.4) for the development of the conceptual framework because it presents valuable knowledge of the Brazilian context for this thesis.

Fontainha et al. (2014) take on that challenge and provide their own comparison between the *concursos* in Brazil and France. One of their conclusions focus on how the *concurso* in Brazil 'feeds' the institutions that prepare the *concurso* (through enrolment fees which do not exist in France) and it also creates the need for a "*concurso* market" where for-profit publishers and businesses prepare booklets and paid preparation courses emerge to 'plug' the knowledge gap (Fontainha et al., 2014) since

universities do not see it as their role. In France, preparation for the *concurso* is normally part of the formal teacher education course since the *concurso* is a yearly event (Lapostolle and Chevaillier, 2010), whether in Brazil the occurrence of *concursos* is highly controlled by the government and a sporadic event.

Crucially, Fontainha et al. (2014) propose that the *concurso* examinations in Brazil are organised from the standpoint of a potential '*concurso* ideology'. However, their rationale does not explore the consequences of the *concurso* to education and educational stakeholders, in particular, teachers. They propose that it is the *concurso*'s '*edital*', as a document which informs the normative regulations of the *concurso*, that 'represents a social construction of the expectations of the different social actors involved in the *concurso*' (Fontainha et al., 2014, p.47). For them, the *edital* is the 'embodiment' of the *concurso*. But since the *edital* is also a political document that is both created and interpreted by stakeholders, this thesis argues that it must be interpreted as a by-product of an ideology of selection that is informed by the formal and informal structures which give credence and sustain this same ideology.

Conceptually, this work goes deeper because it focuses on the *concurso* as seen and experienced by teachers and other stakeholders *in* education. It argues that the existence of an '*ideology of the concurso*' may be partially informed by the five features and the four assumptions of the *concurso* as explained by Beattie. However, Beattie's work draws on knowledge of the *concurso* as seen through the lens of the French context. As such, Beattie's work is only the starting point of this thesis understanding of the *concurso* in Brazil. His proposals of the four assumptions (p.45-46 in this thesis) about the *concurso* emerge as contrasting tools to his assumptions about interviews as a method of selection rather than as an integral part of an intrinsic ideology. Nevertheless, in this work, these assumptions become central aspects of the epistemological foundations which underpins the ideology of the *concurso*.

Meanwhile, his features of the *concurso* (p.46-47 in this thesis) are presented as an integral part of the *concurso*'s existence while also recognising them as part of sociocultural beliefs and norms for what drives the need for the *concurso* in the first place. The features and assumptions put forward by Beattie (1996) provide an opportunity and a foundation on which to build a

conceptual framework in order to understand the Brazilian *concurso* through the lens of a comparative case-study since they work together to inform, create, and modify an ideology of selection. In light of the discussion above, and taking into consideration the methodological framework chosen for this work, the following conceptual framework for this research is proposed:

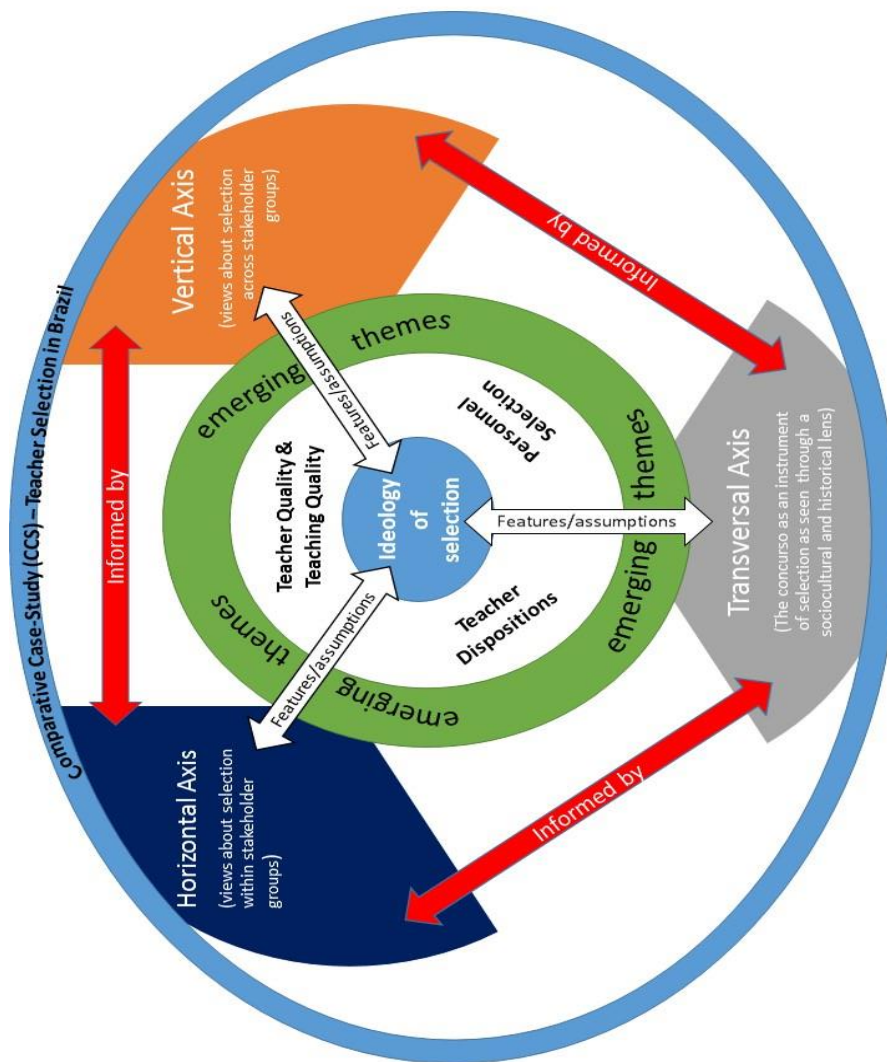


Figure 6 - The Conceptual Framework for understanding teacher selection in Brazil as a complex social process. The ideology of selection is constantly shaped by people's knowledge and understanding of the concepts of teacher and teaching quality, selection and teachers' dispositions. This is mediated and created by the intrinsic features and assumptions of the concurso as understood by stakeholders.

At the centre this framework lies the notion of the *ideology of selection*. Although ideology is often informed by the beliefs and choices of individuals, as well as how they interpret and re-interpret information (Denzau and North, 1994), the ideology of 'systems' is also influenced by sociocultural and historical contexts. Moreover, Beattie (1996)'s work allows this ideology to be conceptualised through a series of specific features and assumptions about the *concurso* as an instrument of selection (*white arrows*). These features and assumptions constantly interact between ideology formation and development through people's understanding of the surrounding body of knowledge about selection (*white circle*) which may help provide its long-term sustainability within a given context.

This conceptual framework also indicates that knowledge of Personnel Selection, Teacher Dispositions, and Teacher and Teaching Quality (*white circle*) are pre-conditions to inform the underlying features and assumptions of a given ideology of selection. Consequently, there must be a two-way flow of ideas from the notion of ideology of selection to the views of stakeholders within the methodological framework of the three axes (*white arrows*) because, in the same way that stakeholder's views are drawn from a particular ideology, the ideology can be informed by, re-enforced, and changed by stakeholder's views. These views are directly informed by their knowledge or perceptions of teacher quality, personnel selection and teacher dispositions as it 'travels' forwards and backwards between the system's ideology and the individual's views, the collective understanding, and the formation of its sociocultural history. Ultimately, there is no ideology of selection without knowledge about what informs selection.

Therefore, by interviewing stakeholders about their knowledge of what informs selection and their views on the process of selection, and its links to the idea of teacher quality, the path between ideology, knowledge and views may be traced through 'themes' that may be constructed from the data. These "emerging" themes (*green circle*) are the critical link between the people involved (teachers, principals, teaching unions and policy-makers) and the knowledge which underpins their ideological positioning. In this study, these working themes that emerge were analysed through the lens of thematic analysis (TA) became an integral part of the dialogue between the ideology and stakeholders.

Arguably, the features and assumptions that underpin the ideology of the *concurso* are not necessarily directly accessible to stakeholders as they navigate through the selection process since they will depend on their own pre-conceived knowledge and understanding of teacher quality, dispositions and personnel selection. Such ideology may be “in-built” and hidden “within” a stakeholder since the existence of the *concurso* is a normalised fact, a formal slice of the dominant ideology within Brazil; potentially making it a type of knowledge that may not always be visible to stakeholders. Arguably, Beattie’s assumptions and features are also not “visible” to most stakeholders, depending on how they interact with the ideology of selection and the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. However, stakeholders will likely be able to articulate their own understanding of the process itself and how the *concurso* interacts with their lives as teachers, principals, teaching unions or policy-makers through these themes. It is in the intersection between ideology, knowledge and their personal views that these individual themes emerge (knowingly or unknowingly by stakeholders), structured by the underlying features and assumptions, by the sociocultural history of the selection system, also informed by their knowledge (or lack thereof) of the issues that inform the ideology (*white ring*).

Consequently, the horizontal and vertical axes work as methodological placeholders for the data to be collected and analysed in, while the transversal axis provides the background knowledge which interacts with stakeholders’ current views. Together, they provide a skeleton on how to structure data from multiple stakeholders within an individual unit of analysis, in this case, the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. The features and assumptions of the ideology of selection inform the structure of the data that is embedded within each emerging theme. The themes are identified in section 5.6 and are discussed in the findings in chapters six, seven, and eight.

## 5.4. Choosing research participants

As explained in chapter two, secondary educational establishments (catering for ages 14/15 to 17/18) are divided according to its controlling governmental unit, e.g. municipal, state or federal. Additionally, secondary schools can also be private (fee-paying; for or not-for-profit) schools. Private schools are independent of governmental control when selecting its teachers and thus are not the focus of this particular research since they do not use the *concurso*. Although each of the three government units must use a '*concurso*' examination, they are responsible for their own selection procedure, as long as they follow the boundaries determined in the federal constitution. That means that, in theory, all different public, municipal schools in each of Brazil's municipalities could have a different *concurso* exam. Brazilian states are responsible for most of the public secondary schools within their own state (there are some municipal and federal secondary schools). This research focused on state secondary schools as they hold 87% of the student population and represent around 70% of secondary institutions in Brazil (INEP, 2018). This demarcation also reduced the documentation load. Each '*concurso*' must have its own published regulations, and 27 states are already much more manageable than over 5000 municipalities.

As Brazil has 27 states, it would have been difficult to conduct this research in all 27 states. In this way, I chose to focus on Brazilian capitals. Capital cities and their metropolitan areas concentrate most of the urban population in Brazil. Thus, I also decided on states that have a highly urban population. This was also both a logistic and financial issue given my personal situation. I then decided to focus on three states. The choice of states was difficult, and it certainly brings many limitations to this study given the size and diversity of the Brazilian population.

However, given the relative uniformity of the *concurso* across Brazil, the choice of the states which to visit was conceived by their potential to show implications for the whole of Brazil. The state of Rio de Janeiro has 97% of its population living in urban areas, and it is the third most populated state in Brazil with 8.4% of the total population (IBGE, 2016). Although this research did not focus on participants' demographic and biographical data, I wanted to focus on places that would have distinct population profiles. The state of

Rio de Janeiro is a hub for Brazilian migration and has a very similar racial/ethnic distribution to the whole of Brazil while São Paulo, although the most populated with 21% of total population has a slightly different profile. Minas Gerais, on the other hand, with 10% of the population matches the Brazilian profile very closely. However, due to financial, transport and accommodation constraints, the state of Rio de Janeiro was chosen as it is the second closest profile. The Brazilian Federal District (DF)<sup>12</sup> and its capital Brasília, the seat of the Brazilian federal government, was also selected. It is where the Ministry of Education and other key federal educational players are based. Also, Brasília's population is, in its entirety composed of migrants and second and third generation migrants. Until 1960 Brasília did not exist, and most of the population has migrated from the North and the Northeast regions of Brazil. Brasília serves a double function with multiple stakeholders in one location, and hence it is a strategic selection as the second state in this study. Also, the Federal District is another convenience sample state as the chief political stakeholders that were interviewed for this study had bases there.

The last state to be selected was Rio Grande do Sul. The southernmost state of Brazil is also the least diverse in terms of its population profile (IBGE, 2016), but it is also a highly political state that had been controlled by the Brazilian Labour Party for around 20 years. It is the state where the World Social Forum was first held and developed. It is also the state where I was born and lived for the first 23 years of my life and where my master's research took place. This meant I had developed good contacts within the state school system which meant approaching schools to gain access was not as problematic as in other states. Therefore, it was another convenient sample, but it also provided a unique setting with which to conduct this research.

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<sup>12</sup> The Federal District (DF) has a similar status to the District of Columbia in the USA, where Washington, DC is the capital of the USA.



#### 5.4.1. The choice of schools within capital cities

After the main boundaries linked to teachers were delineated, I had to identify other stakeholders within the process of teacher selection. Most capital cities are divided into several different areas or 'neighbourhoods' which have their own peculiarities regarding income, population, types of school, etc. The capitals I have chosen as part of this study are no different. Because of my work commitments, the time I had available was highly intermittent. Also, there were financial constraints on travelling to Brazil multiple times as well as the amount of time I could stay in the country in order to conduct this work. This meant that I went to different sites at different times of the year, as well as in different years (2014-15). It was both costly and time-consuming, particularly while in a full-time academic post, and leading a PGCE Science course with over 80 students, doing consultancy work for the university and other administrative duties. All this played a role in the overall development of this research.

A total of four state secondary schools from each capital city were chosen from a range of different neighbourhoods in order to try to cater to the diversity of the city's population. Initially, a total of 10 public schools in each city were contacted. These were selected based on individual knowledge of the school (i.e. from my Brazilian network of teachers) or centrally located within easy transport links. Only those that replied accepting to participate in the research were included. There were three schools in Rio Grande do Sul, four in Rio de Janeiro, and three in Brasilia-DF. Hence this is another limitation of the work since there is a bias of self-selection into the sample as schools demonstrated interest in participating. If a school agreed to support the study, the principal or deputy principal was then asked for an interview and to select a sample of three/four teachers to be interviewed individually.

As explained in chapter two, state schools in Brazil do not have the autonomy to select its own teachers and school principals do not play any role in this selection. Therefore, this research was also interested in understanding the principal's views on this specific issue of the *concurso*, how it impacts the composition of the school's staff as well as their understandings of how the *concurso* may or may not be linked with good teachers coming to their school. Understanding the principal's role regarding the selection process in

Brazil and their positions regarding the issue constitute an important point of view into the workings of the public examination/teacher selection system.

The delimitation of types of teachers in Brazil was harder to address since in all government databases there is a disclaimer that emphasises that the same teacher may work in more than one educational establishment and in more than one type of school, meaning that data on teachers can be misleading. In addition, between 30% to 40% of teachers in Brazil work in more than one educational establishment (Pellegrini, 2011; INEP 2018). In many circumstances in different types of establishments (public and/or private schools and sometimes even small private universities). Thus, teachers were chosen through a ‘convenience sample’, without focusing on any other specific category (e.g. male vs female, only teaching in one school, etc.).

A convenience sample of teachers is one where whoever is available at the time of the research was invited to participate. The school principal allocated teachers that were available at the specific moment I was at the school and were willing to participate in the research. Therefore, it was decided to not make any further categorisation or have inclusion criteria. This was because the organisation of interviews within Brazilian schools proved to be complicated due to schools’ lack of resources. Importantly, this research is concerned with teachers’ views on the *concurso* and not how their gender or work status may influence their view, although it must be acknowledged that these facts may play a role on their views. Convenience sampling has an inherent sample bias; however, I was interested in their opinions as *teachers*, and I highlighted this during the fieldwork.

There was a total of nine school principals and 39 school teachers.

	Porto Alegre - RS	Rio de Janeiro - RJ	Brasilia -D F	<b>Total</b>
Teachers	9	18	12	39
Principals	2	4	3	9
Total	11	22	15	48

*Table 3 -Total number of teachers and principals interviewed in each locality. There were six males and three female principals, and 15 male teachers and 24 female teachers who participated in the research (although only 25 teachers’ interview extracts are used in the thesis. A list with school principals and teachers’ pseudonyms that appear in this thesis can be found in Appendix III.*

In order to support this idea, Bartlett and Vavrus (2017, p.36) argued that ‘the primary interest of qualitative researchers is to understand the meaning or knowledge constructed by people. In other words, what really intrigues qualitative researchers is the way people make sense of their experiences’. The way people make sense of their experience is most certainly influenced by their socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds. However, this Comparative Case Study ‘is an exploration of the cultural politics of policy as it plays out in multiple scales’ (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.40), it focused on people’s interpretations and views about policy as stakeholders within the educational system, rather than how their individual characteristics inform their opinions.

#### **5.4.2. Other participants**

Teacher unions also play a significant role in teacher mobilisation within any given state and have a strong influence on the general behaviour of teachers regarding strikes, pay and other related issues. Moreover, strikes about pay and working conditions are commonplace within the state (and municipal) sectors all around Brazil. The Brazilian teacher selection protocol, the *concurso*, is closely linked with teachers’ pay and conditions. Therefore, understanding a teachers’ union organisational views and motivations about the teacher selection protocol will make an important contribution to constructing the bigger picture of teacher selection as well as how it impacts pay and working conditions and schools. In Rio de Janeiro, there are two main teachers’ unions: The SEPE (State Syndicate of Professionals of Education) and the UPPES (Union of Public Teachers in the State). Brasilia has SINPRO-DF (syndicate of teachers of the federal district), and Rio Grande do Sul also has SINPRO-RS and CPERS (Council of Teachers of the State of Rio Grande do Sul). There is also CNTE (National Council for Education Workers) that represents workers from all areas of the civil service, and it is the largest union for education in the country

Furthermore, each Brazilian state is able to choose the independent provider that produces the teacher selection *concurso* examination. Therefore,

although it is a public examination, it is usually produced by private providers of examinations (which also produce examinations for a number of other public careers). In Rio de Janeiro, the institute responsible for the State teacher selection process of 2011 is *the Fundação Centro Estadual de Estatísticas, Pesquisas e Formação de Servidores Públicos do Rio de Janeiro* – CEPERJ (The Centre-Foundation of State Statistics, Research and Development of Public Civil Servants of Rio De Janeiro). CEPERJ is also responsible for a variety of *concursos* outside the state of Rio de Janeiro. It is an important centre for *concurso* development and hence an essential stakeholder in this research. The aim to interview the President of CEPERJ provides an attempt to understand how the process of preparing a *concurso examination* works and the role played by the institution in the teacher selection process, especially in what concerns the preparation of the exam and other issues pertaining the exam as an instrument of teacher selection. Further still, the *concursos* are requested by the State. Therefore, the State itself becomes another stakeholder in this research. The state secretaries of education of Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, and Rio Grande do Sul were contacted to participate in this research through an interview.

Back in 2012-13, while this research was in its initial stages, Brazil was going through an attempt to reform the process of teacher selection with a new process that was called “Prova Docente”. The several institutions listed below were involved in the development of an initial ‘matrix of reference’<sup>13</sup> of this new teacher selection exam in Brazil which was piloted in 2012 but due to strong opposition from teachers’ unions and other political stakeholders, has morphed into a question bank of *concurso*-style questions that could be used by municipalities or states (free of charge) to use in their *concurso* as a cost-cutting measure. This is an important development but beyond the scope of this research, particularly since the *concurso* continues to be the method of selection. The institutions below were all involved in the development of the proposal of this new *concurso*, and as such were contacted to participate in the research because these institutions are all

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<sup>13</sup> The Matrix of Reference is a document which describe the ‘object’ of the exam. It attempts to describe the teacher profile required for the teaching profession by the federal government. It is not a formal set of standards, but they are meant to describe the type of professional the government wishes to select through the standardised exam.

associated with enacting and influencing education policy, thus, they are important stakeholders on the status quo of the *concurso*. They are:

1. **INEP/MEC** – National Institute of Educational Research and Statistics (part of the Ministry of Education)
2. **UNDIME** – National union of principals of municipal schools
3. **CONSED** – National council of state secretaries of education
4. **CNTE** – National Council of Educational Workers (largest education-workers' union)
5. **ANPED** – National Association of Post-Graduate degrees in Education
6. **ANFOPE** – National Association for the development of Education Professionals
7. **FORUMDIR** – National Forum of Directors of Education Faculties in Universities
8. **SEB/MEC** – National Secretary of Basic Education / Ministry of Education
9. **SASE/MEC** – National Secretary of Articulation Between Education Systems / Ministry of Education
10. **SESU/MEC** – National Secretary of Higher Education / Ministry of Education
11. **CAPES** – Coordination for the Development of Higher Education Personnel
12. **SECADI** – National Secretary of Continuous Education, Literacy, diversity and inclusion.
13. **CEDES** – Centre for Studies in Education and Society

All the institutions mentioned above have their central offices in the Brazilian capital Brasilia, one of the capitals chosen for this research. Representatives of each aforementioned stakeholder groups were contacted and an interview requested with someone who may be able to express either their individual opinions or the views of the institution they represented. Although, their participation could not be guaranteed. Of all the stakeholders above, I have got a positive response and interviewed representatives from numbers 1, 4, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

I also secured interviews with other major political stakeholders (in post at the time of this research):

- A representative of education policy coordinator at SINPRO-DF, teaching union of Brasilia;
- A representative of SEPE-RJ, teaching union from Rio de Janeiro;
- A Senator who was also a former Minister of Education;
- A councilman for the Federal District (Brasilia);
- The Secretary of Education for the state of Rio de Janeiro at the time of this research;
- The president of CEPERJ, in charge of producing *concursos* for a number of cities and states in Brazil;
- The pedagogical/education coordinator of Rio de Janeiro's largest metropolitan district.

Unfortunately, I was unable to secure any political representatives from the state of Rio Grande do Sul, as they were unavailable at the time of my availability in the country.

The stakeholders' perspectives included in this study make a valuable contribution to the understanding of the socio-economic and political background within Brazilian education policy. All of them have been involved with teachers, some have been teachers themselves and have experienced teacher education. They have all undertaken the selection protocol in their own way (either as a teacher or other civil servant role) and are fully aware of the place of the *concurso* within Brazilian society. Therefore, their standpoints towards the *concurso* were unique as they were able to draw not only on their own experiences but also on the current socio-economic and political climate that teachers are facing in Brazil.

The rationale for including these stakeholders above was two-fold. Firstly, it aimed to gather a wide range of views held by those in top-levels of the federal government, education-related agencies and teaching unions. Understanding the views within those multiple layers of policy-making allows the research to capture a distinctive image of the current discourse taking place within the teacher education scene in Brazil. As a comparative case study, this research needed to convey the interactions between and within Brazilian educational institutions while relaying its effect on the school environment.

Secondly, at the time of the interview, all these stakeholders were well positioned within the policy-making arena, so it became critical to engage with these actors in this research process especially because, at the time of this research, they were certainly able to exert some influence on teacher education policy. I sought these stakeholders' views and opinions with the intention to collate a better understanding about the underlying structure, views, assumptions, problems and potential pitfalls within the Brazilian teacher selection protocol, especially since the current academic research on this particular issue in Brazil is minimal as shown by the literature review.

All those involved in this study have gone through the process of the *concurso*, sometimes more than once. In the end, there was a total of 61 interviews conducted. Interviews lasted between 15 minutes to over one hour, depending on the person's availability, time of day, and willingness of the staff and school to provide the time for their teachers to be interviewed. Pseudonyms are indicated with a (P). Where the real name of the person appears, formal consent was requested. This only happened for public figures such as politicians and government-related officials. Those that are no longer currently in post (as of August 2018) are indicated by an asterisk (\*) next to their name.

#### Public Officials

1. Prof. Cristovam Buarque – Senator (public representative) for the Federal District in the Brazilian Senate. Still in position as of July 2018. Former Minister of Education in Brazil.
2. Prof. Israel Batista – Councilman (public representative) for the federal district state legislative branch. He is a current candidate for Representative of the Federal District in the Brazilian House of Representatives.
3. Wilson Risolia\* – Secretary of Education of the state of Rio De Janeiro
4. Prof. Dr Paulo Roberto Speller\* – Secretary for Higher Education (SES/MEC), now Secretary for the Organisation of the Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI)
5. Prof. Flávia Nogueira\* – Director of the Secretary of Articulation for Basic Education Systems (SASE/MEC)
6. Prof. Carla Morais\* (P) – Director of the Secretary for Basic Education

7. Prof. Carmen Castro Neves\* – Director of Initial Teacher Education at CAPES (Centre for Personnel Development of Higher Education)
8. Manuela Dias\* (P) – Coordinator of DIREDD / INEP (Directory of Educational Studies at the National Institute for Research and Study in Education)

#### Teaching Union Representatives and other Education-Related Stakeholders

9. Prof. Roberto Leão – President of CNTE (National Federation of Workers in Education)
10. Prof. Bernarda Arcos (P) – Education Policy Manager at SINPRO-DF (Teaching Union in the Federal District)
11. Prof. Marta Costa (P) – Education Policy Manager at SEPE-RJ (Teaching Union in Rio de Janeiro)
12. Prof. Luciano Tranca (P) – Pedagogical Coordinator of Rio De Janeiro's largest education region. The city is divided into several "regions" for the purposes of teacher allocation, training and supervision.
13. Prof. Mauricio Ribeiro – President of CEPERJ (Center for Educational Research of Rio De Janeiro). CEPERJ is responsible for all state *concursos* and many other *concursos* in and outside Rio De Janeiro.

### **5.5. Method of Data Collection: Interviews**

Interviews often are an integral part of collecting data for qualitative research as they are a tool that aims to engage with research participants in a more personal level to try and expose their thoughts and reactions to the issues of interest to research. Although interview formats may differ, it is still a flexible tool that allows the interviewer to pursue alternative lines of reasoning depending on the responses provided by participants. Wengraf (2001) has argued that interviews allow the researcher enough flexibility to attempt to peer into the complex realities of participants; at the same time, the interview is a fundamental method of data collection because it gathers 'data on understandings, opinions, what people remember doing, attitudes, feelings and the like, that people [may or may not] have in common (Arksey and Knight, 1999, p.2 in Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p.358).



Moreover, Bartlett and Vavrus argue that semi-structured interviews are in line with the process-oriented approach for CCS and can address the multidimensional aspects of knowledge production (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017). By drawing on the rationale for a semi-structured interview protocol, I was able to formulate specific questions which aimed to address the research questions, but also it allowed space for additional discussions depending on the types of responses given by participants, especially when further elaboration was needed (Harvey-Jordan and Long, 2001; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). In contrast, semi-structured interviews (and the interviewer) may not be flexible enough to allow participants to give a more detailed account of their views (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

Interviews are key to comparative case study research, and there are many different ways to interview people. Researchers must think about how they approach participants, the information to be shared and how one might frame an interview schedule. In order to try to understand principals' and teachers' views and understanding of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection and their understanding of teacher quality in light of the *concurso*, I also drew on certain features of a technique called Critical Incident (CII). This technique is 'characterised by prob[ing questions], guiding the candidate to produce the right level of detail within a story of their own choosing....[it is] designed to generate concrete examples of actual past behaviour...[and to] generate unprompted examples of behaviour' (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004, p.27). The rationale relies on the idea that in order to express their views about the *concurso* and what teacher quality might mean as well as what is expected of teachers, the participants would begin the interview with a recount of actual examples of feelings about having gone through the process of the *concurso* themselves, what *they* have done or currently do in their practice which they consider being good teaching rather than expressing desired views on what good teaching could possibly mean.

An interview schedule (in appendix I) was prepared by drawing on the idea of critical incidents (especially for interviews with teachers and principals) which allowed me enough flexibility to identify the knowledge, feelings and behaviours that may be considered relevant by participants (e.g. Marrelli, 2005). One advantage of using these techniques was that it asks participants to describe their own experience as well as giving their own view. Therefore, by asking participants about their own experience of undertaking the

*concurso* while asking their views about the instrument helped to initiate the conversation. This meant that answers were sometimes “unpolished” because interviewees could not give a practised or standardised answer. On the other hand, one of the main disadvantages is that ‘in critical incidents, reports of behaviour are filtered through the lenses of individuals’ perceptions, memory, honesty, and biases, and therefore may not be entirely accurate’ (Marrelli, 2005, p.43). Moreover, when interviewing, I paid close attention to the responses to make sure that enough detail had been expressed. This meant I often needed to probe more deeply in case generic statements were used (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbeston, 2004). I often asked follow-up questions for participants to clarify meaning, to expand on ideas and sometimes asking hypothetical questions, such as “what do you think would happen to teacher selection if there were no *concursos* in Brazil?”. This was another reason why I used a semi-structured interview approach that, although does not necessarily have a specific routine or order, aimed to move the answers towards a more relevant direction needed for the research. Sometimes I needed to tactically ignore answers that were not relevant to questions while attempting to bring participants back towards the goal of the research (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013).

However, Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbeston (2004) explain that in order to be able to gather information and deal with some of these disadvantages, I listened to the responses cautiously in order to probe the reasons, behaviours and feelings of participants. These guidelines have led to the statements given by principals and teachers to be coded according to emerging criteria about their views on the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, teacher education and teacher/teaching quality. The questions aimed to address their viewpoints on the *concurso* and were used as one of the devices to facilitate the exploration of selection variables and relationships with their views on teacher quality. This helped to bring about a better account of the rationale of the teacher selection policy and their implications for teachers and schools.

