

Conceptions of psychologists from CRAS in Salvador about school demands

Concepções de psicólogas/os dos CRAS de Salvador sobre demanda escolar

Thais Fontes Andrade¹ 

Marilda Castelar² 

Liliane Alves da Luz Teles³ 

¹Corresponding author. Escola Bahiana de Medicina e Saúde Pública (Salvador). Bahia, Brazil. thaisandrade12.1@bahiana.edu.br

^{2,3}Escola Bahiana de Medicina e Saúde Pública (Salvador). Bahia, Brazil. lilianeteles@bahiana.edu.br, marildacastelar@bahiana.edu.br

ABSTRACT | The article focuses on the conceptions of psychologists from the Reference Centers in Social Assistance (*Centros de Referência em Assistência Social – CRAS*) in Salvador, state of Bahia, who receive school demands. The study is part of an extensive research by Viégas (2013; 2014; 2016) that identified the insufficiency of psychologists working in the field of education and referrals directed to other public services that have psychological assistance. The study used the qualitative method, semi-structured interviews with six psychology professionals who work at CRAS. The interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and analyzed through the articulation of their contents with education studies and the construction of the psychologists' space in social assistance, considering the