#### Unique procedures and barriers to this research

School principals and/or regional coordinators were contacted by a formal letter indicating the desired to undertake the research in the school,

explaining the reasons for the research as well as the need to for the researcher and the support team to spend the day at the school. Sometimes this was done directly via a phone call. The principal was asked to inform the teaching staff about the research and request their participation in the research. Any staff that accepted this request was then informed of the particulars of the research. Since schools in Brazil have morning and afternoon shifts, the research often took place throughout the whole day. That meant I arrived at the school in the morning and had to wait for the availability of staff. This happened primarily because most teachers in Brazil have a full-time table with little to no free periods.

At this point in the thesis, it is worth mentioning a few incidents that happened during some interviews in Brazil because they influenced my personal behaviour and mental state during the interviews. The first important observation from these interview experiences was the lack of organisation and resources existing within Brazilian public state schools, especially when receiving someone from outside as a researcher. After having spoken with these principals and other related school staff weeks prior to my visit, including both written and verbal communication and establishing availability and times; once I arrived at the school, many people at reception areas did not know I was coming, if and when there were reception areas. Some schools did not have a reception area, and I had to navigate through the school to find either a staff room or go directly to the principal's office. Twice, the school principal himself/herself did not know I was coming, while others had forgotten or did not show up at the school on the day I was meant to be interviewing them, or even claimed not to know anything about the interview. This already created a sense of uncertainty in me, and as the interviewer, it gave me a feeling that I was disrupting them as well as the running of the school, in spite of previous contact being established.

These interviews were intended to be done individually, although often this was not possible, either due to a lack of understanding and planning by the stakeholder of the requirements needed. This variety of experiences meant that many interviews with school principals were conducted in inadequate places and/or were cut short. This meant that often there were no available individual rooms, so the staffroom was sometimes used. Sometimes there was the presence of a public-relations agent (in the case of politicians and other top-level stakeholders). Some interviews were constantly interrupted

by other members of staff and three interviews with school principals were cancelled after I had arrived in the school.

In one school I arrived at the principal's office, and the principal was busy making photocopies for an exam a teacher was holding the next day and thus said he was unable to meet me. In another school, the principal ushered me into the staff room and told me to have a seat as they were having a staff party as one of the staff had his "baby shower". The principal eventually told me he couldn't speak to me as he was busy with other school matters. In another school, when I arrived the principal was not present in spite of having scheduled a meeting in advance and did not let anyone else know I was coming. The vice-principal was rather upset with my presence as she did not know I was coming. She agreed to speak to me once I explained the situation, and it was established that I had scheduled a meeting. It is important to explain the scenarios I encountered in public state schools in some of the largest and wealthiest cities in Brazil because the school environment influences the school community itself (i.e. how teachers may have answered my questions) as well as the expectations regarding education in Brazil (i.e. overall perceptions from stakeholders about what can and cannot happen). Imagine a pre-service teacher or a new teacher that may have recently passed the *concurso* full of expectations then arriving at a public school where the school principal is the one making photocopies for teachers because there is only one machine and it is in the principal's office.

All interviews were audio-recorded by a dictaphone and later safely transferred and stored in an encrypted USB stick. Each interview was intended to last between around 30 minutes in total, depending on each stakeholder's time availability, but the total varied from 15 min to one hour. The interview questions prepared sometimes changed depending on the level of the stakeholder being interviewed in order to try to achieve the level of depth required. In the next section, I will explain how the data collected from these interviews were analysed.

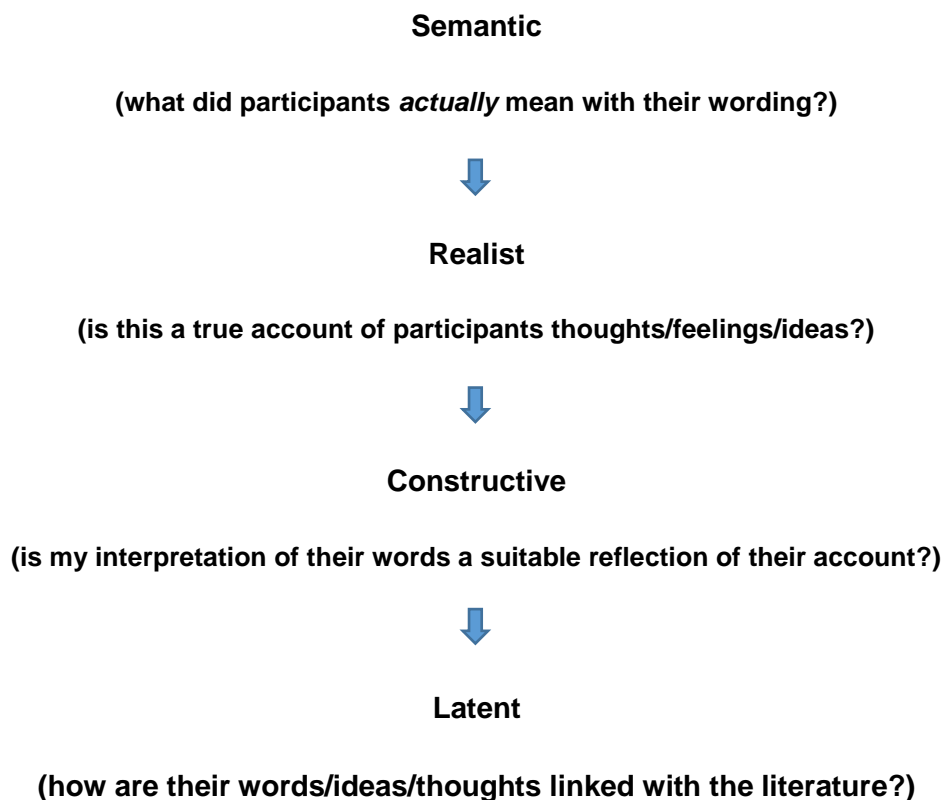
## 5.6. Thematic Analysis as a method of data analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) have written a compelling case for the use of Thematic Analysis as a method of data analysis to deal with complex and nuanced interview data (Holloway and Todres, 2003). They provide a method and a language for identifying and reporting thematic patterns. This is needed because Thematic Analysis is a systematic process of examination of data for 'encoding qualitative information' (Boyatzis, 1998, p.4) that works to inform the construction of themes that may be embedded in participants' voices when describing or explaining a given phenomenon (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Therefore, this method affords this research the flexibility necessary to use these thematic patterns across and within the three different axes (horizontal, vertical and transversal) in order to structure the conceptual framework developed for this research. By exploring the 'thematic networks...that summarise the main themes constituting a piece of text' (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p.386), thematic analysis peers into stakeholders' perspectives (King, 2004), 'highlighting their similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights' (Nowell, Morris, White and Moules, 2017, p. 2) while at the same time recognise the researcher's own knowledge and bias which will inevitably inform some of the reading and interpretation of the data and the creation of themes (Boyatzis, 1998).

Thematic Analysis may take several forms, though it is often classified as *theory-driven*; *data-driven inductive* (Boyatzis, 1998); *deductive with a-priori codes/template* (Crabtree and Miller, 1999); or even as an *inductive-deductive hybrid* (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In addition, Braun, Clarke and Rance (2014) contribute four more insights on how to approach thematic analysis. One may engage with the data in a *semantic way* where 'coding and theme development reflect the explicit content of the data' (p.5). In a *latent way*, where the focus is on reporting 'concepts and assumptions underpinning the data'; or in a *realist way*, where it reports on 'an assumed reality evident in the data'; and also in a *constructionist way*, where a given 'reality is created by the data'. Although there are similarities between these different models of thematic analysis, it is the emphasis on coherent and consistent application of the conceptual framework that will allow the themes to become representative of the data. (Braun, Clarke and Rance, 2014).

## **Coding and Analysis**

The data analysis drew on an amalgamation of these ideas offered from Braun, Clarke and Rance (2014) as guides towards a thematic analysis in order to approach the Fereday and Muir-Cochrane's hybrid model (2006). This implied that to address the three different axes of the Comparative Case Study through a thematic analysis, it was vital to seek out both the exact meaning from the research participants' responses (semantic) while assuming participants are providing a true account of their own reality (realist). However, their accounts are laden with meaning which has been informed by their sociocultural and historical reality and although participants may have thought that their account was based on their perceived reality, I sought to interpret their responses (constructivist) based on conceptual understandings discussed in the literature (latent). Therefore, I decided to analyse the interviews based on the following sequence:



In order to follow this pattern of analysis, I ensured I had the necessary coding toolkit with which to begin the interpretation meanings. I decided to use Beattie's *features* of the *concurso* as an initial coding template (see figure 4 below). My rationale for this starts with the assumption that Beattie's

interpretation of the French concours is cogent. At the same time, since Brazil's model is borrowed from Portugal by way of the French one, the argument follows that the French system and Beattie's positions can be used as the main template from which the Brazilian system created its own competitive examination system (*concurso*) for its government/civil servant careers. Thus, by using Beattie's five key *features* of the French concours as my initial code, I was able to not only draw parallels with the French system but also identify where the nuanced differences might be located. Hence, not only it allowed me to have a starting point, it was flexible enough to allow me to expand on my coding when necessary as I read the data.

At the same time, Beattie's four *assumptions* of the *concurso* (see figure 4 below) inform the "skeleton" in which the features can be supported, as well as how the features of the *concurso* are able to interact with each other. However, both the assumptions and features must have a foundational "birthplace", where the ideas stem from: an ideology of selection. Fontainha et al. (2014) do not provide further commentary nor research on how this ideology informs or interact with the people that actually develop or take the *concurso* since their data is drawn mainly from *concurso's* 'editals'.

Therefore, I have organised these ideas into the diagram below as an initial coding template in order to help inform the construction and emergence of themes from the thematic analysis. The question mark in the image below denotes the flexibility of the ideology and asks the questions: What other assumption(s) do(es) the Brazilian *concurso* have in order to exist?

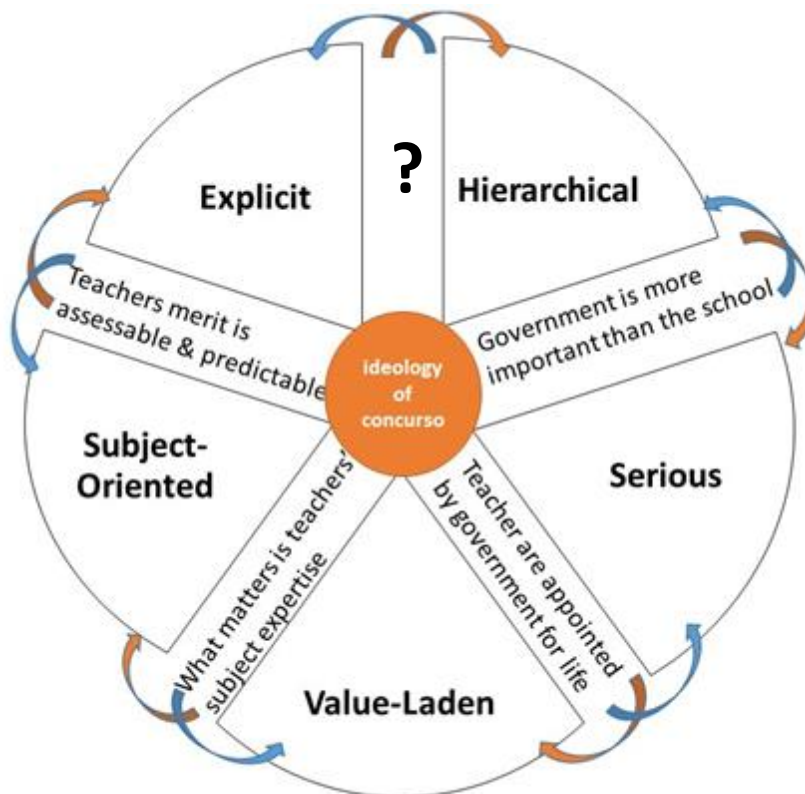


Figure 7 - Coding Framework for the Thematic Analysis. The assumptions are the 'skeleton' of the ideology of the *concurso*, while the features are conceptualisations that sustain the assumptions. This *a-priori* code informs the interpretation of stakeholders views.

Another step of the thematic analysis was to identify data which did not fit within the existing coding structure, allowing the codemap to be adapted for the Brazilian reality. This was achieved by an 'iterative process of identifying 'features' (i.e. themes) and defining boundaries around those features (i.e. text segmentation)' (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2014, p.49) through the sequence described above. By constantly asking those questions above at every large passage, I was able to make explicit links to my choice of codes, as well as identify any particular gaps on my coding framework.

In this research, the codemap above provided the boundaries in which the data could be organised, while the conceptual framework provided the structural thinking that supported the iterative processed needed to allow the themes to be constructed from the data. As such, the five features of the *concurso* proposed by Beattie (1996) (the codes): Explicit, Hierarchical, Value-Laden, Subject-Oriented, and Serious are represented by the five slices which are supported and informed by the four assumptions that emerge from the proposed ideology of the *concurso* (figure 4).



These a-priori codes were the primary basis of the thematic analysis for every stakeholder interview. In conjunction, the codemap and the conceptual framework is how 'the observed meaning in the text is systematically sorted into categories, types and relationships of meaning...[through] segmenting and coding...in an iterative fashion...and modifying the code[map] as new information and new insights are gained' (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2014, p.53). In this way, I was able to delve deep into the interview data gathered over two years of interviews conducted with 61 stakeholders.

The data was coded in "four" separate 'readings' of the data, leading to some of the passages/data to be encoded within two or more codes. The passages of text were read both with the semantic-realist-constructive-latent (SRCL) question sequences and with the coding framework next to each interview transcript. Next to each selection of text the sequence SRCL was written and 'ticked' to ensure consistency. Then, the coding framework was used to make explicit links between the text and their meaning in relation to the *concurso* features and its assumptions.

Once this was completed, the passages became 'jigsaw puzzles' which allowed me to group them together. This then led to the construction of themes that 'are pieced together to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experience' (Aronson, 1995, p. 3) of the *concurso*. As Hawkins (2017) puts it,

when a researcher uncovers themes commonly occurring throughout the data, those themes may indicate areas in communication that help explain phenomena or point out areas of needed improvement

(p.1757)

After drawing on Braun and Clarke's (2006) criteria for a systematic and robust thematic analysis and grouping the pieces of texts to form potential themes, I decided that my original codes should become sub-themes of themes which were identified during the process. This is because whereas a 'theme captures a common, recurring pattern across a dataset, organised around a central organising concept... a subtheme exists 'underneath' the umbrella of a theme'. (Braun and Clarke, 2018, online<sup>14</sup>). In this way, the

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.psych.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/our-research/research-groups/thematic-analysis/frequently-asked-questions-8.html>

original codemap has been adapted to inform a thematic framework as explained by Attride-Stirling (2001) which organises the themes as interconnected variables informed by sub-themes/codes. After coding the interviews, identifying patterns and networks I have arrived at five themes which co-exist and often are informed by each other.

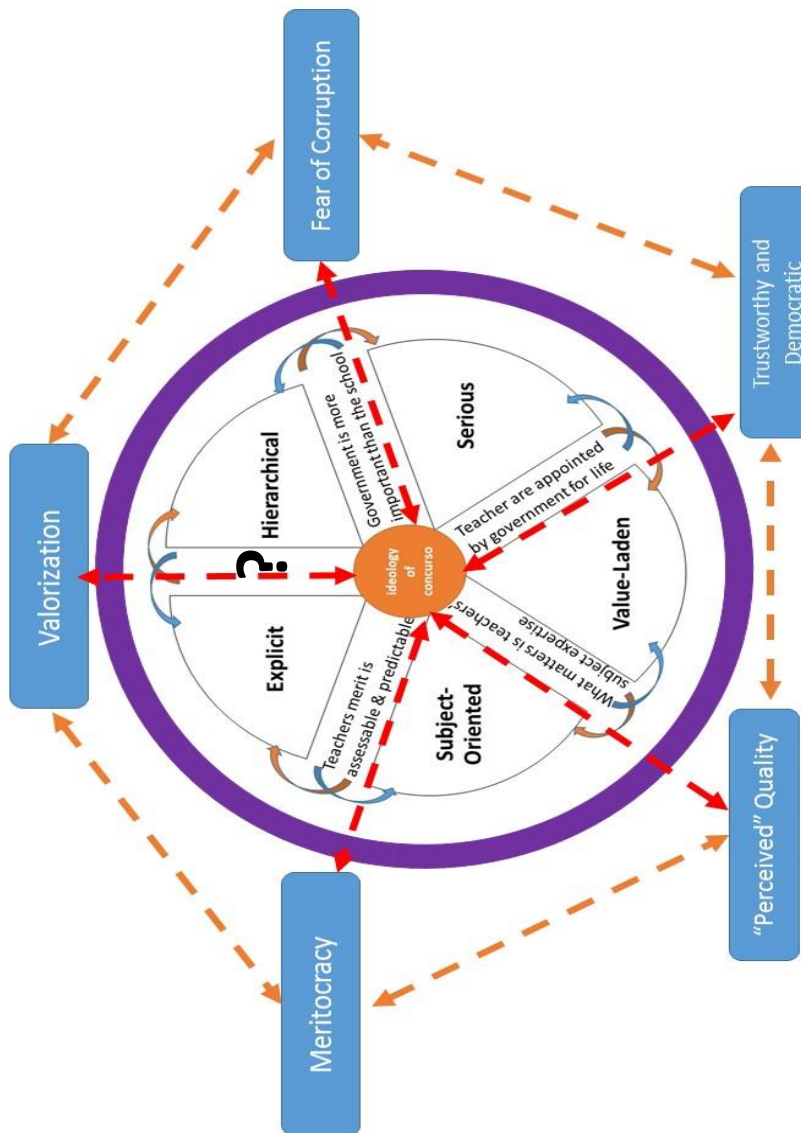


Figure 8 - Thematic Framework informed by the code map and the conceptual framework. The themes constructed are a direct consequence of the existing ideology of concurso that has been 'built' by the assumptions about the concurso. They constantly interact with each other as stakeholders navigate the concurso through its – often hidden – features and assumptions.

The themes identified in the figure 5 above are loosely defined as:

1. *Valorisation*: This is a concept that revolves around the idea of how public school teachers (and civil servants) understand their employment through the *concurso*
2. *Meritocracy*: This theme is linked to the notion of the *concurso* as being understood as a means of meritocratic access to a civil servant position in Brazil
3. *Fear of Corruption*: a theme which helps to describes a specific need for the *concurso* to exist
4. *Trustworthy and Democratic*: here, the data indicate that although there is a fear of corruption, the *concurso* seems to be viewed as both 'democratic' and 'trustworthy'.
5. *Perceived Quality*: This theme emerged as an indication of the participants perceived ideas about the relationship between teacher quality and the *concurso*.

The purple ring indicates the constant relationship between the subthemes and themes that are driven by the sociocultural and historical aspects of the *concurso*, and stakeholders' underlying knowledge of them. The red arrows indicate that these themes (concepts) also are constructed from an ideology of the *concurso*. The orange arrows show that the themes that were constructed function as a unique discourse/narrative which supports, informs, and co-constructs the ideology through a two-way stream.

### **5.7. The evolution of the research: from comparative to “processual”**

Although the foundations of this research are rooted in both the epistemological and methodological conceptualisations of the comparative case-study as put forward by Bartlett and Vavrus (2017); after the interviews were transcribed and analysed it became clear that the idea of 'comparison' was no longer clearly demarcated. As the views of stakeholders morphed together into five thematic strands, the relationship between the axes of comparison (the horizontal, the vertical, and the transversal) morphed into

an interactive loop where views were reinforced through a thematic bond that emerged through the design of the conceptual framework.

The vertical 'comparison' consolidated the data towards the thematic similarities, leading to a reconceptualisation of the 'case'. Rather than asking 'what views am I comparing?', the data led me towards a more fundamental question of 'how is the *concurso* sustained by the "collaboration" of participants' views?'. This study has become an iterative process where, arguably, it fuses Yin's (2014) exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory case-studies into one *processual* case-study, where distinct stakeholders come together to make sense of their shared reality, rather than building a case-study based on their differences through comparison.

Here, the research has become processual not because of type of data but because of the outcomes of the data. It has become a case-study that goes through exploration, description and explanation, where the original transversal axis, which relies on a sociocultural and historical analysis, became the 'fabric' through which participant's views (and their reported reality) happened *in*. Therefore, instead of becoming a separate analysis, the transversal axis becomes the thread that ties all stakeholders' views together, similar to an idea of a "space-time continuum" where sociocultural history permanently exists and interacts with those participants embedded within it.

Hence this research relied on Bartlett and Vavrus' concepts of Comparative Case-Study (2017) in order to end up with this "processual" approach to the case-study that is able to deal with the Brazilian case of the *concurso* and move towards the answers of the research questions. This has been vitally important since this processual nature of this case-study is what made it able to empirically navigate through the stakeholders' views within a given context by approaching the relationship between stakeholders and the object of study (i.e. the *concurso*) through the different thematic lenses that have emerged during the analysis of the data.

## **5.8. Limitations of Methods and Data Collection: bias, language, and translation**

Besides the ‘traditional’ issues associated with sample size addressed in section 5.3 above, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) argue that within a case study, researchers need to ‘abide by canons of validity and reliability’ (p. 295). Importantly, Bartlett and Vavrus (2017, p.32) say that

many have questioned the appropriateness of reliability as a standard for any qualitative work, and most would agree that qualitative researchers generalise through theory, not statistically

This, they argue, is an important feature of the processual approach within the comparative case study as it seeks to create powerful insights that can both inform and generate theory through its understanding of culture, context and history as not being static nor uniform. Thus, aspects of internal validity are particularly crucial for any comparative case study. The transparency of both the conceptual framework and the thematic analysis framework above are the starting point to ensure that the relationships between the data are clear to provide what Yin (2014) called a ‘chain of evidence’ that can be traced through a context interaction between data and literature. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) add that this interaction relies on the researcher thinking critically about how all the separate parts of the comparative case study fit together; how the people, the places, the institutions, and theoretical constructs create the Brazilian reality of the *concurso*.

Additionally, as a researcher, I had to pay particular attention to issues of bias, language and translations. Issues of bias have to be considered because it is difficult for the qualitative researcher not to influence their own research. Therefore, the moment I made choices of states, schools and institutions to be a part of this study, I had already influenced the outcome of this work.

However, this work aimed for a

purposive sampling in case selection...that are relevant to the conceptual framework and the research questions, [to] generate rich data on the phenomenon of interest, [and] enhance [its] analytical generalizability, or transfer of insights, from the study, and produce believable, trustworthy descriptions and explanations

(Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017, p.117-118)

The awareness of bias during the interview process was a fundamental part of this work, to avoid leading questions and personal opinions on participants' responses. Also, my knowledge and experience of teacher selection both in Brazil and in the UK impacted my perceptions of the Brazilian reality since I am partly influenced by the practices of selection in the UK. Therefore, when analysing the data, I had to keep in check my own understanding of the Brazilian reality. I did this by asking a question after each time I coded a passage of the interview text. I asked, 'is this what the participant means or is it what I want it to mean'? I aimed to focus my attention to avoid making inferences on specific meanings where there was none. This became an important routine during the data analysis. Another check that was put in place during the interviews was related to the potential bias of participants, in particular, because of different power relations within a school. That is why I always aimed to interview participants in an isolated place without any other members of the school nearby. Unfortunately, this was not always possible. Nevertheless, when more than another teacher-participant ended up present in the room, I adapted and modified my stance to include the other participant in the interview.

Issues of language and translations must also be addressed here. Even though I am originally from Brazil, after spending 14 years in the UK, and having spent most of these years speaking only in English, without much Portuguese, the first interviews after in-country arrival were always more difficult to conduct because I was 'forgetting' certain words and/or specific/technical vocabulary. On one occasion a participant queried whether I was Brazilian or naturalised Brazilian. This had an impact on my confidence as I was conducting the research. In the beginning, my inexperience as a researcher and as an interviewer was something that had an impact on the

shape of the conversations that took place during the interviews. Even though I had an interview schedule, I found difficulty in expressing these questions in my native language, and it was baffling to hear my hesitations and incorrect wording as I listened and transcribed the interviews. Also, I often made the questions longer than they needed to be and worried about whether participants were making personal judgements about my lost Portuguese-speaking skills. However, as time passed, I had a much clearer grasp of how to navigate these interviews to achieve the outcomes I set out at the start of this work. I grew in confidence, but I still feel I could have done a much better job of articulating the questions to get the best possible outcome.

All interviews were translated into English prior to analysis because all data analysis was done with the English version of the interviews. This was an arduous and lengthy piece of work that was difficult to conduct, especially as I did not have outside help. This meant that I focused on translating only the sections of the interviews which did not stray from the main topic of the questions. When participants started discussing other aspects of their personal lives as teachers, I had to make a conscious decision during the analysis and think about those passages and whether they were relevant to the research. Many times, I reached the conclusion that certain parts were not relevant to the research questions nor the conceptualisation of the *concurso*, and as such, they were not included in the primary research findings text.

Furthermore, all translations of journal articles, newspapers, reports, laws and *editals* were done by me. I have tried my best to keep as close to the original meaning as possible. I have used Google Translate as the starting point of the translations. Then, I began a careful editing process of the translations to ensure accuracy regarding context, and the unique meanings that words might have within Brazilian Portuguese. Language features such as slang or locally accepted meanings of specific words had to be accounted for when translating statements from stakeholders from different regions of Brazil, where the use of slang is common. There have been a number of words which I have kept in the original language because of its unique meaning meant it was not really translatable. The words are explained in the text, but a full glossary is provided in Appendix VI.

Finally, most of the limitations of this study have been expressed throughout this chapter. The choice of states, the choice of capital cities, the choice of schools, the choice of staff, the number of participants, the availability of public figures for interviews, their willingness to discuss matters regarding the *concurso*, people's understanding of questions, participants' responses to questions, etc. All these are unique features of this work that contribute to its limitations both in terms of method as well as analysis. Also, the choice of data to be included in the research findings is also part of the limitations of this study. After all the analysis was completed, as a researcher I had to make choices about which data was relevant to present in this work. Therefore, there is the limitation of the presentation of the data. Interviews invariably give the researcher a large amount of textual data. I consciously decided not to seek out "frequencies" of words to analyse textual data as numerical data. I did not use any "qualitative software" to analyse the interviews. As such, this provides further challenges and problems for analysis. This was a manual, pen-and-paper effort, requiring almost a full year for me to transcribe and start the analysis of the interviews. In addition, I had to make choices about which data to present here. At times, I made what some might see as unusual choices of using large chunks of the interviews. To me, large pieces of interview data are paramount because they aided construction of the transversal axis, and without them, I feel the work would rely on short, bite-sized data that would limit the visualisation of the context of the *concurso*. Then, I feel it is fair to say that the choices I made were driven by my thematic analysis and its representations, and thus, my interpretations of other's narratives, instead of being that of an outsider trying to portray a biased image of the *concurso* for the reader.

This inevitably leaves part of the data out, data that had to be judged and not be included, in spite of having been analysed. This choice had to be made, and it was made by myself, as the researcher, hence directly influencing the outcome of this work. This recognition is paramount for any research data. The data left out of the writing does not necessarily mean they were less important or hidden on purpose, instead, they were judged to be either repetition of points made by others or less pertinent to showcasing the themes of this research and move this study towards answering the research questions. Also, often they represent teachers going off on tangents that did



not address the questions. Nevertheless, the data collected and presented in the research findings chapters are rich with insights from its participants and make a positive contribution towards the understanding of the *concurso* in Brazil.

## **5.9. Ethical Issues**

This research abides by BSA/BERA guidelines where appropriate to the research process. All those involved in interviews were duly informed of how the data collected would be used and how their personal anonymity would be maintained if they so desired. All participants acknowledge this both verbally and in writing. Public figures such as politicians and other high-level stakeholders in teaching unions and other institutions were asked for consent to use their names in the research. All formal procedures to obtain any relevant secondary data were respected. If an interviewee who was a part of an institution explicitly said they were not speaking in the name of their institution, this was respected and directly mentioned with the extracts used. All interviewees were respected for their views on the subject of this thesis and no tension regarding their arguments was actively pursued by the researcher. Their choice of withdrawal from the project was fully acknowledged and contact details provided. Given that this research has taken place over the span of seven years, some participants are no longer affiliated with the institutions, but since they were at the time of the research, I have decided to keep their affiliation as at the time of their interviews. All voice data was recorded in a dictaphone and voice files immediately transferred to an encrypted USB. All data will be destroyed after three years of submission of this work. This research was granted full ethical approval by the Institute of Education Doctoral School ethics committee.

## **5.10. Structure of Research Findings**

The research findings are divided into three chapters that are based around the themes constructed from the data analysis. *They are: chapter six – Valorisation: value and recognition of teachers; chapter seven – ‘Perceived’ Quality through merit; and chapter eight – Trust, democracy, and the fear of*

*corruption*. The data presented in these chapters are drawn from the use of the frameworks discussed in this chapter to illuminate stakeholders' understandings of the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection within the horizontal and vertical axes. It is important to remember that the transversal axis forms the sociocultural backdrop over which these views are analysed, rather than being a unit of analysis. As the research findings are presented, I sought to weave in arguments that may interpret stakeholders' views and the consequences of the framework to the dialogue on teacher selection in Brazil.

## 6. Research Findings I – *Valorisation*: Value and recognition of teachers

### 6.1. Introduction

The first theme which must be brought up for the analysis of the Brazilian context is that of *valorisation*. This is the focus of this chapter. It is a difficult concept to define as stakeholders discussed it in a variety of different ways. It starts with the idea of whether the *concurso* has an intrinsic value as an instrument of selection in teachers' professional lives. The issue of valorisation is also considered to be one of the cornerstones of teaching unions' political struggles towards recognition of teachers as valuable civil servants. The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988) and the Brazilian Education Act of 1996, (Brasil/LDB, 1996) make very explicit claims regarding the selection protocol and its links with the value of the education professional. Article 206, incise V, in the Brazilian constitution clearly states that

the valorisation of school education professionals is guaranteed by law in the form of career paths in the public sector with entrance given exclusively via public examinations (*concurso*) of tests and qualifications.

(Brasil, 1988, EC 2006)

This section of the constitution was only added with an official parliamentary amendment in 2006, 18 years after the original document and ten years after the Brazilian Education Act of 1996, where Article 67 already stated that,

The educational systems will promote the valorisation of education professionals, securing, including in terms of statutes and public education career plans:

I – Entrance is given exclusively via public examination (*concurso*) of tests and qualifications

## 6.2. The role of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection according to high-level stakeholders

The president of the largest union for education workers in Brazil, the CNTE, Roberto Leão makes the union's views clear in his response when asked 'what is the role of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection for teachers'?

*The concurso is extremely important, it is instrumental to the valorisation, to the recognition of education professionals and to the improvement of the quality of education, that this professional [the teacher] be hired via a public examination [the concurso] ... [This is because] we want teachers to have a bond with a school. A bond that is not temporary, a bond that gives them the conditions to actively participate in the life of the school, of its pedagogical policy, to become familiar with the community, to understand its problems, how the community operates. In order to be able to work on all these things, for them to comprehend their students' histories and the difficulties faced by the community to help students grow and develop...this is a direct consequence if the government really valued their teachers...[But the] process of valorisation of the teacher as a civil servant also passes through good initial teacher education, a career pathway [though the concurso], working hours, continuing professional development...*

This initial statement of the chapter portrays the seriousness of the *concurso* for this union (as per one of Beattie's features), as well as how the concept of valorisation seems to encompass much more than the *concurso* as an instrument for teacher selection. Prof Leão approaches education in a holistic manner, within a more traditional view of teaching as a "job-for-life", potentially influencing how he perceives the *concurso*.

Prof. Marta Costa, the representative from SEPE-RJ, the state union of Rio de Janeiro, makes a similar argument. She says:

*The concurso is important to us; it values us because it gives the teacher a certain continuity. If you work with a [temporary] contract, and you work with one or two years, then you are removed from service. So all that investment that the professional worker received from the public university, which is paid with public money, this professional has to put themselves with all other candidates with the same chances. They will take the concurso, and they will invest in their [time, energy and knowledge] in the public school, for the son or daughter of the working class that has their child in a public school, because that is what they need, what they deserve. Continuity of work is paramount for the school, for the community so that teachers can commit to that school for a long period of time.*

Here, she also argues about the *value* of the teaching profession as being attached to the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. These statements by representatives of the teaching unions are corroborated by Prof. Flávia Nogueira from SASE within the Ministry of Education. She explains that

*the concurso is important because we understand that the concurso is a way to recognise the [education] worker, I mean, it's not any person that will get in [the civil service]. Only the worker that was well selected [via the concurso] will get in, and this is the possible selection in Brazil... [valorisation is] a much larger process which also involves initial teacher education, selection and entering the career .... , increasing the salary... [making] the teaching career more attractive.*

It seems that the picture of valorisation is brought up to mean something that is attached to the *concurso*, but also broad and significant to the teaching profession as a whole, rather than as just a feature of the *concurso*. The perception about the value of *concurso* and its impact on teaching is made clear by Prof. Dep. Israel Batista, councilman for the Federal District (Brasilia), he expresses his view:

*This public examination in Brazil, it is the only method I consider to be a legitimate way of entering public service, it is an important invention for the country...The concurso is the most correct and dignified way to access public service, allowing the government the selection of candidates which are most apt, capable and qualified, as well as giving equality of conditions and opportunities to all citizens...*

The political rhetoric of the *concurso* exposed in this statement, probably reflects his status as a politician, especially since his PR agent was present in the interview. Nevertheless, what could be inferred is his view on the legality and legitimacy of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. However, he then continues to say that

*... none of this matter if there are issues of infrastructure. For example, there was a matter of lighting in a school in Ceilândia where the students were mugged every night. I mean, we are here now discussing a problem of a school without outdoor lighting around it. This is the Brazilian reality. You can't think about selection without thinking about these issues. It is very hard, and we are very far. At the same time, I think that the public conscience is very superficial. They say "Ah! we have to value the teacher", but what does this valorisation mean? The population asks for more money for education, but that is not enough. They need to be able to execute the budget they are given, but they don't have the capacity. It is shameful what they [secretary of education] do. They basically pay salaries. But they have over a thousand civil servants in the general*

*administration of the secretariat, but they are unable to execute projects to improve the school. For example, I sent seven (7) million reais to them, but it will stay there, stuck. The money that my cabinet managed to arrange to support will stay there because they do not have the conditions to execute this. So how can you promote valorisation in this way? You can't.*

The spectrum of issues faced by teachers and schools in his constituency clearly has different levels of importance which deserve immediate attention before even considering the *concurso* as an instrument of selection and its impact on the overall valorisation of teachers. The resourcing of schools, the safety of teachers, and the qualification of personnel have a significant impact on policy-making and policy-enacting and are his priorities. Thinking about selection in these circumstances seems to take a back seat, and not seen as an issue since it appears that the *concurso* is understood as an established system that 'works'. This can be seen in the views expressed by Prof. Bernarda Arcos from SINPRO-DF. She says:

*we understand that it is the best process... it's the most suitable, most sensible way of entering the [civil servant] system. Firstly because it is one of the ways that we know, hiring through the concurso is like a filtering process ... in a certain way, the concurso puts you in a situation of having a process where you had pass [an exam]*

R: Why is it the most sensible? What role does training play on selection?

*Look, we know that the concurso does not assess a teacher's training, but we understand that the value of each teacher is exclusively linked to the quality of its training. So, since then, our career plan has been discussed in this training perspective and not only about teacher pay, because although the pay is very important to us, it is very important that we qualify [the teacher]. After all, to us, the role of education is to create a different society through education. So, I think it is important that the teacher accompany this movement in what concerns the emancipation of our society.*

In answer to my follow up question, the teaching union appears to make an association between valorisation, teacher training and a career plan, in line with what other stakeholders have argued. However, this does not address the idea of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, nor as a potential vehicle for systemic change. Arguably, there is a disconnect on how the *concurso* might be associated with other aspects of a teachers' life. For Bernarda Arcos, the *concurso* is a stage, albeit an important one. The

director of educational studies at INEP, Manuela Dias, adds to this discussion when she says:

*I think one of the issues that would be able to valorise the teaching professional is to remove the teacher from a situation of uncertainty in relation to its position. Although secretaries of education invest money into professional development, we see a lot of municipalities end up changing teachers when the public administration changes because of the nature of temporary contracts. So when it [the concurso] facilitates this security in their career, we have a better possibility to invest in their professional development, and thus contribute to improving their classroom practice. In this way, the guarantee of the post, without fear of leaving because a given mayor lost the election would lead to teachers feeling more valued....also there is the matter of the basic salary which the Ministry of Education has been trying to achieve to valorise the teaching profession. Of course, we know it is far from being ideal,[but] it is a fundamental step to valorise teachers.*

Although Manuela explains different aspects of valorisation, for her, the *concurso* enables a 'feeling', a sense of job safety, of continuity; similar to what Prof. Leão argued previously. This is important, and the pedagogical coordinator for Rio's largest local authority, Luciano Tranca, explains further:

*I think we have a lot of gaps within Brazilian education that needs addressing. I have passed the concurso both for the municipality and the state of Rio de Janeiro, so I think something that would value teachers would be the idea of having an 'exclusive contract', [teaching only in one school]. I think the first part of valuing teachers is the ability to have a teacher dedicating their entire time, career, to one school. You have the tranquillity that you know you only have to be in one place, and you can plan your day, your life. I think that is where the valorisation of teachers can start. I think professional development is also very important, and we know, it is not a lie, that there is a teachers' pay deficit that needs to be contested. The teacher deserves to earn more for the type of work they do.*

In this part of his interview, Luciano is explicit about the need for teachers to have tranquillity, and the ability to plan their lives rather than being worried about whether they will still have a job. In Brazil, as shown in chapter two, many teachers have more than one contract with different schools because of financial issues, leading to time spent travelling, and limited time to dedicate to the issues of a specific school community. He also speaks of professional development and salaries as other ways to be associated with valorisation. I then asked a follow-up question:

RC: and you think the *concurso* is part of this?

*I think that the concurso is a necessity. Always. Because I think in a way, you valorise the best. Maybe the concurso is not what it should be, but I believe it should valorise the best. I think where we are now public education demands the best education, so you need the best teachers in the classroom. I think the valorisation of teachers is part of the concurso, a well-organised and conducted concurso where you have a set of examinations that are agreed and clear. .... I think this is essential, a process where you can clearly identify all the stages.... A concurso like that values those that had the merit to pass.*

Luciano indicates that the *concurso* has its own value as a selection mechanism, as part of an essential process that also valorises teachers. The evidence provided above from the various stakeholders seems to suggest that there are many different ways in which they understand the *concurso* and the issue of valorisation. It provides teachers with what they perceive to be as external benefits of the status ‘gained’ as civil servant which is established in the constitution and laws, in particular, job security (tenure), the guarantee of not having to worry about getting fired, the possibility of working with and for the local community, which appears to be seen as a significant aspect of the valorisation of teachers in the context of Brazil. There are also a number of other educational issues, such as offers of good professional development, training, and the benefits for students that would likely be associated with the valorisation of teachers. The president of CEPERJ and lawyer, Mauricio Ribeiro gives his perspective:

*The teaching profession always emphasises the issue of pay, so even if the government puts air conditioning in your classroom, paid for you to attend a voice-care course but your payment has not changed, or you are not paid what the unions think you should be paid, then you are not being valued. That is what they see. There are other things I think are important. When I arrive to teach in a public institution that treats me well, with decent resources, and a good professional development programme, this is a package and goes beyond seeking just pay. I don't think this is something that happens in public education. Nowadays, for example, the state of Rio de Janeiro invested in things that have been discussed a lot, they are mechanisms of valorisation, like distribution of laptops to every teacher, free internet, etc... but it was not seen as part of a valorisation package. The [state] government invested a lot of money in the school environment, with a classroom that can be acclimatized, that is not recognised...even though they are important working conditions for teaching and learning.*



The narrative above seems to corroborate an interpretation that there appears to be a set of beliefs, a set of inherent ideas that the selection protocol imbues a sense of value towards the teaching profession which is associated with a much larger ideal than a simple selection. It involves notions of training, of community, of quality, of legitimacy, of job security. However, although the *concurso* as an instrument of selection may serve teachers well, the power of valorisation, fundamentally associated with constitutional and legislative requirements, can also interfere and lead to a failure to 'adapt to the diverse and rapidly changing situations in which schools operate' OECD (2018, p.23).

Wilson Risolia, former Secretary of Education of the state of Rio de Janeiro, provides an important, if not a controversial and thought-provoking example from the state of Rio de Janeiro. The quote is provided in almost its full length for a better appreciation of the context. He says:

*Without minimising the valorisation of teachers, there are perennial issues with the concurso that are facts. [For example], in the state of Rio de Janeiro, schools must teach religious education. This is in the national curriculum. The federal government says schools must have it. But in the state of Rio de Janeiro, our politicians voted a law that says the religious education must be confessional. This means that on one side you have the federal government saying that it is a fundamental right of students in public schools to have religious education. Then, you have a state law which says that it is confessional, meaning that when a student [or their family] declares that they want to have lessons of religious education in Rio, but that his religion is 'spiritism' or 'evangelical Christian' or 'catholic', I, as secretary of education, must make available, at each separate school that makes a request, a teacher of that specific religion...this is an emblematic example because this is the fruit of the lack of coherent public policy. Because if you have a national curriculum that said, 'religious education in Brazil means x,y,z, period', it would be a simple staffing issue. But not in Rio, because it is confessional because of a state law created by religious politicians.*

*That means now that I have to create an individual concurso to each religious denomination that has been declared that specific year. But each year there are new students, with new denominations in different schools. But if for any reason the students in a school decide to abandon their religion, I will have a teacher that passed the concurso in a school for a given denomination that is unable to teach because of how the system works, and because I cannot fire them because of tenure. And if new students transfer in from different schools with different faiths, I will need new teachers for that school, since I can't transfer teachers from other schools, since they are teaching students that are still at that other school. And if in five years I no longer have any religious denomination, I am left with teachers*

*in the system who are unable to take other posts because of the law, since they have been specifically nominated for a specific post. This is a brutal inefficiency of the system... there is an irrational spending cost with these teachers in Rio de Janeiro. So you end up accumulating mistakes of this nature, which means you are unable to pay for teachers which you actually need because you are stuck paying teachers that are not teaching but are in the system.*

The example provided above by the secretary of education of the state of Rio de Janeiro gives us a glimpse of a different reality, a political reality that exists within the current constraints of the law. From the quote above, it is clear that it is not necessarily the need to valorise teachers that causes problems, or even the *concurso* as an instrument of selection that his administration was primarily concerned with, but also the inflexibility of the employment which makes it difficult to administrate. From his point of view, it prevents changes that he believes would benefit the allocation of resources (something that is discussed further in chapter eight).

Overall, the high-level stakeholders who participated in this research appear to have a view of the *concurso* as a necessity, as a constitutional right, and as an instrument that is intrinsically associated with the valorisation of the teaching profession. However, it is also a part of a wider policy agenda for the recognition of teachers and of teaching as a profession which also has a potential stifling mechanism for the future of the profession.

The positions that were put across during the interviews was one that involved a level of emotional engagement for the *concurso* is also an evolution from old Brazilian nepotism and political appointments. It has a significance that goes beyond an examination and its status as a constitutional mark. It is arguably, an entity of its own, perhaps even a symbol of justice.

The next section will delve into the discourse of principals of teachers, their experiences and thoughts about the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, as well as their ideas on valorisation.

### 6.3. The role of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection according to school teachers and principals.

From the point of view of school principals and teachers who participated in this research, valorisation can take on other connotations. The valorisation of teachers via the *concurso* might also be the value of the instrument itself rather than the value of the profession, or the actual work of teachers and principals. Jonas, a school principal from Rio de Janeiro, describes his own experience of going through the *concurso*;

*I graduated very young, which made it difficult for me to find a job at private schools as they said I would not have good classroom management. So the concurso was the way for me to enter the job market as a teacher, to give me respectability. When I passed the concurso, the institutions both state and private began to have more respect for me as a teacher', it was the means I found to be able to enter the teacher "market"....for a teacher who has passed a difficult state-wide public examination [e.g. the concurso], private schools recognise this as being something important. The concurso becomes like a "suitability test" in comparison to those that fail the exam. The concurso is a mechanism to attest to your suitability to join the teacher workforce.*

For this school principal, in his early career as a teacher, entering the public school system and having some experience allowed him to show private schools he was an able teacher. The *concurso* served as a starting point in his career and thus increased his own personal value as a teacher. For him, the *concurso* seems to be associated with an idea of 'prestige' as argued both by Beattie (1996) and Fontinha et al. (2014). This is a more pragmatic view of the *concurso* as a valuable stage in the life of a teacher which they must endure in order to join the civil service, but also to open doors in relation to the private school market. Sonia, vice-principal of a school in Rio Grande do Sul, agrees and says:

*in this state public school, I have some good teachers, and then I bring them to work in my own school [she owns a private school]. They passed a concurso, work hard and do a good job, so I hire them for my school as well, so in a way, it attaches some value to them as teachers.*

Teacher Alberto also associated the *concurso* with a certain level of prestige within the teaching community. He says,

*I think that passing the concurso gives the teacher a level of authority. Authority to say that he has passed the concurso and “knows his stuff” especially over other teachers that have not passed the concurso and are out there teaching today...but if you ask me whether the concurso is a “just” or “correct” instrument of teacher selection, that’s a whole other story.*

This teacher provides an insight on how established the *concurso* is within the system where it may not be relevant whether the *concurso* is an appropriate method. It is the institution of the *concurso* that seems to matter more. Teacher Renata initially presents a similar view. However, she also focussed on what happens after the *concurso* and believes that continued professional development is a vital missing link. She says:

*In one way, I think that the concurso does promote a valorisation because it is an instrument that tends to employ an internal check of the professionals that will become teachers. But to value teachers themselves, I don’t think so. To me the aspect of valorisation is more linked to a teacher’s career as a whole, it is to promote opportunities for academic development, something we currently do not have. You pass the concurso, enter the system, and then they do not demand anything else from you. I think they should make demands, but then they should give opportunities and support, like a sabbatical to study for a qualification. We just enter the concurso and become another civil servant. But I think teaching is different, you have to have a continued professional development, but this is something that is not demanded from us, nor are we given such opportunities, you are then one that has to go after it of your own accord, your own initiative.*

In opposition, Teacher Pamela argues that she does not feel valued *because* of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. For some, it seems that the *concurso* works as a check on the necessary knowledge some believe teachers must have, in spite of their university qualification, a check on subject knowledge, or an ability to pass a test. She says

*the concurso is a necessity ...but it doesn’t assess us [teachers], it is an instrument which is not an assessment, and also, I think it could be more specific.....pedagogically speaking...I think it doesn’t focus on what I would do, pedagogically, as a teacher in the classroom. It often asks me what a particular author might think, what a specific book says about teaching. It doesn’t allow me to demonstrate my pedagogical understanding; it only assesses whether I have read the book well and remember what an author may have said about the*

*issue....I wouldn't demonstrate my pedagogical understanding by doing this. The exams [concursos] are very much linked with 'author citations' rather than asking me questions about how I interpret, what I have learnt about specific pedagogical ideas in the context of teaching and how I would implement it.*

By drawing attention to the actual content of the *concursos*, this teacher alludes to the idea that the *concurso* is limited on what it can assess, as well as preventing her from demonstrating her skills. This feature of the *concurso* of being *subject-dominated* precludes other forms of assessment. For Teacher Romilda, even though she believes the *concurso* to be adequate, she exposes some of its complications, in particular, the issue of de-valuing because of the lack of further assessment of teachers' preparation. She says

*I think the concurso is an adequate method because you must have some type of selection. I think it is an exam where you have to demonstrate your knowledge. But I think you must also have a practical lesson exam. As it is today, it is missing something....so I think this actually de-values the teacher as they cannot demonstrate their teaching ability.... I think the de-valuing then continues because teachers do not earn well enough, and it is a de-valued professional class, which has got worse over the years. Then, because of this, candidates get to the exam completely unprepared because they think anyone will pass because the salary is low. You see, one thing influences the other. So in a concurso without a practical lesson exam, you are selecting a teacher whom you do not know their classroom practice ability. You are selecting a teacher that may know their subject but might not have the necessary experience in the classroom. It does not select the best teachers, so I would say the concurso does not value the teacher. It values the knowledge they have.*

Teacher Luciana adds another layer to the *concurso* and the issue of valorisation as she feels it is also a cultural issue for the country.

*Once teachers finish their training, they have to come into the school, but unfortunately here in Brazil, the teacher is not valued. In China, I was reading in the news; the teacher is revered because kids learn since they are small, from their parents, grandparents, within society. It is cultural. Here we don't create this culture to value teachers, to value the profession.*

Teacher Romário, a teacher on the verge of retirement and former school principal, also does not think the *concurso* itself values the teacher, for him, it is about respect for the work of the teacher. He says:

*Look, the concurso has nothing to do with the valorisation of teachers. Firstly, it is about respect. It is about educational authorities respecting the work of the teacher. That is very important. Secondly, it is about giving teachers the opportunity to study more, opportunities to improve and develop that are paid for. Of course, salary is very important in our capitalist society. Valorisation happens with the daily reality of the teacher, school infrastructure, the resources, like I told you before, respect with the work of the teacher.*

Teacher Eduardo also believes it is all about respect for the teaching profession and draws on his experience of the sociocultural issues that inform his thinking about the value of teachers. He says

*You see, the valorisation of teachers, outside of pay, is about the valorisation of teaching profession...for example, here a student broke a table in the classroom, and the teacher was not able to intervene because they were afraid. Teachers are harassed every day in public school across Brazil. This is complicated. This is an example of the lack of respect from our society towards the school. So the concurso does not grant us a value, society does. This is the key for valorisation. When society sees the school, sees the teacher as a public institution that is there to help, our society will then move forward with our profession. This would give political strength for the valorisation of the school beyond the concurso. So although salaries are important, teaching unions need to push more this type of cultural valorisation in our society, of respect with our profession.*

The 'picture' of the *concurso* so far seems to point towards a diverging, yet complementary issue for valorisation. Teachers seem to gain a level of prestige, of self-respect for being a 'concursado', but the current state of education in the country does not afford teachers the respect they need to fulfil their duties. Teacher Ana Paula is another teacher who also brings up the idea of respect by using her own experience. She says:

*I think that the valorisation of the concurso and of the teacher is minimal today, no matter how much I do, it does not matter. We have a situation today that is a moral one. I will tell you a story. I never go to Carrefour [supermarket chain]. So I decided to go because they had a promotion for beers, my husband wanted some, so I went. When I got there, the cashier says, will you be paying with the Carrefour Card? I said no, then she said: "would you like one?". I said, sure. Then she asked me "Profession?". I said "Teacher", then she said "public school?" and then she looked at me with a face of disappointment, a face of contempt....but she kept filling out the form. Can you believe I suffered bullying because I am a teacher? When I say I am a teacher to other people, they say "Oh nice" with a face of*

*pity. So there is no winning here. I remember when I was a child and we really respected our teachers.*

*Today, there is no respect. So we feel terrible about it and demotivated. So it is not just the money. You also have to listen to “shit” from students, from parents, from supervisors...that feeling of entitlement. But there is nobody else in the classroom. I know what the students have done, so you have to try your best to solve all the issues in the classroom. Who knows what happens when it reaches the parents...and things just keep getting worse; students get more and more restless and “uncontrollable”. And now, I can’t even fail them because otherwise, the school’s overall grade goes down... it is a chain reaction. We need to change the culture to value teachers’ job. Now, whose job is that? You tell me.*

The answers above seem to allude to a critical issue faced by the teaching profession in Brazil which the *concurso* as an instrument of selection cannot directly address. It is the sociocultural fabric of their reality as teachers that seem to take over as one of the underlying difficulties that must be dealt with. School principal Ronaldo, also draws on his personal experience of currently being in a difficult situation. He does not feel valued but brings back the issue of job security as an important one. He says:

*This year I have been completely overloaded. There were not enough people to clean bathrooms or look after the school library, so we end up having to make certain decisions, like closing the library or looking after it myself, cleaning the school myself... many times I also have to provide more support for the new teachers because there is no one else... it’s a lot for one person to deal with and sometimes, you just don’t do it...so no, I don’t think we value teachers as we should, but with the *concurso* at least you have some job security.*

For Ronaldo, the idea of valorisation needs to address the overall working conditions and infrastructure within the school. It is about having minimal conditions to develop their work as a teacher. Similarly, Teacher Gilmara takes this further by making the connection between the idea of the *concurso* as a piece of valorisation versus what happens in practice. She says:

*Look, it is like I told you, people still say: I did a *concurso*, and still use this discourse to value themselves, but I don’t think someone will value you, you value yourself. Inside the school, I don’t see valorisation of the profession, I don’t see it. I think it is missing exactly this, the valorisation by the school, and by the professionals as well. We valorise, as professionals, as a team, as a school. I think there is a great distance between valorisation that is “thought” about when you complete a *concurso*, and another when you actually take over the post. I think there is a great abyss.*

She highlights there is a role to play by the school team, by the education department. Valorisation seems to be a construct that relies not only on the perceptions of individuals, but also on the specific action by other people, by the schools, and the government as well. I ask a follow-up question:

R: And what do think is missing to value the teacher?

*I think the salary is always important, salary is fundamental. Nobody manages to feel valued for being poor, earning little, because the teacher is very poor. Why is the teacher poor? The teacher does not have money to invest in their own professional development. They fight to get there, they studied in a federal university, but they don't have time to stop working those 60 hours they teach in the state school so they can go and do their doctorate, or their masters, they do not have money to go to the theatre, they do not have money to go to libraries, to buy books, they don't have money to do other types of courses, they do not have time for this, so it gets really tough. These courses that are offered here [by the secretariat of education], honestly, it doesn't contribute anything, nothing. Year after year we receive these "professional development" [course], and all you have to do is look at the results, nothing happened. Because if I am going to develop myself, I will look for something that really develops me within my area, so I really don't see that. I don't think I see any improvements*

Teacher Gilmara makes a connection between valorisation and salary, and how it would be able to afford her the possibility of not only exploring life but also to improve her own knowledge. Valorisation for her is directly linked to professional development, the availability of time and options to pursue something she would be interested in, rather than just courses offered by the government.

In addition, Teacher Heloisa makes it clear that valorisation is about salary and safety, also drawing on sociocultural beliefs within Brazilian society, as well as the practicalities of the teaching profession in Brazil. This is an important passage that should be highlighted, so it is reproduced in full below.

*Look, first and foremost is about the salary, but also, up there with salary is for the [Brazilian] family to educate their children at home so that when they come to school, they are keen to learn, because our [as a school] function is to teach. We don't want to also have to educate their own children about good manners. Where does it stop?*



*We play this role of educator, nurse, psychologist, we do a lot of other types of role that no other profession does. So every time people demand more of teachers.*

RC: And this is not linked to the salary, training or selection?

*It is not attached to nothing, nothing. One thing is to do something because you enjoy your profession, and whoever does not like, end up resigning and leaving. You end up doing so much, and our valorisation could be much better. Look, I would love to do a post-graduate degree, but I don't have financial conditions to do it, or even do other normal things, I can't. So, if the teacher was well valued, if it was a company which would like to see their employee grow they would pay for a post-graduate degree, courses, etc. But the government does not do it. They give us a salary and forget about us. They do not think about the teacher as a professional, they don't think about. [The School] is a company managed by a government that just allows everyone to fend for themselves. There is no strategy. This idea that you are a civil servant, of the stability that we have here, it leaves people very 'tranquil' but also 'accommodated' [complacent]. This is also not good. I read, I study, I do a lot of things, but most of my colleagues don't, they don't think it is needed to search for more information, for new things.*

RC: So how do you understand this idea of stability with the idea of valorisation you mentioned?

*It is a safety net; it is all about safety. You are teaching in a private school today, but tomorrow you may not. No matter how much larger the salary is, I gave up teaching in private schools and prep-courses to stay in state. I think I have done it right because this safety does give me better mental health, where you will only get fired if you do something stupid. I don't have to worry at the end of every year if they will fire people and wonder if I am one of them. This leaves any professional worried, doesn't it? So that is, in a way, the valorisation of teachers which the concurso affords. The only thing that could happen to us is to move to another school.*

As it can be seen from the explanations given so far, valorisation does not seem to be a direct outcome of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. There are much bigger issues that teachers like Heloisa value that relate to pay, infrastructure, professional development, culture, and selection into a stable civil servant career. Perhaps, the *concurso* is a symbol of justice, but an incomplete one. Although the *concurso* is the instrument of selection, it is not insular. According to Heloisa, valorisation and the *concurso* go hand-in-hand, but it is the surrounding issues with the teaching as a profession within Brazil that stand out. Valorisation of teachers is as much a symbol as the *concurso*, especially as there seems to be an understanding that if you do

not pass the *concurso*, you would not be able to have a permanent contract, a stable job, and thus, your job is not safe. On the other hand, Rosangela, an experienced principal, says:

*I think it is awful. This concurso in the way in which it is formatted is awful, awful. It doesn't value the teacher because you measure absolutely nothing. I don't think it values anything. It is just a [selection] stage. I have teachers that arrived this year, young, with great knowledge, but very poor teaching habits which have not evolved. They enter the profession with a mentality of that teacher that earns little and so does not have to do much. "We pretend we teach; they pretend to learn". I don't think this type of concurso selects a good professional. ...this is something that we as principals of schools, asked the secretary of education. We asked a concurso in which teachers were not only selected by an exam of general knowledge. We asked them to arrange an exam with two situations, one of Portuguese language, which I think it is fundamental for a good teacher to be able to speak and write correctly, and an exam of specific subject knowledge. But after this stage, the teacher goes into a second stage which would be a panel, a jury inside the schools they selected, the schools they wanted to teach at. He would then have to work on a lesson plan which would be evaluated, and they would explain how they would teach. And there would be an assessment towards approval. But they [the secretariat of education] said that they must only do written exams, and they have a three-year probation. But this three years is a farce, everyone passes. They are not evaluated.*

These finishing thoughts exemplify the inherent contradictions embedded within the system. The instrument of selection (the *concurso*), appears to be valued as a policy of entry into the civil servant workforce, but at the same time, is recognised as an incomplete, a flawed instrument for teacher selection. All these personal experiences of school principals and teachers' go directly against the constitutional rhetoric of the *concurso* as a way of valuing teachers. For these teachers and principals, the *concurso* as an *instrument of selection* is not seen as something that relevant given the highly problematic contexts in which they work. This leads to the idea that valorisation is a complex construct within which the *concurso* as *policy* that is valued, while the *concurso* as *instrument* seems to function as a fixed stage in the life of the teacher.

#### 6.4. Reflections on Valorisation

The discourse of these stakeholders in this chapter spells out the '*concurso*' rhetoric and deepens our understanding of the Brazilian teacher selection protocol. Their positions elevate the *concurso* beyond its purpose of selection of qualified teachers to the public system because they associate *the status and value* of the teaching profession with the *concurso* as a policy which leads to job security (tenure). This implies that it's the policy behind the 'how' teachers are selected that becomes more important than whether the teacher 'who' is selected for a particular school is competent and wishes to teach in that particular community or environment. This is an explicit link to Beattie's assumptions about the status of the *concurso*. When the value of a process becomes more important than whether the process selects adequate teachers to specific school communities, it embeds itself within the sociocultural perceptions of what the *concurso* is. It may not be just about selecting for the necessary subject knowledge required for the job, but rather, it becomes more than an event, it becomes an entity in itself that has an intrinsic value. However, as discussed in chapter two, three and four, 'suitability' for teaching and teachers' dispositions are difficult concepts to pinpoint in the context of the Brazilian *concurso*, since it is an instrument which is directly associated with the acquisition of specific content knowledge, not an evaluation of someone's characteristics or abilities.

At the same time, there was the point of view that concept of valorisation of the teaching profession goes beyond the *concurso* and is fundamentally linked with initial and continued training, it is about how teachers are perceived by society, the respect to be attained. Therefore, it would suggest that the concept of the valorisation of teachers in Brazil is one of the core issues that would need to be addressed before any significant systemic changes can take place. Arguably, it is by changing the perceptions of value that will allow people's ideological pathways to begin to change, to change the perceptions of teachers and society, as well as the reality of the *concurso*.

In the interviews conducted for this thesis, stakeholders' discourses seem to point towards the value of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection that leads to a certain recognition of the status of teachers (as civil servants), but their thoughts are usually accompanied by statements which attempt to

explain its importance to education workers. This is fundamentally linked with the protection of their status quo as civil servants and all the benefits safeguarded in law and in the constitution by this category of professionals of the government.

At the same time, there also seems to be an understanding that any job outside the civil service is not safe and thus, it contributes to the overall sustainability of the *concurso* as an ideology of selection. This relies on the premise that any other contract for any other school is not permanent. To them, if teachers are not civil servants, they would be unable to retain the benefits of passing a *concurso*. Thus, this seems to somehow validate some of Beattie's features of the *concurso* as being *hierarchical*, *value-laden* and *subject-dominated*. Hence within the theme of valorisation, in Brazil, '*job security*' is a fundamental feature that adds to the complexity of the *concurso*. So much so, that any potential changes to the selection protocol are likely to affect the way the unions and teachers see themselves within the civil servant sphere. However, there appears to be limited evidence to support that stakeholders think that teachers entering the profession through the *concurso* are the best teachers, and stakeholders seem to assume that quality comes with practice *after* the selection has taken place. This perception is directly linked to the theme of 'perceived quality' which will be explored in chapter seven.

## 7. Research Findings II – ‘Perceived’ Quality through Merit

### 7.1. Searching for the best? High-level stakeholders’ views on the *concurso*

In light of Beattie’s (1996) features and assumptions, and Fontainha et al.’s (2014) work discussed in section 2.4, the *concurso* is presumed to be an instrument of teacher selection where a teacher’s individual merit comes from their mastery of subject knowledge. In addition, if a teacher is ‘certified’ by their teacher education institution (i.e. has a teaching qualification), they are assumed (at the point of enrolment on the *concurso* and thus, by the instrument of selection itself) to have the ability to teach their subject, since the instrument does not require the candidate to demonstrate their classroom teaching skills. At the same time, the instrument does not measure any non-cognitive ability. Arguably, this is because the candidate is assumed to have completed a licensure degree where these abilities would have been assessed prior to completion of the course. There is an association with the idea that both certification (and thus the training received) and the selection by a *concurso* that automatically leads to the notion of teacher quality. The response from one of the teachers’ union exemplifies this:

*We believe the public university provides teachers with a good education and we fight for this to be kept and that this training continues to be of high quality. Even though universities still have problems, they provide excellent training, the professors from these universities have excellent degrees, the vast majority with a doctoral degree, they are excellent professionals who have also gone through a serious assessment, the concurso.*

(Prof. Marta Costa Coordinator SEPE-RJ)

The teaching union representative highlights a belief in public universities providing a good education and training for teachers. This is interesting because most teachers in Brazil now graduate from private, non-university institutions, who study during the night shift (Diniz-Pereira, 2015). She relies on the idea that the university professors have a doctoral degree and have gone through a *concurso* themselves to argue for a good level of quality for the training of teachers. This assumes the *concurso* to be an integral part of

the process towards quality. However, Prof. Arcos from SINPRO-DF has different ideas and explains further:

*In reality, an assessment like a written examination cannot measure the quality of the professional, or the student, or whoever. So, this myth that the concurso selects the best [teachers] needs to be dispelled. Many good people do not pass because of the “technique” of the concurso, people that take preparation courses. The person learns all the tricks, and this makes him better? Not always. Not always when you enter your profession that you enter the first-time around. So for us, the exam is part of the process, it is not the end. But the concurso ends up becoming the end because once you passed, and enters [the civil service], that’s it. That is why we are trying to develop, along with the government, a discussion around the career plan....*

For this union representative, the *concurso* does not select the best teacher- because candidates can learn the ‘tricks of the trade’ which is often part of any standardised testing regime. Instead, it is the career plan, often associated with teachers’ continued professional development, that becomes a critical point in achieving quality, something this thesis discussed in chapter four. However, Prof. Luciano Tranca, pedagogical coordinator of Rio de Janeiro’s largest school district points out that

*...most teachers are not prepared to accept a concurso where teaching practice is assessed. We have a very strong political and syndicalist discourse in the profession. The teacher likes to evaluate but doesn’t like to be evaluated. I think it is wrong to associate the quality within our classrooms with our socio-political lives and beliefs about the supposed quality of our initial teacher education in public universities. ... [and] I have several pedagogical issues with the concurso... I think we could definitely improve it, make it clearer what is required from the candidates and of the process as a whole. But I think without the concurso we could lose a lot of quality as you would be without any parameters to assess teachers, so I think the concurso is extremely necessary...*

Here, Prof. Luciano critiques teaching unions and teachers themselves for their lack of willingness to be evaluated. According to him, there is confusion between the notion of quality from public universities and the classroom, the assumption of a perceived quality of training which the *concurso* does not address. He continues:

*I think teachers' fears of being assessed while in-service come from their stability, their general lassitude, this is the Brazilian story with many public-sector workers. The fact that civil servants have the attitude of "don't touch me, don't bother me, don't assess me". When I go to the school to discuss their work, teachers always start with "But 'professor'..", it is difficult, you see, I think teachers are not prepared to be assessed, especially because it is not a part of our academic trajectory, of our training, it is a paradigm issue, and it is something we must change.*

Although one of Beattie's assumption from the *concurso* is that teachers' knowledge being assessable and predictable, once this assessment has taken place in the form of an exposition of subject knowledge in the *concurso*, there appears to be some form of reluctance for any other methods which could provide further evaluation of teachers' classroom practice. There is a belief that once their knowledge has been demonstrated, teachers no longer need to be subjected to a scrutiny of their practice, regardless of context. As Beattie explains,

this attitude implies, in turn, a definition of the teacher's job which is strongly subject-orientated; and indeed, this is implicit also in the idea of teaching as a job for life—a teacher of a defined subject is in principle transferable to teach it anywhere within the state, and will not expect the character of the subject professed to differ in any substantial way from one school to the next.

(Beattie, 1996, p.16).

Beattie's arguments support that of Prof. Luciano. The merit of having passed a *concurso* is enough to establish a teachers' quality of teaching, especially since they have already undertaken their training at a university. The continued professional development claimed by Prof. Arcos goes beyond this since it is not seen as an assessment of quality, but a non-compulsory continuation of training. Prof. Flávia (SASE/MEC) corroborates both arguments and focusses on the issue of assessment. She expresses her views that in a *concurso*

*... you do not assess ability, the condition, the capacity a teacher really has to teach. You assess the subject content knowledge .... In the vast majority of times it is a written exam, you assess the knowledge, you can't assess anything more than knowledge, perhaps because the development that the teaching profession happens along the professional career, from the talent of this person, their desire to be a teacher, their ability to deal with the student, to deal with a crisis, to deal with everything that happens within the*

*school ... this happens during the developing process of the teacher as a professional, and it is unlikely you will assess this in an exam, so, it's complicated.*

Her acknowledgement that the *concurso* is only able to handle subject knowledge seems to ratify the idea that in the *concurso*, a teachers' merit comes from their ability to demonstrate their subject knowledge, and as such there is a 'perceived' quality that comes with it. Prof. Israel Batista expands on this. He says:

*So, in our schools we talk about Piaget, Paulo Freire, we are against testing students, we are 'extreme' constructivists, we want the student to define, to create his own curriculum, but the concurso is a tough and hard-going examination. So when I talk about this, the teaching unions want to 'punch' me. The public school is working 'outside of reality'. A company boss demands respect, punctuality, responsibility, etc.. while the concurso is only an exam, even though the school [teacher] goes against all this. Our school is ideological. Our school is full of people with a 'war syndrome' as if we were still in a dictatorship; it is still haunting [the school]. So, it is very hard because [teachers] which can't deal with reality, they 'lock' the entire system, they live in an ideal world, they have a fixed career/salary because they passed a concurso, they are 'safe' for the rest of their lives while the students in the public school can be the guinea-pigs. This is the problem. So [they say] 'let's test our poetic inspiration with these students and see what happens'. It is very complicated.*

The ideological contradictions expressed by the councilman appear to emerge from an underlying belief that teachers are against the assessment of their classroom teaching as a means to demonstrate teaching quality. At the same time, there is a tension between the notion of 'job stability' (which emerged from the idea of valorisation in Chapter six) and demonstration and assessment of one's teaching quality post-*concurso* as a means to improve teaching and learning. The former Minister of Education and current Senator, Cristovam Buarque expresses his thoughts about the lack of assessment of teaching in Brazil when he claims that

*there is a lack of respect for education....in the same way that they [teaching unions] do not accept the assessment of the teacher after being hired [given a civil servant status via the concurso], if he teaches or doesn't, if he studies or doesn't, nobody can fire teachers because they have complete [civil servant] stability. I defend 'responsible stability'. This means, the government does not fire the*



*teacher, but if an assessment demonstrates that the teacher is not teaching [appropriately] or fulfilling his job as expected, he can't continue with the job, in his function as it is...*

Here, it appears that the government seems unable to assess teaching quality post-*concurso*, even though they have the legal conditions to modify the *concurso* if they wish. There is a tension between the individual merit of passing a *concurso* that leads to a position within the civil service that secures tenure, and the introduction of checks-and-balances for teachers post-*concurso*. This tension is a false-dichotomy because a teachers' biggest fear is not the assessment itself, but the punishment that might be associated with it. The deconstruction of the notion of 'perceived quality' from the *concurso* starts with the recognition of the complex relationships it has with both teaching and quality. This includes the realisation that there needs to be a judgement on the potential of teacher-candidates based not only on past academic achievement but also past-behaviour and probing of feelings, actions, context and thoughts as predictors of future behaviour and achievement (Hobby, Crabtree and Ibbetson, 2004). A single subject knowledge exam will not fulfil this task. For the quality of schooling output to improve, the manner in which a system selects its input and maintains it must also be addressed. Prof. Leão from CNTE attempts to explain these complex relationships further in this exchange:

*Evidently, when you take a concurso, you will have teachers with a variety of backgrounds, that studies in the best, in the worst, and in the "so-so" universities in the country that lacks teachers. They will have had an initial teacher education that varied in quality, ok, and this is a problem because we consider initial teacher education a fundamental aspect of a teachers' process of qualification as a professional, and their continuous professional development is essential for them to continue with a good qualification*

Here, Prof. Leão acknowledges the different standards of teachers coming out from different universities and the *concurso*'s inability to gauge this. The status of initial teacher education as a precursor of "good quality" is also recognised. I ask a follow up question:

RC: but what does this mean, a "good quality"?

*Education nowadays [in Brazil] to be considered of good quality it is basically connected to three pillars. The valorisation of the professional through a concurso and a good career plan; the financial budgeting of schools, and democratic management in schools that*

*build up political-pedagogical projects in a collective, solidary manner. Then, when I say this, I consider what is happening [in Brazil]. It is an education that leads our students towards a very egotistical education, and thus no longer solidary. Meaning, it is that idea of "I am what matters, the success and the failures is a result of my own activity, what I need is to do well in life". I don't think that schooling is for this. In this way, the school does not have the role to prepare a person to face life without this greed that everything has to work in whatever way possible, which leads to their destruction and the destruction of others. It is that need of merit, to be victorious in examinations since the fifth grade because they have always been the first and never had to worry about their colleague...so it is a hard fight for us to recover this sense of democratic construction within the school, of collective solidarity, of valuing people in whatever it is they do well, not just having a high-grade.*

Prof. Leão accepts the complexity of thinking about quality when one relies on a single examination of subject knowledge as a method of selection that claims to focus on the merit of the person. He claims to be against egoism in education, and yet, arguably, the *concurso* is all about the measurement of an individual's "merit", while not taking into account their situation in life. This contradiction is an issue that arises when the choice of words used by politicians, the media, and teaching unions is sometimes misunderstood by those that use them and also misinterpreted by those that hear them. The teaching unions' political discourse claims to be against meritocracy when they write:

*To the CNTE, the neoliberal meritocracy has the goal to dodge inequities in the education systems ... [as] it tries, at all costs, to remove the focus from the learning conditions of students and the working conditions of teachers to induce the idea of spontaneous and individual merit as common sense...*

*...in unequal conditions, merit becomes attainable to some and unattainable to others. And those that do not reach it, in the neoliberal discourse, are subjected to prejudice and even punishments...that worsen the situation of those that need more support to achieve that merit.*

(CNTE, 2013, p. 109-110)

This meritocratic discourse embedded in this passage is contradictory to the notion of the *concurso* as meritocratic and proposes a challenge the perception of it being the same to everyone. This type of meritocracy alludes to the idea of the personal conquest based on personal merit regardless of

personal background. In the context of the *concurso*, it means a candidate has to spend more time and money on their personal development and learning. Once again, this assumes that all people have the same resources to be able to put the effort in. But the matter of selection of teachers cannot be dissociated from the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of those candidates and neither from the area where the school is located and its student body. These internal contradictions of a system that relies on an examination and claims to be meritocratic are problematic because the *concurso* as a single examination implies that no candidate would be discriminated against based on their race, religion, ethnicity, gender or other. This is a false assumption since the socio-economic disparity in Brazil based on race, religion, ethnicity and gender are very large (IBGE, 2016) and influences the resources a candidate would have to prepare for such examination. This must lead to a recognition that candidates do not arrive at the same exam with the same starting point.

## **7.2. Searching for the best? Teachers and Principals views on the *concurso***

The statements, arguments, and propositions discussed above lead to the exploration of what teachers and school principals had to say about the *concurso*'s idea of quality through merit. School principal Roberto explains his view:

*I don't think the concurso is good for selecting the best teachers, but I can't see any alternative... I guess it serves its purpose to reduce the number of people applying but in the last concurso, many good teachers I know did not pass...why is that?*

Roberto makes four points in his short statement. The *concurso* does not select the best candidates for teaching, but the *concurso* is the only possible method of selection. The *concurso* serve as a filter due to to the applicant/vacancy ratio, but the *concurso* ends up screening out what he understands to be good teachers. Teacher Beatriz explains how this selectivity of the *concurso* affects who gets in and who stays out. She says:

*Many teachers are already working within and outside the profession, and they try to study for the concurso, but then end up not passing, and in the end, they give up entering the public civil service. The concurso exam is more difficult, it's more elaborate, but I have no idea how [teacher] selection should happen. I have seen many good, qualified teachers from federal universities, not passing the concurso. At the time of the exam, you get that "blank" in your head, and you can't answer the questions. The demand is large; there are a lot of people trying out for very few places. But it's our future and peace of mind.*

Teacher Beatriz makes a link between the *concurso* and a teacher's future, their 'peace of mind', because of civil servant tenure as discussed in chapter six. For her, there is no doubt that the *concurso* is necessary but at the same time, she claims to have no idea how else selection could happen and laments the outcomes for teachers she thinks are well qualified. She assumes that because they attended, and are certified by, a federal university, it is sufficient to make them good teachers. But the 'merit' to pass the *concurso*, as discussed above, goes beyond having a good qualification. Moments after she says,

*But I still think there should be something else, like an oral exam, to complement, or an interview, something else, something to tap into other qualities teachers might have because you know, each person is unique, and teaching is unique.*

Here she acknowledges that the teaching profession is complex and that there is the need for something more than a single examination. She continues,

*And it's a person, you know, so the emotional side is important if you fail every year, it's frustrating. So you give up. But the problem is that that person that has been selected in an exam could exert a better function, be better at their job, or have better qualifications than that the one that was selected. It is just an exam that selects people, but it's a lot of people, and sometimes the pressure gets to you, and you can end up in a private school.*

Teacher Beatriz highlights the control of the *concurso* over the selection process and its potential impact on the candidates' performance. The frustration of not passing an examination may lead to teachers searching for opportunities in the private sector. Teacher Belinda highlights this when she says:

*...[when] there is a concurso, people will take it. They don't want to know if they have the profile and the institution [government and schools] are not interested in this as well, but they should be [interested in] if this opportunity will make them [the teacher] fulfilled. But it is an opportunity to enter a civil servant job, which people look up to. This has to do with our economic reality, so people enter [the teaching profession] and then, many times, they become frustrated because they realise they don't have the profile. So the teacher becomes bitter and disinterested, doesn't perform the job properly and [the teacher] becomes a victim, the students become victims...it is a very complex thing. In an ideal world, this concurso would have to attract people that are really keen to work with students and education, but because of the economic situation, everyone comes in [to take the exam].*

Belinda also knows the importance of the *concurso* to teachers' future lives and articulates one of its main consequences: the profile of teachers that may pass the exam do necessarily match that of the school or even that of the system. We know that this is important because 'personality traits may also play an important role in determining [teachers'] productivity' (Harris and Sass 2009, p.2). The conflict between the existing system and teachers' opinions are clear when Teacher Branco says,

*Selection with the concurso is still the only method we have, but I don't think it's right. A teacher is not a good teacher because he was selected by a concurso. That teacher may have passed the exam because he knows how to pass an exam, but when he gets in front of a classroom is a different story. Many people I know that did not pass the concurso end up in private schools. Now you explain that to me; many private schools are said to be better than our state schools and some teachers that don't pass the exam are teaching in private schools. Now where is the logic in that?*

Teacher Branco makes the same argument that passing the *concurso* does not equate to a good teacher. This is an important realisation for teachers in light of stakeholders' views because it provides space for a discussion on how the search for quality post-*concurso*. He then challenges the logic of the *concurso* by questioning how private schools often take on teachers who do not pass the *concurso* and yet are classified "better" than state schools. However, this is arguably a flawed line of reasoning since he does not take into account the socioeconomic selectivity of private schools, the allocations of resources, among other variables that influence student achievement beyond teachers.

In the dialogue below, Teacher Bibiana tries to explain what she thinks of the link between *concurso*, quality and training. The exchange exemplifies more contradictions of the *concurso as instrument of selection*. The extract is reproduced in full for a better appreciation of the dialogue and context. She says:

*To us as teachers, speaking generally, I think that the concurso does not manage to assess the profile of the teacher. It assesses knowledge, which is what I consider least important these days. Today, teachers need abilities that the concurso cannot evaluate...more and more knowledge of teaching is less required [in the exam] while subject and theoretical knowledge dominate. This is frustrating...*

RC: Why do you think it is like this?

*Because it is the most traditional format that is repeated, and it is not rethought, because to seek another format is too complicated because these assessments are based on knowledge and to assess other aspects is much more complicated...*

RC: and if we were to assess this profile, how could it be done?

*Firstly, I don't know how they could assess it...the person needs to like what they do. It should not [just] be about the money, about getting a "job". The teacher must enjoy imparting knowledge...and to like the feedback loop with the students, the interpersonal relationships, [they] must be a person that manages to relate with others, a person that is able to listen to the students, and also, he/she must be able to handle stress....because we live in these types of situations every day....these are difficult characteristics ...[to assess]....to enjoy working with people of the age with which they would be working with....because if the person does not like supporting adolescents, how will they teach them?*

RC: Would a multi-stage system be helpful?

*It would have to be a pre-internship [probation period], and the [final] selection would happen at this stage...I think there should be....the concurso is a stage of knowledge...but we also need a stage of practical teaching ...to see how the teacher handles classes [and the environment to confirm the desired characteristics ]... in private schools teachers have an interview to teach a lesson but for other colleagues, not to other students...I think that this would be very good because both students and teacher would be in a quasi-real situation and then you could see how they react to the situation, right? [Because] the teacher must have knowledge but also creativity, a professional that self-assess and questions their own practice, that updates themselves and seeks different ways to get to the students.*

RC: Do you think this is possible in Brazil?

*I think it is complex...like all other changes...everything is very complex...we would have to evaluate the type of professional we need today [in the classroom] because today, teachers take the concurso without knowing what they really want....what their goals are...we would need several professionals from different areas of education to set up a concurso like that, not just of specific subject knowledge....we would need to modify everything....but today the reality of [Brazilian] state education is very complicated...I don't know...*

This exchange in the dialogue helps to demonstrate that teachers are fully aware of the complexities of the *concurso* as a selection mechanism to select good teachers. There is a recognition that the 'profile' of the teacher is an important variable in teaching quality, but also a certain refrain from acknowledging the need to assess it. The subjectivity of such an assessment leads the teacher to argue for teachers to better self-select themselves into teaching by reflecting on what teaching as a profession and their personal qualities. Teachers also have their own views on the importance of their selection. There is a recognition that the *concurso* is an incomplete system, and there seems to be a desire to improve it. Teacher Heloisa brings up her personal view on teacher-candidates. She says

*I think [candidates] must like the profession a lot. They must have a certain vocation, don't you think? A gift for life. It is not anyone that can be a teacher. We deal with people, and humans change every day, every day is a different problem, they are happy or not, so you need to have a lot of composure to deal with this, a good common sense because every day is different. ...[and] I think it comes from the person, because many people start being teachers and give up, get other jobs because of better salaries, and they go on improving their lives. But the teacher that really loves what they do, don't change, they keep at it, years and years. I have been teaching for 14 years...[and] certain people have the profile to be teachers, others don't, like in any other profession. But the concurso does not select these teachers. You will take a concurso to pass the exam, to solve the questions they give you to get a job, because it is needed....but we don't have an interview, a psychological assessment...they should have a more detailed selection to see if the person has that "gift", they have this "thing" about being a teacher because it is not for everyone. You need to have good composure.*

It seems that for Teacher Heloisa, the *concurso* is just a phase, an exam to pass, and the personal choice to become a teacher is more important. But

as seen in chapter two, selection into initial teacher education is also made via an examination that does not address other potential teacher qualities. Even though most teachers interviewed thought that the *concurso* was necessary as an instrument within Brazil, many teachers in this research agreed that the *concurso* could be improved and be different from its current state. At the same time, no one was able to articulate who would be responsible for these changes. Possibly, this is because any change to the status quo of the *concurso* would have a domino effect on public policy (see chapter eight for more details) as well as on how stakeholders such as teaching unions and universities address the issue of selection into the public civil service. Teacher Rogerio argued that

*It is not really our problem; I don't think it is. I think the government should propose changes if they want to change. But these exams tend to help those that have time and money to study rather than those with practical knowledge or experience. If you know what to study and can memorise, you are likely to pass the exam.*

His comments reflect the inherent meritocratic discourse and the flaws of the system; according to him, the merit is awarded to those that can 'study and memorise'. However, the dialogue with teacher Mariana brings up other aspects of teachers' potential beliefs about the quality of teachers and of teaching. She says:

RC: How does the *concurso* deal with the issue of teaching quality?

*It doesn't. Look, for me, a teacher has to be dynamic, connected to what is going on in the world, they can't be too far from the things that are happening with teenagers. You don't have to like it...but you need to have a good ear to realise what is happening in the class. The *concurso* does not deal with that.*

RC: So how do you assess these qualities?

*Look, I think this is innate, I think you don't learn this. You are a teacher; you don't become a teacher. I think the person that "turns" into a teacher will not be a good teacher because I think this teacher is there because they were not able to do anything else in their lives. And you see this all over the system; you get a teacher in the state system that is extremely accommodated in their situation because of their tenure because they have nothing better, they end up never leaving.*



*So I think it [the concurso] is ridiculous...I will give you an example from the Military College, where the concurso is very hard and then you have to teach a lesson to them. Of course, this is impossible for the concurso because you have 70000 people applying... but then you see how badly prepared these people are. In my concurso for the state there were 70,000 people for 10,000 vacancies, but only 5,000 passed. Where is the logic in this?*

Teacher Mariana's personal views on the qualities of being a good teacher do not make any reference to the idea that the *concurso* is somehow related to teacher quality. Teacher Moreira brings another similar perspective. He says:

*It all starts with teacher education, a good teacher education. I work as a teacher, but I am also attached to a university doing research, and the big thing is the initial teacher education. When I did the concurso, and then joined a school, you could really tell where the individual had done its licensure degree. You could even tell which university. It doesn't mean there were better than others, but there was a clear difference between those from universities from the city vs universities from the interior of the state, and from federal vs private universities. The difference between them was not their classification in the concurso, but the quality of their initial teacher education.*

RC: So what is your view of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection?

*Well, I don't think it is ideal, but it is the way in which selection happens, isn't it? But I think it is valid because it selects because of their merit since it puts people in the same conditions...let's say....same conditions of something. I don't know if there would be another better instrument. I think a contract would not be an ideal situation. I think there should be more concursos so that people would have the chance to be approved. But it needs to have a minimum cut-off point. Otherwise, anyone would be coming into the system without any merit. But it happens, nowadays we have people teaching with barely a good qualification.*

Teacher Moreira's views include the rhetoric of personal merit because the *concurso* emphasises the assumption of placing people on a level playing field, with "the same conditions". On the other hand, he argues that initial teacher education is another variable in achieving quality. The exchange with Teacher Lucca expands on this point.

*I understand that we are never ready to work in a classroom, and this preparation keeps happening, the more we continue to interact,*

*researching all the time, so I don't think the concurso selects the best, nor do I think that initial teacher education makes you an ideal educator. It gives you the tools. We all arrive in the classrooms with our own weaknesses, and we develop as we understand them, interact with others, and consider the community of our school.*

RC: But I would still like to know how do you see the *concurso* as an instrument to place this teacher in the classroom?

*I consider that this concurso should actually happen every year during teacher education, as part of your training or perhaps in the end... but I don't think it is necessarily the best method...maybe, it depends on the criteria that are being used during its elaboration. However, I think it is a legitimate method. I think education is for all, but being a teacher is not for everyone.*

Once more, this statement highlights the view of *concurso* as being legitimate, but not ideal. Also, the view of quality being developmental rather than pinpointed at the *concurso* is corroborated by Teacher Adriano who agrees that the *concurso* is not about selecting the best. He speaks with the knowledge of having gone through five different *concursos*. He says:

*The concurso is an instrument which does not give you a 100% guarantee that this professional will enter the classroom and will be a good teacher. They may have excellent content knowledge, but the ability to manage a classroom, this they won't have. I guarantee. I have seen many many young people joining, and I have seen classes that would create havoc with their teachers. They do not have this pedagogical experience. The university does not give it to them. And for me, knowing your stuff is another complicated matter. Sometimes you get a teacher coming in that have a doctoral degree, but they can't impart [their knowledge]. Even during the licensure you this, sometimes you get people from other subjects with PhDs, but they can't even translate that into something we could understand, so we see that in the job market as well. They [graduates] go through the concurso, no matter how demanding it is, sure, they have the merit of passing it, but it does not guarantee that they will walk into a classroom and be an excellent professional.*

RC: So what is the purpose of the *concurso*

*It selects up to a point, but as I said, it does not guarantee that they will be a good teacher, because, for me, they can only acquire that through practice in the classroom*

Teacher Adriano highlights the subtle dichotomy between academic qualifications (i.e. a qualified teacher) and the quality of the teacher and their

teaching (i.e. teacher and teaching quality), as argued in chapter four. Teacher Angela does not seem to understand my question about the *concurso*, and the issue of merit, but focuses her answer on she thinks makes a good teacher with a unique take:

*I don't know..., but when I am in the classroom, I tell my students I want to be their friend. I keep calling their attention, telling them I don't want to be their enemy. So a teacher quality is firstly to "conquer" the student, to be their friend, that they like you. Another thing I tell them is "if you don't like me you won't learn the subject". But you meant something technical right?*

RC: Yes, about the *concurso*, how does the *concurso* support the idea of teacher quality in the classroom?

*It comes from the teacher. You need to have that charisma. I manage it, they like me, when I arrive in the classroom it is written on the board because sometimes they want me to change the date of the exam, "teacher is beautiful", "teacher is nice", they do these things because they know I am playful and I leave them alone, I play with them.*

She still did not seem to understand my follow-up question but instead gave her personal insight into teaching in the classroom. For her, the quality of teaching is all about personal relationships, something a standardised examination cannot discern. For other stakeholders, a teachers' ability to teach is also not assumed to be directly related to the *concurso* or how much he/she knows about the subject. Reginaldo, a school principal from a school that serves a relatively socially disadvantaged area of Rio de Janeiro. He explains that

*The vast majority of our new teachers coming from the concurso arrive at the school completely unprepared to face the classroom. They arrive with a huge amount of theoretical knowledge but little practical experience of teaching in a school within the state system. And nowadays the licensures have become much easier as you can complete the course in 2 or 3 years. I believe that the longer you dedicate yourself to it, the better you get at it.*

Additionally, another school principal Jorge manages to summarise well when he says:

*In my personal experience, when new teachers arrive at my school, they are completely lost. The concurso does not work to select teachers that are ready to teach. They [teachers] do not have any idea about how to teach, and we have to fill in the gaps.*

Interestingly, during one of my school visits, I had the opportunity to speak with a trainee-teacher who indicated to me that during their entire training they had a total of less than one full teaching week (40 hours) of classroom practice. The preparation of teachers for classroom teaching is clearly an important issue that the *concurso* does not seem to address. Gabriel, a principal in Brasilia, acknowledges an issue with teacher training post-completion of degree. He says

*The induction period does not work effectively. It does not work. It exists, but in practice, it doesn't exist. Because it's 3 years in which as a principal I am unable to say "you're not making good progress" or "you don't have the required profile", you can't say anything. Today, the current policies of the local department of education are trying to change this, but it is historical. The person enters the civil servant and thinks he is untouchable. For you to seek a pathway to say that a certain teacher is not prepared for the classroom, it is a very tiring and arduous path. Many just give up and leave it like it is. I try not to give up. I try to resist as much as I can, but you hear other principals say "this won't go anywhere".*

This first-hand account is indicative of the different layers that exist within the Brazilian teacher education system which either prevents or delay potential changes from happening. Although there may be a 'perceived' quality of a teacher because they qualified at university and that it does not need to be assessed by the *concurso*, when new teachers arrive at public schools the reality seems different. School principal Gabriel continues

*So much so, that we have more commitment from the teachers that are "contracted" [teachers that have been given temporary contracts by the local authority to occupy open vacancies] than the "concursado" [a teacher that passed the *concurso* and is an official civil servant]. Because the "contratado" knows that if he doesn't put the effort in or doesn't show up for work or isn't willing to work together, I then have the power to ask him to be replaced. The "concursado" I can't. He comes in, sits down, and nobody removes him. But the teacher "contratado", his performance in relation to contribution, collaboration, effort to help with the development of a successful school and the pedagogical ethos of the school, in most cases is much better than a "concursado" that has been around for a while. The 'convenience' and 'laziness' is rife in the civil service and I believe it is not only in education, other civil service entities as well.*

This school principal sees a number of issues within the civil service and the teaching profession. To him, the condition that gives value to teachers, their tenure, is the same condition that leads to a stifling of the system from the

point of view of this school principal. Additionally, another contradiction emerges. Beattie's (1996) assumption that a teacher that has graduated and passed the *concurso* is able to teach in any school anywhere within a particular state. This assumption has to be based on the training of teachers to have been effective. However, the evidence seems to point in another direction. The issue with this assumption becomes evident when school principal Bernardo, explains his experience:

*The concurso is necessary, but I think it needs more rigour and other criteria at the time of selection. I also think there are flaws and now as a school principal, I realise how significant this is, especially when I receive a new teacher from the local department of education.*

The hierarchy of teacher selection in Brazil is also present in the discourse used by this school principal. The new teacher needed is sent by the local department of education to the school. The principal does not have the ability to participate in the selection of this candidate. However, Bernardo seems to find his own solution. He says:

*... I have had cases where I had to 'return' a teacher to the education department's office because I thought the teacher did not have the minimal condition to work in this school. Even though this teacher was a graduate and had passed the concurso, you could clearly see that he did not have the capacity to work with a class, especially with classes from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grade, the language he used, his posture as a teacher, his general attire...*

This passage identifies that, in this specific case, the principal did not think the teacher had the necessary skills to work at this school and was able to communicate detailed issues to the department of education and 'return' the teacher to the system. Therefore, although this school principal may be unable to choose which teacher comes to the school when enough evidence was gathered, he was able to manoeuvre an 'exchange'. However, the returned teacher still remains in the system and is simply moved to a different school that has a vacancy or a different administrative function within the same school. This is because of the internal logic of the *concurso* and the civil service. Once inside the system, a teacher continues within it. This is what Wilson Risolia called the 'brutal inefficiency of the system' (chapter six). Also evident in this passage is the issue of preparedness. The Brazilian system of teacher selection assumes teachers are ready to join the

classroom if they complete their teaching degree and pass the *concurso*, regardless of their overall attitude, character and “*fit*” for a specific teaching position.

School Principal Rose has a different point of view. She says:

*I think the concurso is always necessary because you have to value the best candidates in some way. You must have the best teachers in the classroom, and the concurso does that...*

*...[But] the teacher leaves university believing schooling to be one thing and when he gets into the system, he or she is faced with a completely different reality and most of the times are unable to deal with that reality.*

Even though she sees the *concurso* as addressing the issue of selecting the best, the quality of the teacher entering the system is put into question. The mismatch between the reality of classroom teaching (which the *concurso* does not measure) and the selection of the ‘best candidate’ because of their merit creates a system that is not consistent with its own internal structure. The accumulation of a number of contextual variables within a country with Brazil’s unique sociocultural history compounds to a point where the system becomes stagnate, complex, and ‘too big to change’.

### **7.3. Searching for the best? The cost of context**

Lastly, I draw attention to the former Minister of Higher Education, Dr. Paulo Speller, who has his own take on the perception the issue of quality associated with the teaching career, a university degree, and the *concurso*. His statement is reproduced in full for context and a better in-depth look at a view that comes directly from the top members of the ministry of education in Brazil. He says:

*Look, we have here a question of historical magnitude. If you do a comparative analysis with other countries, you would see. You look at South Korea or the most recent case of Singapore. These countries have emerged from a post-war case that has had a huge influence from the United States and their policies...they are small states and we can’t really compare. But if we compare ourselves with other large federative states like the US, or Australia, it becomes evident that our process of colonisation [from the Portuguese] is very different from the Australian or the American. [In Brazil] you have a*

*process of devaluing education as a strategy to form a national identity because education is only available to the elite, you have the extremely late arrival of university education, which is pretty much a historical accident, when the Royal Family of Portugal comes to Brazil in 1908 expelled by Napoleon, and then you create the first institutions because of the need of the rich, not the need of the nation. So you have all these problems, along with the late arrival of the preoccupation with the need for mass basic education in Brazil. So, we must remember our own experience. My generation was one of the first to break through the schools that were for the children of the rich. Then you have mass education, but at what quality?*

*Today what we see is the formulation of public policy in the country, in the states, in the municipalities trying to catch up with this deficit. But at the same time, we in this situation not only because of historical heritage but because of the complexity of the socio-political organisation of the country. You have three autarchies, federal, state, and municipal, without a clear definition of what is a national system of education, of the responsibilities, of financial investments. There are so many conflicts that happen in a country the size of Brazil which becomes colossal. This is the challenge, isn't it? I would say that the problematization of the valorisation of the teaching career in Brazil is key to establish teaching as a career worth pursuing. So quality of training, quality of career, quality of selection. What do you prioritise?*

Dr. Speller's account brings up historical roots of mass education and its impact in the Brazilian education system, as well as, how the issue of quality in Brazil is highly complex along with the need to prioritise actions. Arguably, though, all three issues of quality: training, career and selection, should all work in tandem to move education in Brazil forward. Bearing in mind the literature reviewed in this thesis in conjunction with the statement above, it leads to an important question: could a change in one area trigger changes in another within Brazil's education system?

Even though the *concurso* grants teachers a privileged status according to the law, it does not assess teaching performance. It does not evaluate teaching behaviour, and it is not linked to the goals of the school as an organisation. Beattie (1996, p.15) argues that:

*...if the [internal] flexibility of the concours is admitted [e.g. each Government can develop their own within the boundaries of the constitution], it must also be recognised that the whole procedure is defensible only because the weight which it gives to practical teaching ability is, and has always been, much less [or none as in the case of Brazil] than the importance allocated to subject competence.*

If teaching is complex and developmental, then teacher selection has to take this into account. A change in selection procedures may lead to a change in the expectations of graduates at the end of their training. Schmitt and Chan (1998, p.4) explained that

performance is multidimensional' and that 'there is no single performance variable, but different types of work behaviour relevant to organisation', and that 'performance is [also] behaviour and not necessarily results' and 'it is behaviour that should be of [larger] interest to selection researchers, it also must be [occupational] behaviour that is under the control of the employee.

However, this is not the case in Brazil. The agenda of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection relies on its 'incapacity' to assess behaviour as this is not seen as democratic and impartial. 'What is being assessed is not the individual's adaptability to colleagues and circumstances, but whether the individual meets standard national requirements' (Beattie 1996, 14-15). This is based on the belief that subject knowledge is assessable and predictable. It is assessable because multiple-choice questions have only one right answer. It is predictable because it is believed to be intrinsically linked with the qualification obtained. The better the qualification, the more a teacher knows. The better the score in the *concurso*, the better the teacher will be. However, this rationale does not seem to be what many of the stakeholders believe, yet the *concurso* persists. That is the cost teacher selection pays as a result of the Brazilian context.

Finally, the *concurso*'s assumption that the most deserving candidate is the one that achieves the highest score and the best candidate leads to other contradictions. In the example provided in chapter two, the salary difference between a doctoral degree and a licensure degree was considerable, at about 44% higher. At the same time, the total points accrued by having all three degrees is only 2.25 points, out of a possible total of 122.25 points, or 1.84 %. This evidence of a much greater emphasis on the score of the written examination, while simultaneously rewarding financially those that have completed a further academic qualification is inconsistent.

The value-associations between the *concurso*'s scoring systems and academic degrees, while not taking into account teaching practice, is telling of an educational system that does not seem to take careful consideration of



the evidence about the impact of academic qualifications, as well as teaching and professional standards, on teaching and learning. This drives a specific agenda about what is the 'perceived' quality and merit achieved by a teacher-candidate that passed the *concurso*. It assigns high-value to academic qualifications when it comes to teacher's pay and a small value when it comes to selection, while at the same time taking no consideration about the actual teaching ability of the candidate.

The evidence presented and discussed above leads to the third interpretation of the data of *concurso*. The idea that the *concurso* can be trusted because of its democratic nature, which in turn deals with stakeholders' fear of corruption. This is what will be discussed in the next chapter.

## 8. Research Findings III – Trust, democracy, and the fear of corruption

### 8.1. Trust and democracy?

*We defend the public concurso because we think it is the fairest, socially speaking. The fairest is the concurso for whatever career in [public administration as a] civil servant, not just teaching; we defend the concurso because everyone will have the same chance to show their 'background training' in order to get a public civil servant position...*

Prof. Marta Costa, Coordinator, SEPE-RJ

The statement put forward by the representative of the largest teaching union in Rio de Janeiro when asked about their thoughts on the *concurso* as an instrument of selection highlights three concrete ideas about the *concurso*. Firstly, the idea that the *concurso* has to be “defended”. Secondly, the idea of ‘fairness’ of the *concurso* for society. Thirdly, the idea that in the *concurso* everyone has the same chance to demonstrate their knowledge. Then, when asked to clarify those thoughts in light of the limits of school autonomy, she replies:

*... I am not sure about schools having autonomy to hire teachers. I think it is very complicated because you will have a selection that the school will be responsible for, in that community, so you have to think about “how will this assessment happen?”. So if I live in neighbourhood “x” and I would like to work in a school in neighbourhood “y”, how will this happen? It does not seem to me that there is any way to warrant that all teachers have the same chance, if not through a concurso that is open for all. That is the most democratic way. It will depend on their classification on the concurso...this avoids the political game which often happens...because the profile of our principals is still authoritarian, that is why we defend the direct election of school principals...so in truth, this would give these principals who do not have the democratic profile, the majority, and even if they had, I think with the power to make the selection themselves, this is an assessment which would have an appearance of being democratic without being democratic. So I think that the most democratic is the public concurso, with the same opportunity for all.*

It seems from the statement that fairness is a principle that is also associated with a vision of the *concurso* being ‘democratic’. It suggests a discourse that autonomy in hiring will lead to a situation where people do not have the same

chance. As argued in the previous chapter, the idea of having the same chance is a false one because what they do have is the same instrument: the examination. Nevertheless, Paula, a principal from Rio de Janeiro also says:

*I think the concurso is a very well respected and democratic institution. Society knows how it works and the fairest way to select teachers for public service.*

Once again, the idea of the *concurso* being democratic and fair is presented. At this point, it is important to keep in mind what stakeholders' might believe 'democratic' means in this context. Moreover, the belief that the *concurso* is the 'fairest way' of selection even though it is based on a 'meritocratic' instrument appears to be a contradiction since, arguably, merit can also be unfair and biased. Bernardo, a school principal, also agrees with Paula. He says

*I believe the concurso is important and it is the most democratic way of selecting teachers. How else would you select them?*

Prof. Mauricio Ribeiro, a lawyer and president of CEPERJ, when asked about why exams are mainly multiple-choice questions also addresses Bernardo's question. He says

*The decision to have a concurso with multiple-choice question comes from the government, from the client. They give us the information regarding how they want the exam to be executed. This is important because, either the multiple-choice exam or the multiple-choice with an essay ends up being considered, judicially speaking, one of the safest ways to select staff because it reduces the chances of a subjective assessment and selection.*

The answers above from different stakeholders reinforce the position of the *concurso* as being trusted as fair, and of being democratic, while at the same time exposing a certain reticence regarding external influences on the *concurso*. When phrases like "one of the safest ways to select"; "society knows how it works"; "the most democratic", "we defend the *concurso* because everyone will have the same chance", gives the *concurso* particular connotations in the eyes of the Brazilian public and these stakeholders. It attaches to the *concurso* the perception of trust, the perception of it being a

democratic instrument of selection which prevents external influences on its outcomes.

In his interview, school principal Bernardo (above) had an incredulous look on his face when I asked about the role of the *concurso* in teacher selection. He voiced views for the *concurso* as the only method of selection which would satisfy democratic principles within Brazilian society. Bernardo has a 'set view' on the method of teacher selection. His question-statement 'how else would you select them?' helps to demonstrate how ingrained the *concurso* can be. He continues by explaining that,

*The concurso should be used to select teachers. Otherwise, you will have principals deciding who to hire and causing problems with hiring their friends or friends of friends. The concurso helps to stop that from happening. In the concurso, everyone has the same chances.*

So according to this school principal, the *concurso* stops interference from other people. At the same time that there is trust in the *concurso*, there is also mistrust in people within their own profession. Arguably, it is also mistrust in himself, and other colleagues, as acting principals of schools. On the other hand, Rosangela – also a school principal – explains her view that,

*Regardless of the way selection occurs, there will always be a process where someone is chosen...[and] the concurso doesn't take into account a series of other variables which are linked to the profile of teachers....[but] I don't think we are ready for something else, whatever that may be... few school principals have the right training to be responsible for such tasks.*

This school principal seems to recognise that for a selection to happen at the school level, the level of training and responsibility must be present. In a similar way, when questioned about school autonomy the Secretary for Higher Education of the Ministry of Education Dr. Paulo Speller describes that there are multiple issues within Brazilian education which do not allow for more substantial school autonomy regarding selection. He says:

*It is not the Brazilian tradition to have school autonomy, right? Especially because we [Brazil] have a different starting point [than other countries] One thing is working with school autonomy when you have conditions which are minimally established, I mean, a school which is structurally well built, is connected to the internet, has all its teachers with a university degree, has a [teacher] salary which may*

*not be the best of all but that is considered an average salary, that has a career pathway which is respected by our society, that has a library,..., you see, working with the autonomy of the school from such a starting point is very different than a poorly maintained school,..., we can't say to the school 'Now you have autonomy'. What is the school going to do? So you still need a large presence of the government to effectively make the school grow to that level, with, let's say, [good] school resources, teacher professional development, professional development of principals, who have an extremely important role, which has been demonstrated in Brazil already....*

*...I mean, the autonomy, I think it also needs this aspect of you having the right conditions to have autonomy and the school can then say "I would like to train my teachers, to provide professional development", like for example, where the school has the option to choose a university [to work with], to hire the university and not necessarily to passively wait for a process of professional development which many times does not really happen...and when it does, the school says "it was not really what we needed", so it should be a dialogic process of coming and going, of contradictions, so that we can find successful experiences...*

Dr. Speller argues that it would not be possible to warrant autonomy to schools since Brazilian education still has many issues with its infrastructure, functioning as well as inconsistent federalised policies about its funding. The 'large presence of the government' as detailed above is for the benefit of the system and to keep it under control. The underlying assumption mirrors Beattie's assumption: the government is more important than the school. Devolving autonomy to schools relies not only on a number of factors involving school resources but also on political willingness. Putting his statement in context with the statements from the other stakeholders, when it comes to teacher selection for the *concurso*, the process is trusted, and assumed to be fair and 'democratic' because of the premise that all teachers and schools must be treated the same, they have the same purpose and function regardless of location and conditions.

Thus, its main concern is whether the individual teacher meets the standard national requirements at the moment of the *concurso*. If the teacher does, he/she would be able to fulfil its duties irrespective of the school and its location. That appears to be part of the logic understood behind the *concurso*. The government holds control over the teacher selection protocol because:

*the problem with a subjective selection arises the moment the public agent has more freedom to pass or fail a candidate for whatever position. The larger the degree of freedom you give, the more problematic it gets. Nowadays our emphasis is on control, to emphasise this we create mechanisms to control the public agent in the moment of selection. We give them the least possible subjective system with the largest objectivism so that the public agent/administrator is unable to hire whomever he/she wants or to fire them, in case he/she wants to. So we end up transforming the system to avoid fraudulent actions. The more subjective the criteria, we infer that the larger the possibility of fraud and abuse of power.*

Prof. Mauricio Ribeiro, Lawyer and President of CEPERJ

Here the message from Prof. Mauricio is clear. The *concurso* examination needs to be trusted as a means of preventing fraud. This type of discourse is prevalent in many other stakeholders' views. The sociocultural reality of Brazilian society, rife with political scandals, turns the *concurso* into a necessity. Dr. Speller explains that

*...it is a necessity, it is the concurso that selects the teachers for the state, for the municipality, and federal schools ...this is important because you are unlikely to be able to do this at the school level because of the culture, the training, the resources...*

It is also possible to understand the points made by Dr. Speller and Prof. Mauricio through the lens of Teacher Alberto. He says,

*Regarding the concurso,...if you don't have some type of assessment, in particular about the basic knowledge of what they are meant to be teaching, it would not be good. So, I think in that sense, at least when I did it, it was a good instrument. The problem is that you have a range of quality in different places since the system is so fragmented. Also, it means that I can't get here to this school because of other people that might know me, or someone else that knows the principal, that knows me, that "thinks" I'm a good teacher. That's not right.*

Teacher Alberto illustrates a sense of fear that he would not be able to be in his school because the principal may hire someone they know. Teacher Pamela also attempts to explain this,

*I think it is too much responsibility if schools are to be responsible and autonomous for their own hiring system. It will depend a lot on "who" are these people, who are within this 'council', who will be apt to say that I am able or not to be a teacher, I think it is not enough...and it depends on who will be doing it and what other instruments the*

*school might use. Because, of course, there could be those within this council that are friends with candidates and the school leadership might favour those people. And unfortunately, this is still very strong everyone, both in the public and private spheres... the schools here do not have, I don't think, this managerial view of 'if we want to be the best, we'll hire the best', the culture is not there yet.*

Teacher Luciana has similar views and argues

*I think it is valid, sometimes you do not have a lot of vacancies and you need to select, by competence. The concurso is not a "pistolão"<sup>15</sup>. And another thing, when you pass the concurso for the civil service, it is a job for life, unless you do something very bad, that means you will be removed from the profession. While if you are in a private company, you are much more likely to be cut, and you are always thinking "is it now?", "am I going to stay or go?". I have gone through this, I worked in a school of social class "AA", but at a given point there was a financial crisis in the school because a lot of parents couldn't afford, so they sent me away, and other teachers who were on the verge of retirement...*

The thoughts and personal experiences detailed above focus on an aspect of the *concurso* that appears to be intrinsically connected to the sociocultural and economic environment in Brazil. It seems that the *concurso* is more than just selection, but it also represents a safety net against patronage, against 'random firing' which employment in private schools might not provide. We also already know from chapter six and seven that the *concurso as policy* provides teachers' long-term commitment to a school. This is a socio-political stance that is important to many stakeholders, to have a teaching career as a direct consequence of stability provided within the civil service system.

### **Unpacking the concurso: the 'visible' and the 'invisible'**

Taking these individual discourses together, there seems to be a level of trust in the *concurso* because it is perceived to be a fair and 'democratic' instrument of selection that has no 'visible' subjectivity. The notion of school autonomy and of the *concurso* as 'democratic' is challenged by the structural

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<sup>15</sup> Pistolão is a Brazilian slang which means a person who is hired because they know someone inside a company, they are hired because of friendship, not because of "merit".

notion of *who* is involved in the selection and how it would be seen and accepted by other teachers. Teacher Bruna expands on this idea:

*I am very favourable [to the concurso] because of the democratic issue. I think access needs to be democratic and I think selection has to be via a concurso, everyone has the same chance. But I don't think the selection should end there. I think in education, like in many other areas, it is fundamental to continue your studies because the world is dynamic, so the teacher cannot become obsolete, they have to constantly 'recycle', become up-to-date because if they don't....well...I think this is one of the variables of the chaos we have in public education at the moment. The non-continuity of professional development of teachers.*

The status of the *concurso* assumes that it will lead to 'a lively democracy, protected by an administration which is technically competent and above all, relatively independent of politics' (Beattie, 1996, p.23). But Prof. Roberto Leão, president of the largest education workers' union in Brazil (the CNTE) say that central control is not without its issues:

*The government ... controls the teaching appointments ... and allows a lot of time to pass without the concurso, they prefer to use temporary contracts because they can. Since the professional does not have [job] 'security' [granted by a concurso], they [the government] can move teachers around, and this is bad for the school, it is bad for the professional who ends up having damaging implications to the teaching and learning process because the professional that keeps worrying about his/her job, that doesn't know what will happen with his job in 6 months, a year, he/she is a professional who is always worried. Thus, for us, the concurso is essential.*

This passage solidifies and exemplifies both the trust the union has on the *concurso* as well as its view as the democratic way in which to select all teachers. Moreover, Prof. Arcos from SINPRO/DF corroborates the point by saying that

*Nowadays, we think that the government has not been using this resource [the concurso]... it has been using temporary contracts...so we still think that the concurso is the only entry-system and we have been fighting for the concurso to happen, we have been without a concurso for some time, in these last years of fighting by the education workers we managed to get the concurso back. Last year the government called up 1600 teachers [from the last concurso] due to our strike of 50 days.*



This raises the same conflicting issue exposed by Prof. Roberto Leão on the power held by central government in making decisions about when to hold *concurso* and its control over whether to use temporary contracts with minimal concern about the consequences. Both stakeholders above have tried to argue that if the establishment of a periodic *concurso* is not provided, the quality of education could somehow be damaged by temporary-contract teachers. This is something that Marotta (2017) is currently studying (see chapter two) in Brazil, but it has conflicting evidence from other large federal countries like India and Kenya. Thus, although the *concurso* is seen as a needed 'democratic' and trustworthy institution, there are still a number of different lenses through which to understand the *concurso*. When asked why it seems that people in Brazil see the *concurso* as the most appropriate way of selection, Senator Cristovam Buarque says

*Because of 'comodismo'<sup>16</sup>, it is a lot of work, because once a person passes [the concurso] they don't imagine themselves being fired....nobody gets fired because of the tenure linked to the concurso. I defend personal responsibility. So the government, the mayor, the president is not the one that fires people, but if an assessment of the person as a teacher is not what is expected of that person in that career, they can't continue in that position.*

Although the majority of stakeholders asserted that the existence of the *concurso* is paramount, Prof. Israel Batista sees it as a complicated institution. He says:

*Today, the concurso is completely out of tune with reality, from the necessities of the workforce. The concurso has a big discrepancy with its contents and what is required at school/university. So the concurso is also a strong system of social exclusion. You give a student a school that teaches with a curriculum which is not present in the concurso; you give a student a school that undervalues assessment...I don't know if the concurso is the best method of assessing but it is the traditional method that the country still hasn't perfected before choosing new methods...*

According to Prof. Batista, due to the lack of connection with what happens in Brazilian classrooms, the *concurso* may also lead to social exclusion. This

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<sup>16</sup> Comodismo is Brazilian term that means a complacency to stay put, not move, to not want to change

is something that Fernando Fontainha, lead-author of Fontainha et al. (2014) has also argued in a recent interview. He was contacted for an interview for this thesis but argued that his knowledge about the *concurso* within the education sphere was limited, hence directed me to his online interviews instead. This interview is in the public domain<sup>17</sup> which was conducted by the website “IG – economy”, and it is an important piece of evidence in this section to put these understandings into perspective. A small section of the interview is reproduced below for the purposes of contextualising both the interview and his views in light of the arguments made in this chapter.

IG: In your opinion, do *concursos* tend to favour people of higher social status?

*The concurso today is a machine of social exclusion, not of inclusion. This system is aimed at those who have the time and money to pay for a good preparation course. For those who can afford a good school where they already teach disciplines to prepare your child for public administration, civil service concursos. This is one of the perverse reflections of concurrent ideology. To take a break, you need time. And having time is not being able to work. The Brazilian who leaves high school and needs to work will be competing at a disadvantage with someone who can only stay in cram schools. It is a machine of social injustice.*

This powerful statement creates a tension between the rationale that stakeholders present on how the *concurso* gives a perception of fairness and it is a ‘democratic’ selection. This tension is not necessarily ‘visible’ to stakeholders because the *concurso* is the norm. For them, the *concurso* has always existed. Moreover, as we have seen in previous chapters, Prof. Batista and other stakeholders are strong supporters of the *concurso* as a policy of selection. The *concurso*’s existence seems to be conceptualised as a necessity within Brazilian society. The secretary of education for the state of Rio de Janeiro, Wilson Risolia, takes it further. He says:

*We understand that entrance to the civil servant career is via the concurso. This has a good side because it is a democratic selection process where any person is able to access it, and it includes the recognition of merit at the start, e.g. passing the exam. The bad side is that you create a civil servant system that is too stable, and then*

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<sup>17</sup> <https://economia.ig.com.br/carreiras/2014-09-15/concurso-publico-e-uma-maquina-de-injustica-social.html>

*isonomy becomes a problem because there isn't a choice as there would be in a more open market...*

*...so you have countries where the school hires and has autonomy, including autonomy to pay a teachers' salary. Complete autonomy. I think that is being democratic because the final goal is that the population in the receiving end has a quality service, so democracy is this, where everyone wins. But we created this mechanism, of common-usage and costumes, where there is a door to enter public civil service, so ok, since we have to have a door, what can we do, it is part of our culture, there needs to be a system seen as democratic....but we need to change...I am completely in favour of a national concurso, especially because of the issue of money. [the concurso] is an area that spends a lot of public money and that needs to be looked at again. Each one of these concursos is a logistical nightmare, and you lose a lot. [For example,] between the act of starting the process to hire 1000 teachers, until these 1000 teachers reach the school, it is at least one year.*

The secretary of education introduces other problems with the *concurso*. The money spent, time for a teacher to be hired and reach a school, so argues that democracy might be linked to more autonomy. But the representative of the teaching union in Rio de Janeiro (SEPE-RJ) disagrees and explains that,

*... there isn't a better way to guarantee that everyone has the same chance if not via the concurso and depending on their scoring in the concurso, teachers are then able to choose where they teach. This avoids the political game that happens around here, sometimes inside schools, which we see happening today, where a politician along with certain school principals with political links could influence the selection. That is why we believe that the most democratic selection is the concurso, the same chance for everyone.*

This statement gives the impression that there is a belief that everyone competing has the same chance in the *concurso*. This is, conceivably, a flawed assumption because of the perception of the *concurso* as a “democratic” instrument or “being the same for everyone”. Arguably, it is because it materialises from the concept of constitutional ‘isonomy’ which is incorrectly understood as “everyone is given the same chance”, when it actually means the constitutional right for all citizens to enter the civil service. What stakeholders do not seem to realise is that when they claim the *concurso* do be “democratic”, what they actually mean is that the instrument of selection is the same, not the process itself. It is the impartiality of the selection instrument rather than the process that becomes central to the discourse.

This section started and finished with a statement by a teaching union regarding the *concurso* as fair, as equal to everyone. The section also showed stakeholders' views pointing towards the *concurso* as a trusted and democratic system. At the same time that some stakeholders demonstrate an element of trust in the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, there is also mistrust in people if they were somehow involved in the selection process. Although multiple-choice exams end up being the preferred choice as there is a much smaller chance of political patronage and influence, it appears that the trustworthiness of the system of selection it is based on the existence of the instrument itself, not on the how it is conceived and even if it takes a long time to be nominated (hired) into a public school. It also seems that stakeholders understand the *concurso* as a fair and democratic process, but this 'belief' is only 'possible' because the examination is *impartial*, and not because it actually follows democratic principals. But stakeholders do not seem to acknowledge what Fontainha explains as the *concurso* being part of a system of social exclusion because the *concurso* exam as a standardised examination is inherently exclusive to those with better education, with more time to study, with money to pay for a preparation course. Arguably, you would need an elected body within the school (e.g. a school council) to be able to make a "democratic" decision in the name of all other constituents within the school community.

Hence, the meaning of democratic seems to take several different connotations that may not be the most helpful when trying to determine how selection into the civil service takes place. However, as seen in chapter six, the fact that the civil servant teacher has tenure and other 'benefits for life' also influences how it is perceived by all stakeholders. This is a direct consequence of the *concurso* when looked at through the lens of 'policy'. Therefore, although 'perceived' impartiality is a key characteristic of the *concurso* examination, the benefits provided by the policy of the *concurso* is what reinforces its existence since job security is not thought to be reliable outside the civil service. In addition, the level of mistrust stakeholders have in people is an intriguing feature of the selection system, but as the participants seem to have presented, it is also a consequence of a systemic lack of resources, training, as well as the sociocultural and historical contexts within Brazil. This leads into the next section of this chapter which is to examine what happens without trust: the fear of corruption.

## 8.2. Fear of Corruption

The theme of *trust* in the *concurso* as an instrument of selection and stakeholders' comments of it being a 'democratic' instrument are inherently tied up with the mistrust in the people (teachers, principals or other stakeholders) that may be involved in a potential selection process without the *concurso*. Thus, another construct that has appeared in the interviews is that of a "*fear of corruption*".

Prof. Mauricio Ribeiro, of CEPERJ, which is the largest provider of *concursos* in the state of Rio de Janeiro, explains:

*I think that it is a cultural thing because this is what happens in Brazil. Our experience of the republic, of public goods, is a very recent phenomenon. Until 1988 it was very uncommon to find local authorities [municipal, states or federal autarchies] that would have a concurso. The vast majority were political appointments. So, there was this case. My colleague. The guy was the barber of the governor. He studied law and then got appointed as state attorney. In schools, the person finished the old Normal school, and if they knew someone in a school, they would have a better chance of being appointed to that school. Otherwise, you would have to teach in a school much further away. These cases were very common in Brazil. At the moment that we were able to create mechanisms to control this patronage, anything that was possible to control was controlled. So now there is a concurso for every single public position (civil servant). The emphasis is now the emphasis on control, the fear of the subjective, the fear of what the civil servant could do. "if I like this person, I will get him to work here". We were accustomed to this logic, and in certain ways, we still are...*

In this section of the interview, he indicates how a culture of political appointments led to a system of control. Although the *concurso* as policy provides an avenue to attempt the prevention of fraud or patronage, the system ends up creating a two-tier system within the teaching profession: those with a *concurso* (the *concursado*), and those without *concurso* (the non-*concursado* or *contratado*). The associated benefits discussed in the previous two chapters and the literature review end up supporting a race to become a '*concursado*' rather than providing all teachers with those same benefits.

The interview continues. I ask:

RC: So, even though there is a need to improve the school, you think a school principal would hire their best friend instead of the best teacher?

*I think so, even because today...what is the problem, we mistrust, initially, we do not trust because we see these things in school...in my personal example, I studied in a public school ...but the dinner ladies took the school food home...the food was not theirs; it was the school's. It is very common to see the misuse of public money, of public resources and this, generates a fear of corruption, a feeling of mistrust right from the start. It might not even be happening, but we think it might happen, so we avoid and try to prevent it, and we do this with objective criteria...*

*...besides this...the school principal used to be a political appointee, and in some states, they still are....so we need this [concurso for principals] because even within the school, when teachers were able to vote for the school principal, they used to vote on those that would give them less hassle, so the relations of power within the school influenced a lot. Today, the school principal does not have a lot of influence over who enters the school via the concurso.*

This statement reveals what seems to be the pervasiveness of the fear of corruption. From poorly paid school personnel diverting public goods to teachers choosing those principals that would just 'get out of their way'. This stakeholder goes as far as saying that 'it might not even be happening, but we think it might'. This type of thinking is probably informed by experience, by the perception of what could happen because of what people have seen happening. Arguably, this stems from an ingrained fear that is borne out of a learnt cynicism from what routinely happens in Brazilian society. The passage above also illustrates well what former Minister of Education, Senator Cristovam Buarque summarised in his interview. He claimed that the process of selection via a public examination (a *concurso*) is still a necessity

*'because in Brazil you would end up having...the kindness, the friendship, the patronage...[so] It is a way to 'republicanise', to remove patrimonialism....'.*

This view, presented by a policy-maker at one of the highest levels of power who is also of one of few most respected politicians in Brazil (Sen. Buarque has the highest rating for trust in the Brazilian Senate), seems to allude to an ingrained fear which would indicate a much broader problem within Brazilian society. It leads back to the previous section (8.1) where it was argued that trust was shifted from away from people into the *concurso*. Here, the mistrust

in people appears to be justified by the sociocultural, economic, and political landscape in Brazil. This is further exemplified by Prof. Carmem Castro Neves director of initial teacher education at CAPES (part of the Ministry of Education) when she says in her interview that

*we must elevate the level of professionalism of our teachers. I believe this is a process, but at this moment in time, the concurso is still the most democratic mode of selection and the least likely to be interfered by political tampering... in Brazil...you still have the matter of the friend, the electoral favour, and the concurso prevents this....in terms of selection, it is more democratic that in Brazil it happens via a public examination....*

Although the *concurso* may be seen as legitimate, important and necessary to prevent corruption, Prof. Israel Batista provides another insight into the contradictions of the *concurso*. He says:

*The Concurso is [also] very inadequate. It is simply a civil servant exam. I can't understand why a teacher will be a better teacher if he passes an exam ...the system loses excellent teachers to the private sector. The system loses out when it becomes bureaucratic. The exam does not match the needs [of the system].*

Additionally, Dr. Paulo Speller, Secretary of Higher Education attached to the Ministry of Education expresses that the *concurso*

*...is necessary, it is a concurso that selects the teacher. It's done in different levels, municipal, state, federal, depending on the case, and it is important because you would not be able to do this at the school level [in Brazil]...but in some countries, like in England for example, you can do without it because of the culture, the previous training, the resources that exist.*

Dr. Paulo Speller's comments confirm this different dimension to the conversation about the *concurso*. He attempts to explain that there are other reasons why the *concurso* exists beyond the desire to avoid external interference. For him, it is because of the culture, the lack of training, and the lack of resources, something also brought up by Prof. Mauricio Ribeiro in the first statement. Perhaps, this is because of the idea that a single exam being responsible for the selection of an entire workforce, which then becomes responsible for educating students, is more than a simple choice by policy-makers. It is a necessity of culture; it has become part of it, it has become an ideology. Thus, there is a fundamental understanding that the '*concurso*' is

the conventional and accepted method in Brazil; it is an assumption also made by Prof. Arcos from SINPRO-DF. She says:

*today we understand that it is the best way, the most tranquil, the most sensible way of entering the public system. Firstly, because it is the path we already know, hiring through the concurso is like a filter ....it puts in a situation of having a process which you must pass...*

This understanding of having a public examination controlled by the government is further corroborated by Prof. Leão when he explains that the teaching union

*believes that education must be under total responsibility of the public entity, from the elaboration of the test, the selection process, the structure, the formation, the continuing professional development, the incentives, the structure of the career prospects, all this must be done by the public entity, because if not, the public loses the control of public policy.*

Therefore, although the *concurso* seems to exist as a way to prevent 'political tempering' it is placed in the hands of the political class: the government. The representative from the teaching union in Rio de Janeiro uses the word 'defend' again to emphasise the need for the *concurso*. She takes the argument further when she says:

*We defend the concurso because everyone will have the same chance to demonstrate their knowledge gained from their degree and to become a civil servant and because public service is very important because the civil servant will have continuity in the job. If you work with a contract, you can be dismissed at any time. So all that investment that the professional received in the public university, paid with public money, he must go through a public examination, and he will offer his publicly funded degree in the public school system.*

In her statement, the defence of the *concurso* seems to come from the 'same chance' argument (chapter seven); 'continuity of the job' (chapter six), and because of the training received with public money. Again, the two-tier system of *concursado* vs *non-concursado* emerges. In the eyes of the teaching union, the *concurso* provides job security that is perceived not to exist outside the system. But this does not stop the *concurso* from being influenced by politics. Teacher Ana Paula remains cynical and gives her



opinion about the entire process particularly given her personal experience with her last *concurso*.

*Look, I think we are in a very political moment. Take the concurso for the municipality for example. It is extremely political, especially when a concurso is done during an electoral year. You see, nobody got "nominated" in this last year because it is an electoral year. The election was on Sunday, and then everyone that passed got "nominated" on Monday. So, you see, it has to be political. And there is no training, no induction. You arrive the at school without knowing anything; you don't even know what is going to happen, what you will be teaching. Each different school "shouts" and nobody listens. The administration changed, and nobody speaks the same language. So, even though the concurso is meant to be shielded from political interference, they still find a way to make it political.*

Teacher Romilda had a similar experience:

*I think the concurso...most people enrol in it without any preparation, they don't even know why, but because it is a concurso, people want to do it to have stability, they don't have a purpose, they don't know their "why". And then they will look at the issue of salary, benefits, etc....In the concurso, when I did it, the exam was annulled because someone had bought the exam and already knew all the answers, total fraud. In this first exam I had gotten all questions right.... then in the next exam, the questions were very different from what I was expecting, and I ended up not going so well, so I was very upset.*

The possibility that even a system that is meant to be a-political becoming politicised puts in question its functionality. Teacher Eduardo still feels that the *concurso* is paramount and brings up a lack of trust, the fear of corruption from his own colleagues. He says:

*Look, if we did not have the concurso, it would not work because each principal would have their favourites, it would not be something appropriate, at least not now, because each principal would have their own "little group" they would call "I know this person that just graduated", and they don't even know if they are any good. So, if the concurso did not exist, it would not be appropriate, I am confident there would be this type of corruption amongst principals who would hire whomever they wanted, so every time there is a change in principals, new principals would just remove these people. It would not work.*

The majority of teachers I interviewed did not fully tackle the issue of corruption as clear as teacher Eduardo did. Teacher Gilmara attempts to explain the problem. She argues about the duality of the *concursados* vs non-

concursados and the protection of the law. She arrives at similar conclusions to Ronaldo above. She says;

*I see it like this, I see a lot of people saying like this: "Ah, you are a concursado, Ah, you are not a concursado". People feel more than others, like...how do I say...elitist because they passed a concurso...[this then lead to] ...that fact of being safer, I passed the concurso so nobody can touch me because I am a concursado. Of course, it gives you the guarantee that you passed by an exam and you are a public civil servant because you did a concurso that is guaranteed by law, so logically, everyone has this right, but I don't think a person is more or less because they did the concurso. I believe it should exist, yes, as an entity, which is institutionalised, and there should be this type of selection because you have to understand that this stops .. for example, there can be a person in a school that is friends with another person, that is friends with another. The principal would "favouritise".*

Favouritism as a form of corruption is akin to what Senator Buarque argued is the embedded patrimonialism in Brazil. There seems to be a perception that principals or others would hire their friends instead of the best possible teachers. However, fewer teachers brought up favouritism and focused more on valorisation issues. This was something that stakeholders higher up in the hierarchy felt more prone to discuss. Prof. Luciano Tranca, pedagogical coordinator in the state of Rio de Janeiro, discusses more practical issues with teachers and the school regarding the *concurso*:

*We have a very powerful political-cooperativist discourse within the school system. The teacher likes to assess students, but they do not like to be assessed themselves. They say it undermines their autonomy, their trust. To change this would be a long political battle since the teaching unions are incredibly strong. Today, I don't see a concurso that would evaluate/assess a teacher and their classroom practice. I don't see how. But the best institutions do evaluate their workers, both public and private institutions, but not teachers. Even universities work like this. So what is the problem? What is the issue? I don't understand the fear people have.*

RC: And where do you think this fear comes from?

*I think it comes from the 'comodismo', from the stability, this civil service thing is very strong here, to be a public civil servant. There is a "don't touch me, don't bother me, don't test me" mentality, so I don't think teachers are prepared to be questioned, to be assessed. When you go to a school to discuss their assessment, they tell me "But Professor...", they feel untouchable, it is not part of our academic trajectory of initial teacher education. It is a question of paradigms that we must change....*

Again, the issue tends to go beyond the *concurso* as an instrument and tend to encompass other needs within the system. School principal Bernardo speaks up on his personal frustrations with the *concurso*.

*Culturally Brazilian teachers are not ready to move away from the concurso. If we removed the concurso, I think about 50% of current teachers would leave or be removed. But there still the issue of public service, of the benefits, of the privileges that are created around a civil service career which, I believe, are not helpful in several aspects. I feel this ends up "strangling" the teaching and learning process because as a school principal, I do not have the conditions to build the team of my dreams. I only have the power to try to convince the team I have, of sensitizing them daily towards the issues we face in this school and move them in the direction of our pedagogical vision, but they will give me 1000 reasons why we shouldn't do it, so I have to give them 1001 reasons why they do. It is not easy.*

While school principal Jonas summaries it well when he says:

*It is an instrument that has a historical narrative. It comes into being after a turbulent period in Brazilian history where principals and other civil servants were all political appointments or something else. It comes to give the process more transparency, which I believe it has achieved, although it is certainly not perfect because many times you have teachers who are excellent with the theory but are unable to do a good job in front of a classroom. So the concurso today lacks this ability and the capacity to deal with the teaching profession as a whole... the concurso needs to adapt to the new reality of the teaching profession today.*

Clearly, there are several implications that surround the *concurso* that influences both teachers and principals' views about a system where the *concurso* does not exist. The issues are beyond selection. They involve culture. They involve a way of thinking about themselves, about others, about Brazil, about politics, and about schooling. As claimed at the start of this section, it is the pervasiveness of a fear of corruption. Therefore, the extracts above contribute to the idea of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection that has become an integral part of

'the ideological traditions and prevailing policy directives of the national education system' (Osborn & Broadfoot 1993,105) and it clearly reflects the 'dominant ideological principles' (Sharpe 1992, 340-341) as well as clearly defining the 'differences in practices, outlook and priorities which are the essence of the nation' (Neave 1992, 139)

(quotes in Beattie, 1996, p.10).

Moreover, the teaching unions appear to draw on ideological principals about education as a public good in order to guide their arguments regarding the *concurso*. There seems to be a belief that if you are not a civil servant, you can be easily dismissed from employment and without due process. Examples from the private sector are common in Brazil, which leads to a high level of wrongful dismissal cases in civil law which only reinforces this view. The comments from the stakeholders above seem to place the *concurso* as a policy that is seen to help prevent possible corruption in the process of teacher selection. But beyond that, stakeholders seem to believe that it prevents corruption towards wrongful dismissal. By providing job security (tenure), health insurance, and a continuous pay-scale progression based on seniority – albeit not particularly good in comparison with OECD averages – are some of the benefits gained by those that have been officially nominated as a public school teacher in Brazil. After completing the compulsory induction period, the federal law of *Concursos* (Brazil L8112, 1990) states:

Art.22. The civil servant will only lose his place due to a judicial sentence transitioned in court or by an administrative disciplinary process on which full and ample judicial defence is given.

Since Brazilian life (especially politics) has been rife with corruption scandals, bribes, patronage, abuse of power, money laundering, etc... the *concurso* appears to have become an institution that has helped to overcome this fear of being fired, of political interference, and thus perceived to be

...a process which reflects, in a significant way, the broader cultural and institutional traditions informing a particular education system, and a process that in turn plays a significant part in shaping the professional priorities of teachers.

(Beattie, 1996, p.9)

### **From trust to mistrust: the grip of ideology**

When those in power are also afraid of the general culture in their own country, challenging the *status quo* of the selection protocol at all levels becomes a very difficult task, if not an impossibility. The rules and regulations of the *concurso* aim to continuously prevent interference. This is something

that the secretary of education of Rio De Janeiro was acutely aware. His account of the reality of Brazilian teacher hiring goes into the detail of the financial issues faced by the government. He explains:

*I like the idea of school autonomy, but this is a very distant reality for Brazil, if we are unable to win the current stage we are at, we can't go into this stage, which is a "clinical stage" because it demands "compliance" from the schools and this is not a common feature in Brazil. You need a certain level of control, of communication, of "accountability" and we don't have that. This is not the Brazilian reality. This would rely on an enormous investment, and it is difficult to reach this point. There is a lot of resistance from the community [of teachers], so I think it is hard, although I agree with it. For Brazil to take a step like this, it needs to take a number of other steps before it gets to this point. I hope that in the future, in a long-term vision, that happens because it would be a healthy competition [for schools and teachers], I don't see this as a bad thing, but unfortunately, we don't have that.*

The high-level politician says that even if he would like to give autonomy to schools for hiring; the Brazilian education system, along with the Brazilian reality, are not prepared for these types of changes. This is important because it indicates that it is not a simple matter of changing the *concurso*. I push the secretary further, and I ask:

RC: and why do you think this is?

*So, I think there is still the fear of patronage. But it is not because of this that it does not happen. In Brazil, the funding is decentralised for the public school. The federal government has "programmes" to send resources to the school, but the school has to apply for it. It is very inefficient. We do the same thing for other things like food. It is the Brazilian practice to have "programmes" rather than the direct responsibility of the institutions to handle their budget. So for example, if a school applied for money to hire a teacher, this would be seen as a potential form of nepotism, of corruption. It is very far from the laws and regulations we have today. Then, you will have teachers questioning why one teacher gets paid 10 and the other 8, teachers saying "If I am a teacher, I am a teacher like all other teachers, so we should be paid the same". This would fatally be a problem because of constitutional isonomy within the *concurso* because teaching is a civil servant career.*

This next statement helps to move the previous argument forward. The level of mistrust, the fear of corruption as a consequence of the sociocultural and political climate, leads to the notion that it is about the possibilities of

changing the *concurso* as ideology by changing the environment in which the *concurso* “lives” in. The *concurso* exists within a multiplicity of variables that affect teachers’ lives. Salaries, working conditions, school infrastructure, job stability, levels of respect, social conditions, and mistrust in people; they all work together to create a sense of helplessness. This becomes even more problematic when the government itself works against the system it has created. Wilson Risolia provides the example. He says

*For example, the temporary teacher, when the states do not bring forward a concurso, you have states with up to 60% of temporary teachers. The budgeting might even be the same that with a civil servant teacher [paid the same salary]. So, what is the magic there? It's that you do not generate a 'passive' pension. I have my suspicions that it is all about the extra money governments would have to pay for pensions. I can't guarantee, but it might be. When you hire a civil servant, the government has to put twice the pension contribution into the pot. Imagine this in 30 years of labour, with the size of the Brazilian civil service; it is no wonder the country is broke. A temporary teacher does not have a pension contribution from the government. This is another huge gap in public policy. I mean, in order not to do something right, the government creates a “bypass” in order to reduce its expenditure in the long term. This is crazy. They get fired, they are not a public civil servant, so how do you invest in this person? You don't. It is complicated; it is very hard. I think this needs to be resolved because there is no way out. But we have to go through all the stages; you can't simply implement an external model....*

This statement from the secretary of education lays out other realities of Brazil's civil service system, its political and financial status, and the problems that currently exist. When these variables are juxtaposed to the sociocultural and historical issues associated with the valorisation of teachers discussed in this and in the previous two chapters, the transversal axis of this thesis emerges, providing the unique context in which the *concurso* happens.

However, the point of view of teachers and teaching unions provides a contrasting point in which to end this section. Prof. Leão (CNTE) makes a final contribution to these points. In order to finish this chapter, I decided to provide his statement in its totality, without breaks or comments in order to give the reader a sense of the scope, and the sense of urgency of the issues

teachers face as seen by the union and how they aim to address issues through the *concurso*. He says:

*While we have a lot of concursos, a lot of “concursados”, they [the governments] take a long time between concursos. So for example, in the state of São Paulo, where almost half of the teachers in the system are “contratados” and contracted with the most varied pay and conditions. There are teachers that are hired as a “daily” supply teacher. I mean, how does a person like this feel? A person that studied, that wants to be a professional that has ‘the vocation’, that likes teaching, how does a person like this feel? So the concurso establishes a link, so we consider a maximum of 10% of the people in the system to be temporarily hired.*

*After that, the government must have to open a concurso to minimise temporary workers, because temporary workers will always exist, but this cannot become policy, of only having temporary workers. Of course, there are exceptions like a new school that may need to be created quickly because of demand or maternity leave; they will need a quick substitution. But the governments stay too long without a concurso, they prefer to hire them as a temporary contract because they can, and as a professional [the teacher] does not have any safety, they move the teacher from one school to the other to “close a gap”. This is bad for the school, it is bad for the teacher, and ends up having other implications in the teaching and learning process because the professional that works without [job] security, that does not know what will happen in six months, one year, they are a professional that is always worried, so to us, the concurso is fundamental.*

*But the concurso, it needs to go beyond the exam. Teachers need to have a good career plan, a plan that gives them a perspective for the future, teacher needs to have a health plan, they need to know that in 25-30 years they will have finished their path and at the end they will have a just pension, a tranquillity to enjoy their retirement with their grandchildren, their children, however they want.*

*But it seems like the government does everything it can to prevent this. It destroys its own system....so you have this pasteurization, this standardisation that government places in the education system and that is very pernicious, you go and do a standardised test in a large scale without considering the unique situations of each region, of each location, you end up not assessing anything...at the most, it serves the purpose to teach students to learn how to take a test ...this opens possibilities for a series of situations that are not good for education because they are situations where there is an attempt to cover up data for schools and teachers to get bonuses, etc...that is not quality, that is not quality of teaching, that is playing the system, that is corrupting the principals of education. So a concurso in a public system with a good career plan and appropriate funding would go a long way in helping to prevent these distortions.*

These extensive arguments from top-level stakeholders work together with the answers provided by teachers and school principals to make evident the polarising nuances of *concurso* within the teaching profession in Brazil, and how the *concurso* is understood when seen through their ‘eyes’ as an integral part of Brazilian’s sociocultural and historical context. The fear of corruption seems to establish the need for the *concurso*, but its meaning appears to go beyond the view of the *concurso as instrument* to encompass a need to address a new way of understanding the *concurso* both *as policy* and *as ideology*. These final insights allow this thesis to move into its concluding chapter where I will aim to draw on these views to address what the *concurso* represents for its stakeholders by answering the research questions and developing further explanations of the central conceptual understandings derived from this work. I will also discuss its limitations and propose possible areas for further research into teacher selection in Brazil.



## 9. Conclusions

This final chapter has been structured so as to first present a reflection on the research, how it progressed, and a restatement of the research questions that need to be answered (9.1). Next, in section 9.2, the chapter holistically addresses the research questions through both factual and conceptual conclusions, providing an explanation of why the answers were approached in this way. Then, it addresses the limitations of the conclusions (9.3) in light of the research data. The last section (9.4) provides a discussion of how the conclusions presented are associated with specific contributions to knowledge within the Brazilian academic landscape as well as the literature on teacher selection. The discussion also includes how the conclusions and contributions may lead to certain policy-actions within Brazil and further needed research. Thus, this chapter draws on the knowledge and the conceptual understanding I have gained about the *concurso* over my seven-year doctoral journey, which is now distilled as the material presented so far in this thesis

### 9.1. Reflections on the research and its process

As a state school teacher in the UK for eight years (2004-2012), I experienced a level of freedom and mobility that was unprecedented to me. The ability to choose which school I would like to work, provided a vacancy be open, was liberating. In the case of the UK, this was possible because of a selection system of 'open recruitment' where schools have the autonomy to select the teachers they, and their teams, think are needed to help their school and their students succeed based on a given set of criteria made explicit at the start of the process. This feeling made me reflect on my experiences as a teacher in Brazil and drove my quest to figure out why Brazil still used the *concurso* examination as a system for selecting its teachers. The *concurso* is a system where schools have no choice whom to hire, and where teachers have virtually no choice of which school they would like to work.

At first, this seemed counterintuitive, and it was frustrating to observe this reality as an outsider. Once I explored some of the existing literature, I

decided the best way to approach this work would be by talking to the people that have experienced the *concurso* first-hand as they would be able to offer their own different perspectives on it. Thus, I decided I needed to speak with teachers, with school principals, teachers' unions, and politicians. If I were to gain valuable insights and generate new knowledge about the teacher selection system, then I needed to understand this system from their perspective and within their context as a means to achieve three aims. The first aim was to identify, and describe the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, how it operated, and how it was structured. I would argue that this thesis does that in two separate ways. Firstly, in chapter two, where it lays out the Brazilian context, exemplifying the *concurso* with three different examples. Secondly, it also explored the work of Beattie (1996) and Fontainha et al. (2014) which led to the conceptual framework for studying the *concurso* seen in chapter five. The second aim was to understand the views of stakeholders about the *concurso* as an instrument of selection (chapters six to eight). The literature reviewed in chapters three and four proved to be essential and provided the foundational knowledge required to approach it. Thirdly, it aimed to explore how the concept of teacher quality was understood by stakeholders when looked at through the lens of the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. These aims were crafted with the overarching intent to contribute to the debate on how selection can support a better teacher education system. In particular due to the pressing need to identify and select the best possible people into the teaching profession as a means of improving education systems as well as overall student outcomes.

The *concurso* is a system designed to encompass all public school teachers in Brazil, from municipal to states and federal schools, which all follow a similar pattern in how it operates. Thus, in order to achieve the aims set above, three Brazilian states and their capital cities were chosen as the site of research: Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul and Distrito Federal. It was then decided that the focus should be on state schools, and that meant working with secondary state school teachers, as explained in chapter five.

Arguably, the most important evaluations of the consequences of the *concurso* within the Brazilian educational system are those that are drawn from the views of the people that experience it first-hand. These views can provide the research with a meaningful orientation of the *concurso*'s existence within its sociocultural context. Moreover, the purposes of the

*concurso* as an instrument of selection may also be inferred from how it is interpreted by other stakeholders, while its association with 'quality' may be asserted from the short and long-term outcomes it produces within the system. Thus, the following research questions were proposed for the empirical work:

- 1) *What are the views and understandings of Brazilian secondary state school teachers, principals, teaching union representatives, and policy-makers about the concurso as an instrument of selection and its functions within the education system?*
- 2) *How do these stakeholders understand the concept of teacher quality in relation to their views about the concurso?*
- 3) *Why has the concurso endured in Brazil without major modifications?*

These research questions were approached through a comparative case-study methodology where views and opinions of stakeholders were analysed using a thematic analysis that relied on an initial code map built from the conceptual framework while considering the overall literature on selection. The methodology adopted helped visualise the research, and it provided a useful structure in which to begin understanding stakeholders' positions about the *concurso*. At the same time, the conceptual framework aimed to articulate the complex relationships between the assumptions and features of the *concurso* with the notion of how they are thought to be informed by an ideology of selection.

The choice of higher level stakeholders and politicians was based on their connections and track-record with education policy. Having the opportunity to interview a former Minister of Education was an important step for this thesis. Also, the access to the different secretaries and personnel within the Ministry of Education was much more comprehensive than what was initially expected. Their input was invaluable and provided unique insights into how the *concurso* is understood and operationalised by those in government. In addition, being able to interview three top-level teachers' union representatives, including the president from the largest education workers' union in the country, added an important dimension to this study as they are often the bridge between teachers and policy-makers, providing a much-

needed balance between emotion and reality. These ‘physical’ boundaries were set in order to trade *breadth* (i.e. a large number of frequencies) for a *depth* of insight into the realities of the people involved in the research. As such, personal judgements were always necessary when it came to understanding, analysing, and ‘diagnosing’ an instrument like the *concurso*.

Looking back at the research the use of interviews as a method of data collection was also an advantage since it allowed further probing questions to be asked in order to peer into stakeholders’ conceptualisations of the *concurso*. However, as the analysis of the interviews began, it became apparent that the divisions between the horizontal and the vertical axes were not as “fixed” as I anticipated. Many of the views from stakeholders at different levels of power were strikingly similar, and their understandings began to merge. This allowed me to conceptualise the *concurso* in a much more meaningful way, leading to the framework discussed in section 5.3. As a consequence, the transversal axis ended up becoming the “fabric” through which the voice of stakeholders needed to be understood, instead of being a separate unit of analysis. It meant that the narratives hidden in the discourse of stakeholders lead to the realisation that a broader and more meaningful understanding of the sociocultural and historical background of the *concurso* was emerging from the respondent themselves. That was a critical part of the analyses. These nuanced responses were what led me to organise and present the data thematically rather than analysing stakeholders’ answers separately and providing separate chapters on individual layers of stakeholders.

Thus, at this juncture of the chapter, because of the arguments above, I will aim to address all the research questions in the next section, where they are presented in an overarching manner, rather than providing individual answers to the questions. This is because they are all actively interconnected through the original conceptual framework with which the data was conceptualised and interpreted.

## 9.2. Answering the research questions

What began as a desire to understand views about the *concurso* as an instrument of selection, developed into a construction of a complex web of ideas that also allowed me to break down my own biases about the *concurso*. These ideas were driven by stakeholders' interpretations of the *concurso* and later classified into five themes conceived by the thematic analysis conducted. They were *valorisation*, *'perceived' quality*, *meritocracy*, *trust and democracy*, and *the fear of corruption*. These themes are central to answering the research questions as a means to identify and evaluate stakeholders' knowledge and understanding of the *concurso*. These are the reasons that led to the presentation of the evidence in three chapters through five thematically-driven lenses. This type of organisation of their views led to a complete reconceptualisation of the *concurso* beyond that of as an instrument of selection. It also allowed a conceptualisation of the *concurso* as *policy* and a conceptualisation of the *concurso* as *ideology*.

The analysis done for this research shows that stakeholders view the *concurso* as a necessary and trusted instrument mainly because of its perceived impartiality (although mistakenly called a 'democratic' instrument – as argued in chapter seven); but, at the same time, it also can be interpreted as an overarching government policy-attempt that aimed to valorise teachers as a profession. However, the *concurso* ends up being an avenue for securing teachers a job for life (tenure), something that is highly regarded by stakeholders, considering the socioeconomic situation in Brazil.

The data analysed in chapter six seems to show that *valorisation* did not seem to have been attained as a consequence of the *concurso* because valorisation requires much more than tenure. It requires an active and demonstrable respect for the profession by the government through systematic funding, resourcing, and infrastructure; and it requires respect from the local society it serves through the recognition of the role of the teacher as a contributor to the betterment of students' lives, and as such, a contributor to this same society as a whole. These requirements are something which stakeholders seem to agree are not currently taking place. Arguably, it is the function of the *concurso* as *policy* to orient policy-makers and society towards a 'healthy' educational system where, as Prof. Leão

hopes, teachers create a bond with their school and community to help students' understand their problems and histories to help them grow and develop. Instead, the *concurso* as it stands seems to be a simple filter, a rubber-stamp on the end-goal of becoming a teacher-concursado, who is then forgotten within the system.

Thus, this research also argues that the *concurso* as a 'protocol' carries with it a highly complex socioeconomic, cultural and historical baggage. When interpreted alongside the literature review, it transpires that it is the Brazilian idiosyncratic conventions and expectations of concepts such as valorisation, teacher quality, profession, meritocracy, trust, democracy, autonomy, corruption, job-security, responsibility, and accountability, that directly influence the paradigms and boundaries within which the *concurso* operates as a system of teacher selection.

Alongside this, the literature on personnel selection (chapter three) highlighted the importance of *fit* between the person (teacher), the organisation (school), and the team (principal and colleagues) leading to an understanding of selection as a complex social process. The data seems to suggest that in Brazil's highly centralised selection there is no explicit nor purposeful attempt at creating such a "fit" between teachers and schools. This conclusion goes against the first assumption of this study as explained in section 1.1. Then, it was argued that:

*a system of selection for employment into any organisation, institution or government has as one of their primary objectives the selection of the best possible candidate to perform specific jobs in a given work environment, looking to get the best possible outcome for their organisation*

Although the assumption may still be valid for a given selection system, according to the data, the *concurso* places limited effort in seeking the best teacher-candidate. In order to understand why this the case, the thesis argues that the *concurso* as a system should also be understood as a complex social process because of the nuanced reality in which it exists. Thus, in order to reconceptualise the *concurso* as a complex social process and understand the boundaries that influence its narrative, the original conceptual framework used in this thesis (chapter five) needs to change its "shape". Now, the three axes (Transversal, Horizontal and Vertical) combine

at the “bottom” to *sustain and maintain* a given *ideology* of selection. This combination of perceptions reinforces each other (*circular arrows*) is part of what leads to a given perception of the existing educational reality of teacher education and selection in Brazil.

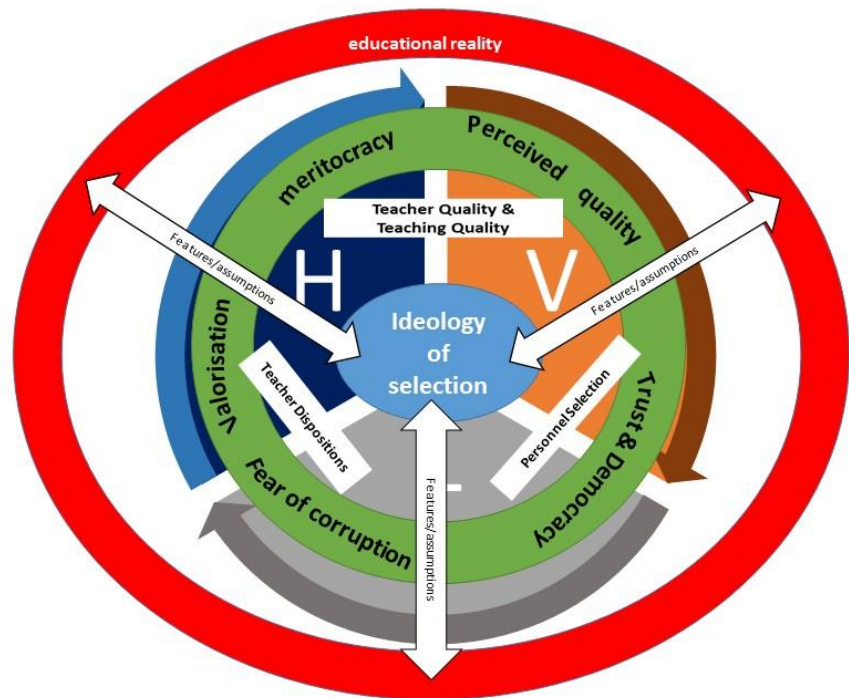


Figure 9 - The formation of the educational reality in Brazil through the lens of its stakeholders. Their views merge to form a unique sociocultural and historical understanding of the *concurso* which actively supports the ideology of selection. The reality is shaped by stakeholders' ideological views, but their ideological views are shaped by their current understandings of selection, dispositions and teacher and teaching quality; which are manifested in the themes present in their discourse.

Further still, the data shows that many stakeholders believe the paradigms that represent their reality to be inexorably bound by constitutional and other legislative and political demarcations which decisively remove the power of selection from schools and their members. This may be because of what other stakeholders seem to believe: that these same paradigms are historically bound by socioeconomic and cultural elements of their society, in particular, those that may be associated with the concepts of patronage and corruption, which is why the emphasis on impartiality also emerges. One conceivable analysis of these parallel visions is that it is precisely these paradigmatic assumptions that make the *concurso* an inevitability in Brazil,

actively sustaining it throughout recent history without any significant modifications. Hence, the original code map for the thematic framework, which had a question mark in it (figure 4, p. 164) also needs to be amended. Although Beattie's assumptions (chapter two, p.45) about the French *concurso* are valid in the Brazilian case, there must be an additional assumption:

***Assumption (v) – the concurso is impartial and prevents corruption***

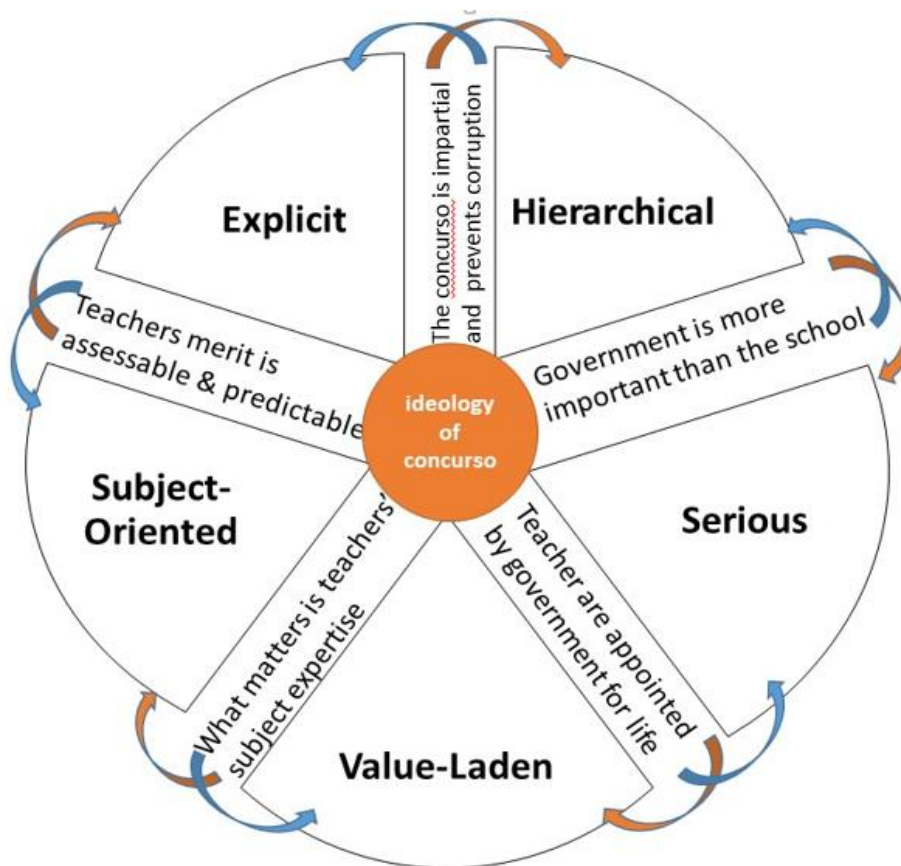


Figure 10 - The new concurso code map framework with the addition of assumption v.

This additional assumption emerges from two of Beattie's features where he claims '*the concurso is serious*', and '*the concurso is explicit*'. This addition to the code map helps us to achieve a better conceptualisation of the *concurso* as *ideology*. While the work of Fontinha et al. (2014) focused on the dichotomy between professional and academic ideologies, this work argues the assumption that the *concurso* is impartial and prevents corruption helps to solidify the idea of the *concurso* as *ideology* and its existence in



Brazil. Thus, the conceptual framework needed to be revisited once more, and this time, pictured in three dimensions (some labels have been removed for easier visualisation). Yellow pillars have been added to signify the bond that is created by both the Brazilian constitution and its laws, and by its socioeconomic and cultural history in order to sustain the *concurso* as an instrument of selection within Brazil's educational reality.

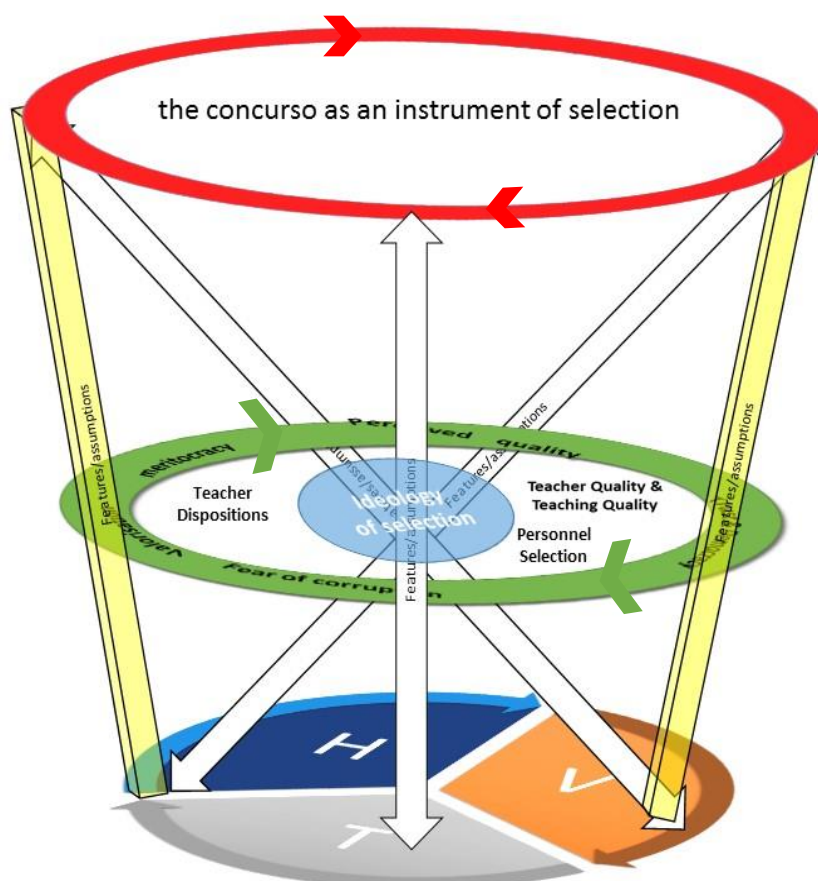


Figure 11 - The sustainability of the *concurso* as seen through a 3D conceptual framework. The *concurso* as an instrument of selection is sustained both by Brazil's sociocultural, economic and political context and its constitutional marks (yellow pillars). The negotiation of meaning happens in the 'second plane' as the ideology of selection is shaped by people's knowledge and understanding of concepts such as teacher and teaching quality, selection, and teachers' dispositions. The white pillars are the *concurso*'s features and assumptions that constantly reinforce the *concurso*'s existence. It is informed by the ideology of selection, and as such, directly impact on stakeholders' views (bottom circle) and on the current format of the *concurso*.

However, the personal narratives illustrated in this comparative case study show that which goes beyond the constitutional requirements of sitting an exam for entry into the teaching profession. It shows that there is also an individual and collective quest for professionalism, recognition, *valorisation*,

and job security for life. Concurrently, this conceptualisation helps to re-imagine Beattie's (1996) features and assumptions (*white arrows*) as "routes" that move both *towards* and *away from* the ideology of selection (*centre blue*), through a feedback system that is informed by the reality of the *concurso* (*red circle*) and stakeholders' unique personal views about teaching, and the *concurso* (*horizontal and vertical axes at the bottom*). These views are also informed by how a pervasive, 'societal' knowledge of selection, teacher quality and teacher dispositions (*white circle*) shape the central ideology, manifesting themselves through the themes proposed by the thesis (*green circle*). Arguably, although stakeholders' views may appear to be ideological, stakeholders tend not to see them as ideological because the *concurso* has been a constant, an integral share of the dominant ideology for a long time. This 'invisible' ideology, arguably, allows the *concurso* its 'historical durability', in part, because of Brazil's 'dysfunctional public administration', as Wilson Risolia put it (chapter seven).

These arguments stem from another of Beattie's assumptions: it is the government that is more important than the school. It is the government that purposefully control and makes critical decisions about the selection protocol, where both the teacher and the school have no authority over selection appointments. It centralises decision-making over *when* the *concurso* happens, *how many vacancies* it will open and *where* (which cities) the examination will be running. The data shows that stakeholders continue to elevate the importance given to the *concurso* even with this level of centralisation. Hence, although many seem to view the *concurso* as incomplete (or 'not perfect'), there is still a level of legitimacy that cannot be disregarded because people are seen as either corrupt or corruptible. In addition, this perspective must be understood through the Brazilian lens especially since it has been experiencing an intensification of private involvement in education, with the influence of big business, spin-off foundations, and think-tanks. For many stakeholders, protecting the *concurso* may also feel like an act of resistance against this.

However, the *concurso* as instrument, in part because of assumption (v), is still seen as removed from this corruption and outside influences, even if the government itself controls it. Furthermore, for the *concurso* to exist, it must operate within a culture of doubt; a culture where the lack of trust is rooted within society. As the EPSO officer said (chapter two, section 2.4): 'I just

can't imagine how you would abandon the competition system and still be able to say the process is fair....they would all think that we were cheating all the time, and nepotism and cronyism and favouritism would be the main features" (*in* Ban, 2008, p.19).

This sustainability of the *concurso* as *instrument* and as *policy* suggested above can also be conceptualised as being due to the way in which stakeholders seem to understand and interact with the five themes extracted from the data (chapters six, seven, and eight – *green circle* in figure 8). This research argues that these five themes create what may be seen as an "ecology" of the *concurso* which helps sustain the *concurso* as ideology. It is also this ecology of concepts that allows this research to decode what may be perceived to be the objectives of the *concurso* as *instrument*, as *policy*, and as *ideology*.

As it stands, the *concurso* as *instrument* does not aim to select the best teachers. The views of stakeholders appear to be relatively clear on this. They do not understand the *concurso* as being associated with *teacher* quality. For them, the *concurso* selects the best *candidates*, the best people prepared on the day of the examination. From the point of view of this research on teacher selection, this was a surprising finding because the evidence from the literature seems to suggest that a better selection would be aimed at the best *teacher-candidates* based on the conceptualisation of teacher quality that took into account the notion of fit between teacher and school. However, for many stakeholders in this research quality did not seem to be a factor of selection, but instead, a factor of training, a factor of classroom practice, a factor time, and for some, a factor of innate ability, of 'vocation'. This implies that an education system would have to rely on a robust initial teacher training that actively prepares teacher-candidates for classroom practice and a reliable system of professional development. But according to the literature and the data analyses – especially from the teachers and principals point of view – neither are currently present in Brazil.

Instead, the *concurso* as *an instrument* is understood by most stakeholders as a filter, as a screening device for a large number of people who have already qualified as teachers through their four-year licensure degree and want to enter the civil service to become a *concursado*. Thus, according to the research findings, the selection into teaching in state secondary schools

*does not need to seek out* an evaluation of teachers' dispositions and characteristics, nor promote an assessment of teaching competency, even though evidence from the literature seems to point out these are major influences on teacher quality and student outcomes. Therefore, the *concurso* as a system of 'selection' does not address the second assumption of the thesis (section 1.1) where I argued that

*the 'quality' of teachers is a multifaceted and complex construct that both informs and supports the overall quality of classroom teaching and the quality of individual relationships between other staff and students*

The *concurso as instrument* and the stakeholders who participated in this study, seem to understand that these 'teacher qualities' are an intrinsic part of who you are as a person, and hence part of the reasons how you decided to become a teacher. They are also qualities teachers' develop over time, with training and practise, and thus, are do not need to be *selected for*. This is likely to be informed by both the sociocultural context within Brazil, as well as a consequence of the *concurso* being designed to reward subject knowledge, through rankings of their final scores; and thus, it actively prevents schools from engaging with selection. If schools were an active part of the selection process, this would require new and current teachers to actively demonstrate the skills, characteristics and dispositions that would be suitable for the goals of that particular school as well as fitting within their context. As the OECD's latest report (2018) argues, a lack of school involvement can lead to system rigidity as well as teacher complacency with their professional development due to their guaranteed tenured status; something that the politicians in this study also argued.

Furthermore, albeit a standardised examination has the capacity to select the most academically able, especially those that are proficient at taking tests, it is not unbiased or impartial as stakeholders seem to believe. Conceivably, a high-stakes and standardised selection procedure like the *concurso* has a strong normative agenda which is often imposed through a categorising procedure. It develops a two-tier boundary within the teaching profession (i.e. *concursado* vs. *contratado* [*temporary teacher*] ) and

excludes those deemed not “fit” for purpose based on its specific agenda of judging teachers based on their ability to demonstrate the knowledge acquired for the test rather than seeking out teacher quality and competence, as argued in chapter four.

The argument above leads to a more in-depth understanding of the *concurso as policy*, which could then be explored as a means of exclusion through this two-tier system which allows the classification of individuals through an *apparent* meritocratic umbrella under the excuse of impartiality and prevention of corruption. At the same time, the *concurso as policy* seems to drive the conceptualisation of valorisation, in particular through the notion of job-stability (tenure), as mentioned previously. However, job-stability does not have to mean job-stagnation and should not be an excuse for lack of mobility within the system.

Independently of the challenging places and contexts in which teachers and school principals currently work in Brazil, the professionalisation of public school workers in the eyes of society depends on an approach that provides valorisation through a clear vision of accountable competence rather than a ‘secured’ complacency. It becomes a processual evaluation of teaching that is both self-induced and externally, and routinely, monitored by independent adjudicators from *within* the profession, rather than government-led. In this way, a different conceptualisation of trust and merit can emerge, “travelling” to and fro the conceptual framework pathways (*white arrows* in figure 8), and thus, potentially shifting both *the ecology* and *the sustainability* of the *concurso*. In this way, the *concurso* becomes more than policy; it also becomes an ideology of selection (but not necessarily driven by academic ideology as argued by Fontinha et al.) but an ideology which buffers stakeholders from the pervasive (and perceived) mistrust and corruption in people.

In summary, according to the evidence, arguments, and conceptual models provided above, currently, the sustainability of the *concurso as policy* seems to emerge from sociocultural and historical contexts, aided by its legislative markers. It is the interaction between the *concurso as instrument* and the *concurso as policy* which enables the underlying idea of the *concurso as ideology* to exist. This work argues that the *concurso as ideology* is not a fixed construct, but susceptible to influence by its stakeholders through their

understanding of its features and assumptions. However, to enable this shift of the *concurso as ideology*, there must be a shift in how the *concurso* is conceptualised. This adjustment could eventually drive a re-shaping of the (yellow) pillars which sustain the *concurso* because, as argued by Wise, Darling-Hammond and Berry (1987), the teaching profession must be 'sufficiently selective and well-supported to sustain a teaching force that will capture public confidence and will enable genuine educational reform' (p.112).

Thus, to enable genuine reform, a significant and holistic intervention needs to be undertaken, where the profile of the *concurso as ideology* is reconceptualised. Selection practices when understood as a complex social process do not have to be a two-tier, exclusionary standard. However, instead, it can be adapted to support the individual needs of the schools as well as the needs of teachers. The more the *concurso* allows the contribution of its peripheral stakeholders, the more schools and teachers would gain from a reimagining of the sustainability of the *concurso*, and, as a consequence, its outcome – a purposeful selection of teachers. The more information can be gathered by both schools and teachers, the more comprehensive the system becomes. It becomes a process where both schools and teachers provide formative feedback to each other in order to reflect on their choices. It becomes an iterative and evaluative process that turns schools and teachers as co-responsible actors rather than passive recipients of the *concurso*.

However, the complexity of the sociocultural and economic issues facing the *concurso as policy*, in particular through the need of valorisation of teachers, also feeds the sustainability of the *concurso as ideology*. Moreover, the *concurso as instrument* serves the purpose of dealing with the mistrust, and the fear of corruption that permeates Brazilian society, and as a standardised route to screen teachers, rather than actively selecting them, into a privileged position within the civil service. But it needs to be much more than that. It needs to take into account the overwhelming evidence from the literature on teacher selection of the need for a co-construction of a new reality for selection while taking into account the context of schools and teachers in Brazil. Thus, when looking at the *concurso* as a complex social process, it seems that it is not the instrument itself that is valued by the stakeholders, but it is what it represents that really matters.

### 9.3. Reflections on the limitations of conclusions

On reflection of the conclusions stated above, it is vital to engage in a critical discussion of their limitations and acknowledge that the limitations of the research methods presented in section 5.7 have a direct implication on how the conclusions are drawn. Although the number of participants in this research may be thought to have been a limiting factor for the conclusions reached, the depth of data gathered from all stakeholders has provided an invaluable insight into a section of the Brazilian reality and its teaching workforce that had not been well-represented in academic research in Brazil. Considering that the latest report from July 2018 by ‘Todos para Educação’ (section 2.5) claimed that ‘teachers are being heard for the first time’, this thesis is a testament to the value and potential of the conclusions presented here since it is the first time multiple points-of-view from a wide variety of stakeholders has been assembled to examine the *concurso* as an instrument of selection. They are the result of a seven-year journey through writing and re-writing the literature, the development of the conceptual framework, and through transcribing, translating, and analysing interviews by a total of 61 stakeholders: 13 high-level stakeholders (teachers’ unions, politicians and other education policy actors), nine school principals and 39 teachers. Importantly, in many instances, they were borne out of the patterns of ideas of how stakeholders perceived the *concurso*. In this sense, the number of participants did not seem to jeopardise the conclusions. Instead, they provided the depth needed to glimpse into a reality that had not been looked at before in this way.

Additionally, the time-span in which this research took place must also be addressed. This thesis took seven-years of part-time work to reach this current state. Due to personal commitments, there were times where I did not touch this PhD thesis for months on end. This led to constant re-reading and re-writing of chapters, forgetting and remembering, changing perceptions, and discovering new publications every year that went by which needed to be read, dissected, and integrated into this work. It had a direct implication on how the data was collected, how it was analysed, and thus how conclusions have been achieved. However, in many ways, this was also beneficial as my ideas about the *concurso* continually evolved as I searched and read news about teachers and the *concurso* in Brazil. Invariably the

news focused on strikes, walk-outs, new curriculum, pay and conditions, new *concurso*s opening, but never finding anything about the *concurso as policy*, until I came across the work from Fontainha et al. (2014) in early 2016. Thus, Fontainha et al.'s research must be recognised as giving this research an entirely new 'gear-shift' which helped to shape this thesis and its conclusions towards the manner in which they have been presented above.

Even though some of the conclusions are somewhat conceptual, leading to a potential model for thinking about the *concurso* (and potentially any open competition model of selection), the conclusions are a fair reflection of the complexity of the research process as a whole, rather than being insular soundbites. Nevertheless, the conclusions have their limitations since they are, ultimately, a reflection of how I interpreted the results, regardless of how much care I have taken during the analysis of the data. Different researchers may look at the data and interpret it differently. However, the literature, the methodology and the data that inform the conclusion seem to provide a grounded, and nuanced overview of the *concurso* and its representations through the lens of these stakeholders in Brazil. This is very important to me because when I started this thesis seven years ago, I saw the *concurso* as an old-fashioned and unnecessary system. I feel this journey and this thesis has also helped me to overcome my own bias, allowing me to understand the peculiarities of the *concurso* and the need for its existence in Brazil at this point in its history. Thus, I come towards the end this work in a completely different mindset, which I believe are a direct consequence of the research process, of the data, and of the conclusions presented in this final chapter.

#### **9.4. Reflections on the contributions to knowledge, implications to policy, and the need for further work**

Regarding the contribution to knowledge towards the Brazilian academic literature, this study provides an account which aimed at challenging and changing the current understanding of the *concurso* as a static stage of selection into the civil service. As a consequence of this research, the conclusion provided a new conceptual framework that may allow for a more theoretical and practical understanding of the *concurso* as a complex social



process, as *instrument*, as *policy*, and as *ideology*. This thesis argued that by having an understanding of the *concurso* through this conceptual framework, it is viable to envision how a change in the *concurso as instrument*, without a change in the *concurso as policy*, can trigger a change in the *concurso as ideology*. This may be possible because a change in the instrument can begin to change and re-shape both the features and assumptions of the *concurso*. Since they are the pathways through which stakeholders negotiate the meaning of the *concurso*, this could lead to incremental shifts in the idea of the *concurso as ideology*, contributing to the overall development of teacher selection in Brazil.

The development of teacher selection must become a central focus to education policy making in Brazil because 'no other selection is as important as that of the people that will look after the education of our children....we must look at teacher selection as if selection of airplane pilots...the selection of our teachers must be the most robust in Brazil' (Buarque, 2012, p.86). However, the discourse of academic success in Brazil has been greatly influenced by the fear of personalisation of the procedure. All civil servants and many other private institutions in Brazil have adhered to this system of selection, driven by their fear of corruption, where a teacher's lack of skills can be hidden in the academic performance in a single event. The competition then becomes a power relation between those that have managed to acquire the necessary examination knowledge and technique to achieve a pass and those that have not. Thus, a potential starting point towards a change in the ideology of selection may start with what Senator Cristovam Buarque coined as 'responsible stability' within the civil service. Although it is important to deal with Brazilian labour laws that allow civil servants job security even in the face of incompetence, policy makers may be able to introduce elements to achieve such 'responsibility' in the face of 'evidenced incompetence' because

to favour incompetence is surely irrational? We feel confident that the job will be properly done when someone is known to be competent. Who would want to have a filling attended to by an 'incompetent' dentist, or have their brakes fixed by an 'incompetent' mechanic? Competence, therefore, is not a purely fictional matter.

(Usher and Richards, 1994, p.109)

Importantly, this may be able to happen without stakeholders losing the pillars that currently hold the *concurso* in place through its constitutionality and its sociocultural history as they are both vitally important to the sustainability of the *concurso*. This conceptual understanding was only made possible by aiming to make explicit the voice of multiple stakeholders that experience the *concurso*, and by looking at the *concurso* from the “outside-in” through a lens of selection as a complex social process. This is important because as far as the gap in the literature demonstrated, this thesis proves to be a unique feature of academic works about the *concurso* in Brazilian education. This research has also demonstrated that teachers and principals understand how the *concurso* does not necessarily select the best classroom teachers, while holding the views that the *concurso* is needed given the perceived level of corruption and bias embedded in Brazilian employment culture. In addition, the data has shown that they believe selection should go further, that other components could be used to ensure not only students get the best teachers but also that it reflects their professional practice. Therefore, this contribution also aims to ignite a much-needed debate on the nature of the *concurso*, and to expose the need for research on teacher selection in Brazil, especially now with the potential for the creation of a national career for teachers (see p. 107 in this work).

Also, this work makes a small contribution to the overarching literature on teacher selection, in particular to the literature focused on centralised systems of selection. As stated in chapter three, the existing literature on teacher selection is highly Anglo-centric and dominated by the issues with systems that have an open recruitment policy. This is why the research on selection and quality seem so prominent within the literature in English. Thus, this work aimed to contribute with a careful articulation of how a system of ‘open competition’ like the *concurso* may be seen through the lens of its stakeholders, providing new conceptual insights on how centralised “selection” may be understood within the boundaries of its contexts. This is important because ‘open competition’ is a system for teacher selection that is widely used across the world but it is hardly ever challenged or inspected for its internal logic, features and assumptions. Arguably, this has been achieved for the Brazilian case by both an original research and through an original conceptualisation which drew on a combination of the work of Beattie

(1996) and Fontainha et al. (2014), as well as on the body of research presented in chapter three and four.

The outcomes of this research imply that as a consequence of a conceptualisation of the *concurso* as a complex social process of teacher selection, it may be able to directly support an alternative way of thinking about teacher selection within Brazilian teacher education policy. Despite the current sustainability of the *concurso*, and the need for the *concurso* to exist within the sociocultural, historical and political context of Brazil, the understandings portrayed in the research findings could potentially lead to a more explicit and evidence-based conceptualisation of teacher quality within selection for the Brazilian context.

This could trigger the formulation of country-wide recognisable and acceptable teacher competencies and professional standards that can be assessed through observable and demonstrable behaviours and skills, especially since Brazil does not have professional standards, nor an independent body led by teachers to lead this discussion. Arguably, this has the potential to also directly influence selection into initial teacher education, and initial teacher education itself. The view of teacher selection as a complex social process backed by professional standards developed *by teachers for teachers* would enable stakeholders to impact the teacher education system as whole, from the attractiveness of the profession and self-selection into applying to initial teacher education, to the training provision and further advancement within a new school structure. For these reasons, the *concurso* may be better off serving as a first-stage screening process leading to a federal certification that would be acceptable across all public schools in Brazil, increasing teacher mobility and helping schools recruit the teachers they need.

Although there would be costs associated with a longer selection process where differences in teacher quality would be more identifiable by schools, the changes to the valorisation of teachers could help attract new teachers as well as retaining those that have consistently developed over time and met specific criteria (Staiger and Rockoff 2010). At the same time, teachers that have not met a given criteria of professional standards may be given additional training and/or induction time in order to succeed and move

forward with their career. This would form the backbone of 'responsible stability'.

In this way, to demonstrate successful classroom teaching would depend on the capacity of the teacher-candidate to learn and showcase their knowledge, skills, abilities, and characteristics in practice rather than only using a standardised examination that does not see teacher quality as a variable. Arguably, this would have to be continuously developed and self-assessed, perhaps by means of portfolio construction *after* the *concurso* takes place, which could also be associated with pay progression.

*concurso* For this to take place, there would have to be a pressing need to develop robust accreditation procedures that would require a teacher-candidate to become accredited by an independent body. In this way, they would be able to demonstrate evidence of their ongoing personal learning, professional development, and teaching practice. These achievements could then lead to a professional accreditation and registration into a national teaching council which would then be valid for them to practice in public schools. This could provide teachers and schools with the avenue to become collaborators in selection; it could support a wider valorisation of teachers in the eyes of society and the eyes of teachers themselves, although a systematic re-infrastructure of schools and training of staff would need to take place. Nevertheless, this could, perhaps, be one of the first steps towards mitigating the feelings of mistrust and possibility of corruption that currently pervade the Brazilian system.

Finally, this thesis argued for a policy shift where a conceptualisation of teacher selection as a complex social process can support the restructuring of Brazilian teacher education when teachers' professional competencies and teacher quality are formalised within federal teaching standards and expectations for all public schools. These professional standards, in turn, can be agreed as a set of observable and demonstrable behaviours and skills, where a teacher's successful performance will depend on the capacity of the teacher-candidate and demonstrate its teacher and teaching quality in practice and over a period of time along with a portfolio of evidence (Easterby-Smith, Burgoyne and Araujo, 1999). This teaching quality must be continuously developed through professional training and therefore, good accreditation procedures will require that the teacher-candidate is not

necessarily accredited on one occasion only, but that there will be demonstrable evidence collated by a variety of people of the ongoing learning, development and teaching. A formal recognition and accreditation through the professional registration into a national teaching council of public school teachers could help tackle the need for valorisation, merit, and reduce the fear of corruption. Ultimately, teacher selection is tied in with a range of interconnected issues within teacher education and development, but, as this thesis has argued, it has the potential to become a catalyst for significant structural reforms that would enable the establishment of professional standards across the country, a license to teach in any public school in Brazil, and a re-conceptualisation of teacher quality for Brazilian stakeholders to which teachers and schools would be accountable for, and thus, lead to a change in the current status of teaching profession in Brazil.

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## **Appendices**

## Appendix I – Interview Schedule

*Based on Hobby, Crabtree, and Ibbetson (2004)*

### *Introduction.*

As the consent form mentioned, I am trying to learn more about how principals/teachers/stakeholders perceive the Brazilian protocol of hiring teachers, the *concurso*. I would like to understand your views about the *concurso* as a selection mechanism as well as the relationship between types of teachers characteristics of good teachers as portrayed by you and those selected by the *concurso*. (For principals : and how you might identify those characteristics)

. . . Feel free to stop me at any time if you have any questions. Also, if I don't ask you about something that you believe is important regarding this issue, please let me know. Do you have any questions before we get started?

### *The Concurso, Teacher Qualities and Qualifications.*

Take a minute to think about the best teachers you've known/worked with.

1. What characteristics did they have that you think make/made them good teachers?
2. More generally, in your opinion, what should be other characteristics of a well-qualified, good teacher?
  - a. What personal qualities are most important in making someone a good teacher?
3. After teachers finish their training course, are they prepared to teach in a state school?
  - a. Does the "licenciatura" course prepare people for teaching?  
( Why? How come? )

Take a minute to think about the way you and your colleagues have been selected to work in the state sector, the *concurso*.

1. What is your opinion about the *concurso* as an instrument of selecting teachers?
2. Why do you think the *concurso* is the method used to select teachers?
  - a. [more leading question] do you think it is an appropriate method? Why? Etc..
3. In your opinion, does the *concurso* to select teachers have any other function/serve any other purpose?
4. In your opinion, what type of teacher does the *concurso* select?
  - a. Does it select the best teachers?
5. Do you think the “prova de títulos” is important? Why?
  - a. In your opinion, is the type of qualification an indicator of quality of teaching?
6. In your opinion, what is the role of the *concurso* for the teaching profession? ....Why do you think that...?

Specific for Principals:

1. When a new teacher arrives in the school , have you had any say on whether the school wants the specific teacher? (answer will be “no” this is a leading question for the follow up question)
2. What specific qualities should teachers have? How is the *concurso* as a method of selection related to these qualities?

## Appendix II – Example of Letter of Intent of Research (in Portuguese)

Brasília, 30 de julho de 2012.

Excelentíssimo Senador Cristovam Buarque

Meu nome é **Roussel de Carvalho**, bacharel em Física, pela **UFRGS - Universidade Federal do RGS**, residente em Cambridge - Inglaterra, atualmente mestrando/doutorando pelo **Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Londres - sob a supervisão do Prof. Dr. Tristan McCowan**

Estou realizando pesquisa acadêmica/tese de Doutorado que procura entender as o **processo de seleção e treinamento de professores na educação pública**. Se propõe também, a ampliar o debate sobre a **formação inicial de professores**.

Neste objetivo, inclui-se também, a proposta de realização da prova de docentes sobre a Matriz de referência da Prova Nacional de *Concurso* para o ingresso na Carreira Docente.

Como parte de sua pesquisa o Professor esta interessado em conhecer o ponto de vista de sua Excelência, **Senador Cristovam Buarque** a respeito desses assuntos, principalmente pelo seu conhecimento do trabalho, da coerência e persistência de sua Excelência, defendendo sempre as mesmas posições. E, também de como o centro de sua ação política é a **Educação**.

Assim, venho solicitar sua compreensão e colaboração para o agendamento de uma audiência com sua Excelência, **Senador Cristovam Buarque** para que o Professor Roussel, possa conversar a respeito desses assuntos tão importantes para o **Desenvolvimento da Educação no Brasil**.

A participação de sua Excelência, Senador Cristovam Buarque nesta pesquisa é muito importante, especialmente por ser um Professor.

Informo que o Professor Roussel estará no Brasil no período de 05 a 15 de agosto/2013, para esse trabalho de pesquisas e entrevistas.

Desde já, agradeço muitíssimo a atenção, contando com a valiosa participação de sua Excelência, Senador Cristovam Buarque.

Qualquer dúvida ou esclarecimento, por gentileza entre em contato.

Atenciosamente,

## **Appendix III – Pseudonyms of participants**

### School Principals

1. Jonas
2. Ronaldo
3. Reginaldo
4. Jorge
5. Gabriel
6. Rose
7. Bernardo
8. Rosangela
9. Selma

### School Teachers

1. Roberto
2. Alberto
3. Eduardo
4. Claudia
5. Renata
6. Romilda
7. Luciana
8. Romario
9. Moreira
10. Adriano
11. Lucca
12. Beatriz
13. Belinda
14. Branco
15. Bruna
16. Bibiana
17. Pamela
18. Bonato
19. Rogerio
20. Mariana
21. Julia
22. Angela
23. Ana Paula
24. Heloisa
25. Gilmara

## Appendix IV – Example of Interview – Transcript – Original

### ENTREVISTA - ESCOLA 8 – PROFESSOR 1

R- Eu sempre faço umas perguntas a respeito do *concurso* como um método de seleção aquela prova objetiva. Como você enxerga o *concurso* assim como um instrumento de seleção para professores?

P- Eu acho que ele é necessário, eu acho, encaro como necessário, mas eu acho que ele não primeiro que ele não nos avalia é um instrumento que eu acho que não é para avaliação, em segundo porque eu acho que ele poderia ser mais específico.

R- Em que sentido específico?

P- Pedagogicamente, ele não foca no que eu faria como professor pedagogicamente e sim o que que o autor disse na linha tal do livro tal e isso não me traz nenhum conhecimento pedagógico. Isso só prova que talvez eu tenha lido um livro, mas que eu não tenha aprendido nada, então eu acho que se eu teria, tivesse que ter esses aprendizados lá na minha universidade eu me preparando para um *concurso* não seria essas lições que eu tiraria, não é? Não seria dessa forma como é pedido na prova que eu iria demonstrar que eu aprendi alguma coisa pedagogicamente falando, então eu acho que as provas são muitas citações de autores que é uma tendência pedagógica e não adiante que qualquer outro nível que tu vais fazer uma pós graduação, um mestrado, um doutorado a gente fala muito nos pensadores mas eu que deveria se perguntar mais questões que tivesse que usar ensinamento que aquele pedagogo me deu .

R- E como é que você vê essa questão de outras etapas no *concurso* né, o *concurso* hoje em dia em muitos estados ele é uma prova objetiva.

P- Eu fiz essa última né, vou te dizer eu não me preparei, eu fiz só por fazer, eu tenho 40 hora seu fiz pra fazer e eu não me reparei nem um pouquinho, não abri um caderno, não abri um livro, não fiz nada, eu até que fui bem, não passei por três questões para quem está muito tempo para estudar . Na parte da legislação eu tô por dentro porque estou estudando bastante legislação esse tipo de coisa, eu fui bem, na parte específica eu fui muito bem. Agora realmente na parte pedagógica da maneira como foi colocada à prova lá, eu achei bem trabalhosa bem cansativa, foram 5 horas para fazer a prova se não me engano eu fiquei as 5 horas então bem cansativo.

R- Claro você é enxerga o processo seletivo como ele tendo possibilidade de ele ter outras etapas no sentido de uma prova de aula ou uma entrevista?

P- Há eu acho que seria bem mais interessante. Porque realmente o que que eu encaro essa prova um processo seletivo vamos selecionar ou seja uma prova eliminatória, vamos eliminar e pronto. Só fica o melhor e essa

ideia e a ideia que se passa depois na conclusão total todo mundo rodou, são todos umas amebas que não pensão, que não estudam que não tem conhecimento nenhum. Enquanto que isso não é realidade porque quem foi fazer aquela prova, são professores que já estão atuando que já estão no Magistério a grande maioria, eu encontrei milhões de colegas lá fazendo essa prova. Então na verdade não é o que está sendo retratado eu acho que realmente deveria se fazer uma entrevista, uma outra etapa que buscasse mais, que avaliasse realmente que o professor está preparado para a sala de aula, pedagogicamente talvez não mas de repente para a vida pro aprendizado pro cotidiano para o dia a dia o professor está bem mais preparado do que só para uma prova.

R- Claro. E como é que você enxerga a formação de professores hoje em dia assim saindo da licenciatura né. A Faculdade está preparando o professor para a sala de aula?

P- A minha Universidade não me preparou para dentro da sala de aula. Eu fiz um curso de bacharelado em química, claro fiz as disciplinas todas do meu curso, mas elas não me prepararam alias nada. Eu acho que, hoje atualmente nada nenhum um Mestrado, nenhum Doutorado, nenhuma Pós-Graduação nada prepara para a sala de aula principalmente para o politécnico nada nos prepara para a sala de aula. Sala de aula é vivência e dia a dia.

R- Então esse aprendizado ocorreria após seleção.

P- Apos, apos.

R- Tipo estagio probatório.

P- Com certeza essa prova que tu fazes lá não te prepara para nada do que tu vais encarar aqui, não é. E realmente nada do que eu aprendi lá eu aplico aqui. Aqui é um outro aprendizado e outro dia a dia. E existem diversas escolas e uma diversidade de comunidades de pessoas e cada uma é um aprendizado uma coisa diferente.

R- E como é que funciona o estágio probatório ele é utilizado formalmente? Ele funciona, existe uma, uma formação melhor pós seleção?

P- Olha realmente assim, eu não me senti ampara durante o meu estágio probatório, não me senti assim acolhida me mostrando o que eu deveria fazer, quais as coisas que eu deveria me inteirar, não tipo assim, toma e vai, te vira até por que a maneira como a gente é avaliado não é uma maneira assim dedicada da direção ficar atenta do que tu estas fazendo ela é sistemática.

R- Então porque ela é sistemática?

P- Robô, robocop, que vão entrar na escola e vão repetir sempre a mesma coisa porque tu entra numa escola e aí eles te colocam a par da sistemática de escola: Aqui funciona assim: a gente faz assim, assim, assim, isso aqui tu tens que preencher assim isso aqui tu tens que fazer assim e tu tens que fazer uma prova e esses são os conteúdos e faz chamada. A prova disso essa mudança que nós estamos passando agora, essa adaptação para o politécnico isso está requerendo muito que todas as instâncias do ensino



superior, ensino médio, ensino básico dessa classificação politécnico está passando. Todo mundo tem que parar e repensar e se integrar e que não adianta. Nós vivemos uma tendência burocrática onde a gente não consegue largar esse papel essa repetição de papel, papel, desde a prova lá, até a maneira que somos avaliados agora. A gente continua sempre nos detendo a papel, papel, papel, acho que deveria ser feito. O próprio teste que a gente faz lá na perícia quando a gente é aprovado pelo *concurso*

P- Tipo teste de perfil.

P- Aquele teste de perfil aquilo lá também não avalia nada não vejo aquilo como instrumento legal

R- E você acha que a categoria de professor como um todo assim da rede pública não eles estariam preparado para aceitar uma etapa a onda você tem que dar uma aula ou ser entrevistado que são um pouco mais subjetivas do que uma prova objetiva.

P- O que é feito fora do Magistério Público, não é? Quando tu vais ser admitido te pedem uma aula não e que talvez as pessoas não estejam acostumadas. Olha a grande maioria eu acredito que não .Porque eu enxergo o meu colega, talvez as pessoas que estão entrando agora mais jovens com a cabeça ou quem ainda está estudando tem uma cabeça mais arejada mas a maioria não quer mudança, a grande maioria não quer ser avaliado, não quer ser questionado e não quer mudar a grande maioria mas eu acho , acredito que se tocar ali um pouquinho na ferida pessoa vai fazer uma parada para pensar uma retomada e vai ver que não e assim está na hora de fazer alguma coisa para mudar porque ao mesmo tempo que essas pessoas não querem mudar, essas pessoas reclamam que não tá legal que não tá . E eu acho que não tem como enxergar que realmente tá acontecendo um caos e tem que se avaliar todo os campos.

R - E como é que você enxerga o *concurso* como uma entidade em si. Ele exerce alguma outra função além de selecionar professores?

P - Eu enxergo assim. eu vejo assim muita gente dizendo assim: ah tu é concursado. ah tu não é concursado. As pessoas se sentem mais como é que vou te dizer elitizadas porque passaram no *concurso*.Também aquele fato de se ter mais segurança, eu passei no *concurso* então ninguém pode mexer comigo porque eu sou concursado. 'É claro que ele te dá uma garantia tu passaste por um exame e tu é um funcionário público porque tu fez um *concurso* que é previsto em lei então e logico todo mundo quer este direito, mas eu não acredito que uma pessoa é mais ou menos porque fez um *concurso*. E eu acredito que ele deve existir sim, como entidade acho que é uma coisa que deve existir uma instituição deve ser institucionalizado e deve existir este meio de seleção porque também tu tem que entender que pode ter lá o fulano numa escola porque é amigo do fulano, amigo do ciclano. direção vai favorecer.

R - Você acha que isto é forte ainda hoje em dia?

P - É no mundo hoje é. infelizmente é em todos os lugares é. no público. no estatal. todos. no privado.

R - Por que você acha que existe esta realidade do contratar o amigo?

P - Porque nós somos seres humanos.

R – Uma ultima pergunta, o *concurso* público valoriza o professor?

P - Olha. é que nem aquela questão que eu te falei. as pessoas ainda se colocam assim: eu fiz um *concurso*. ainda usam este discurso para se valorizar. mas não que alguém vai te valorizar. tu te valoriza. dentro da escola não vejo essa valorização do profissional. não enxergo. acho que está faltando exatamente isto está valorização por parte da escola e por parte do profissional também. nos valorizarmos, enquanto profissionais, enquanto equipe. enquanto escola. enquanto educação. acho que há uma distância muito grande entre a valorização que é pensada para quando se faz um *concurso* e para quando se vai assumir este papel. acho que tem ainda um grande abismo.

R - E o que você acha que está faltando para se valorizar o professor ?

P - Acho que salário se bate sempre nesta tecla, mas salário é fundamental, é fundamental. ninguém consegue se sentir valorizado sendo pobre, ganhando pouco porque o professor é muito pobre. por que o professor é pobre? o professor não tem dinheiro para fazer uma formação melhor. ele lutou muito para conseguir ali, ele fez uma UFRGS e ele não consegue tempo para largar as 60 horas que faz no estado pra ele fazer lá, seu doutorado seu mestrado. ele não tem dinheiro para frequentar teatros. ele não tem dinheiro para frequentar boas bibliotecas, ele não tem dinheiro para comprar livros. ele não tem dinheiro para fazer cursos. ele não tem tempo para isto então realmente fica muito difícil. e esses cursos que são oferecidos aqui dentro, sinceramente, não contribui em nada, não contribui em nada. Ano após ano a gente recebe essas formações continuadas e é só olhar lá e depois ver que resultado isto deu nenhum. Porque se eu for fazer uma formação, vou procurar uma coisa que realmente que me dê uma formação dentro da minha área então realmente eu não vejo. eu acho que não estou vendo esta melhora.

R - Professora, muito obrigada pela sua participação, pelo tempo e disponibilidade.

P - Até foi bom porque assim eu fiz até um desabafo.

R - Eu acho importante que este trabalho vai na base. eu quero saber o que os professores pensam. e acho que muitas vezes os professores não são ouvidos.

P - Nunca são ouvidos. As vezes as coisas saem e a gente vê muita notícia. o governo, principalmente, gosta muito de publicar que foram feitos questionamentos nas escolas. eu nunca fui questionada. nunca vi ninguém vir aqui me perguntar se estou satisfeita. qual é formação que eu gostaria. como é que gostaria que fosse um *concurso*. este tipo de questionamento são raros, raríssimos.

## Appendix V – Example of Interview – Translation

Example of Interview transcript (translation) - School 8 – Teacher 1

R- I always ask questions about the *concurso* as a method of selecting teachers, the examination. What is your opinion about the *concurso* as an instrument of teacher selection?

P- I think it is necessary, I think, i think of it as necessary, but I think that firstly, it does not assess us [as teachers], it is an iinstrument that I think it is not for assessment, it could bee more specific

R- What do you mean specific?

P- Pedagogically, it does not focus on what I would do as a teacher, pedagogically, but it asks for what the author said, from a given book, that does not give me any pedagogical knowledge. It only proves that maybe I have read a book, but but that I did not learning anything, o I think that if I had, I would have had this learning at the university, I was preparing for a *concurso*, those would not be the “lessons” i would take from it, would it? It wouldn’t be this way like it is asked in the examination, how I would demonstrate what I learnt something, pedagogically speaking...so I think that the exams [focus] too much on citations of authors that have a given tendency....and does not tackle another type of knowledge...so when you go do a masters or a doctoral we talk about all these “thinkers” but what should be asked questions where I could use what I was taught, that the pedagogue “gave” me.

R: So how do you see the issue of other stages in a *concurso*, like in other states/cities where it is just an multiple-choice exam.

I took this last one right, so I will tell, I did not prepare for it, I only did, “just to do it”, I have a 40 hour contract, so I did not prepared myself for it, not a bit, I did not open a book, I did not do anything, and I actually did pretty well, but I did not pass because of three questions...for someone that is a long time without studying. [not bad]. In the section about legislation, eu I am I did well, and in the subject knowledge test I did very well, now in the pedagogical exam questions, in the way it was “put” in the exam, I thought it hard, it was very tiring, it was 5 hours to do the exam, if I am not mistaken, I stayed 5 hours, It was very tiring...

R- Of course, so do you see the selection process like having the possibility of having other stages, like a “practice-lesson” or “an interview”? What do you think?

Ah! I think it would be more intersting, because, really, what I face in this exam, a selection process, let’s select, meaning, an exam that is “eliminator”, let’s eliminate, and that’s it. Only the best stays, and this idea is the idea that is passed on later.

But in this exam, ...in the end, everyone failed, and then they think they are all “amebas that do not think , that do not study, that do not have any knowledge”, But this is not reality because who actually enrolled to do that exam? It was the teachers that are already teaching, the vast majority, I met

so many colleagues doing this exam. So, in reality, it is not what is being portrayed..., so I think there would be an interview, or another stage that would “search for more”, that really assessed if the teacher is prepared to teach, pedagogically maybe not, but maybe for life, for learning, the day-to-day of the teacher, if the teacher is better prepared than just an exam.

R – Of course, so how do you see initial teacher education today, as teachers leave the licensure course. Is the university prepare the teacher for the classroom?

My university did not prepare me for the classroom. I did a Bachelor's in Chemistry, of course, I did all the modules on my course, but they did not prepare me for nothing. I think, today, no Masters' degree, no Doctoral degree, no Pos-Graduate degree prepares for the classroom. Classroom is about living it and day-to-da.

R – So this learning would happen after ?

After, after.

R- Like a probation period?.

I am certain that the exam that you take, does not prepare you for anything that you will face here, in the classroom, right? Really, nothing that I learnt there, I apply here. Here, it is another type of learning, day-to-day. There are several schools and a diversity of community of people, each one with a different learning.

R – so how does the probation period work? Is it formally used? Is there a better learning after the *concurso*?

Look, really, I did not feel supported during my probation period. I did not feel “taken in”, [with people] showing me how I should do it, which things I should become familiar with, no, like, “here it is, off you go”, specially because in the way that we are assessed is not like, a way that the senior management team stays alert to what you are doing, it is systematic.

R: What do you mean systematic?

Robotic, “Robocop” , they come to the school and repeat the same thing, because here, you go into a school, and then they put in the “school system”. In this school it is like this, we do it like this, like this, like this, this form you need to fill out like this, and you have to dit like this, and you have to do a test for your students and these are the contents, and this is the register. We live in a bureocratic tendency where e cannot leave this paper, this repetition of paper, paper, from the exam, up to the point of how we are assessed. We keep always going back to the paper, paper, paper, I think something should be done. Even the “formal test” we have to do [ to be nominated] when we are approved in the *concurso*

R: Like a test for a profile?

This test for profiles also does not assess anything, I do not see it as an instrument that is legal

R: So, do you think that the teaching profession is ready for a stage where there is a “practice lesson” or “interview”?

Like what is done outside public schools, right? When you are going to be “admitted” they ask you for a lesson, right?, I don’t think people are used to that, so I think that the vast majority I think not. Because I seem my colleague, maybe people that are starting now, a bit younger, with “level-headedness”, or those that are still studying have their head more open, but the majority does not want change, the vast majority does not want to be evaluated, does not want to be questioned, and does not want to change. The vast majority, but I think that if you touch a little bit in the wound, this person will have to stop and think again, and maybe it is time to do something to change because at the same time these people do not want to change, these people complain that it is not ok, that is not good. I think there is no way to see what is really happening, it is chaos, and you have to assess all fields.

R – So how do you see the *concurso* ? Does it exert any other function beyond selecting teachers?

I see it like this, I see a lot of people saying like thi: “Ah, you are a concursado, Ah, you are not a concursado”. People feel more than others, like...how do I say...elitist because they passed a *concurso*. There is also that fact of being safer, I passed the *concurso* so nobody can touch me because I am a *concursado*. Of course it gives you the guarantee that you passed by an exam and you are a public civil servant because you did a *concurso* that is guaranteed by law, so logically, everyone has this right, but I don’t think a person is more or less because they did the *concurso*. I believe it should exist, yes, as an entity, which is institutionalised, and there should be this type of selection because you have to understand that this stops a for example, there can be a person in a school that is friends with another person, that is friends with another. The principal would favouritise.

R: do you think this is strong nowadays?

It is, in the world of today it is, unfortunately it is everywhere. It is in public administration, everyone, even in the private sector

R – So why do you think there is this reality of hiring your friend?

Because we are all human beings

R – So a last question about the *concurso* and the teacher, does the *concurso* value the teacher?

Look, it is like a told, people still say: I did a *concurso*, and still use this discourseto value themselves, but I don’t think someone will value you, you value yourself. Inside the school, I don’t see valorisation of the profession, I don’t see it. I think it is missing exactly this, the valorisation by the school, and by the professionals as well. We valorise, as professionals, as team, as school, as education. I think there is a great distance between valorisation that is “thought” about when you complete a *concurso*, and another when you actually take over the post. I think there is a great abyss.

R: And what do think is missing to value the teacher?

I think the salary is always important, salary i fundamental. Nobody manages to feel valued being poor, earning little, because the teacher is very poor. Why is the teacher poor? The teacher does not have money to invest in their own professional development. They fight to get there, they studied in a federal university, but they don't have time to stop working those 60 hours they teach in the state school so they can go and do their doctorate, or their masters, they do not have money to go to the theatre, they do not have money to go to libraries, to buy books, they don't have money to do other types of courses, they do not have time for this, so it gets really tough. These courses that are offered here [by the secretariat of education], honestly, it doesn't contribute anything, nothing. Year after year we receive these "professional development" [course], and all you have to do is look at the results, nothing happened. Because if I am going to develop myself, I will look for somethin gthat really develop me withiin my area, so I really don't see that. I don't think I see any improvements

R: Thank you for your time, teacher.

R: This was actually good, I just laid it all out there

R: I think this type of work goes to the base, I want to know what teachers thinkg, and I think many times teachers are not listened to.

P: they are never listend. Something there things [in the news] and we see the a lot of headlines, the government specially, likes to publish a lot of what was done in schools, but I have never been questionned, I never had anyone in my school ask if I am satisfied [i.e. happy], what type of professional development I would like, how we would like the *concurso* to happen. This type of questioning are rare, very rare.

## Appendix VI – Glossary of Portuguese Terms Used in the Text

- *Concurso*: the system of selection into public schools in Brazil
- *Concursado*: a person that has done and passed the *concurso*
- *Contratado*: a person hired without the same benefits as someone that has passed the *concurso*. Often on a temporary-basis. In some states, a *concurso* is done for “contratados” but with different benefits than “full-time” *contratados*
- *Editais*: the document published by the institution responsible for conducting the *concurso*
- *Comodismo*: Brazilian slang for ‘staying still’, ‘to not move’, ‘the intent not to do anything’.
- *Pistolão*: Brazilian slang which means a person who is hired because they know someone inside a company, they are hired because of friendship, not because of “merit”.
- *Banca*: an exclusive set of people that work for a specific third-party institution and are in charge of producing the curricula to be studied and the formulation of the questions to be answered by the candidates of a specific *concurso* examination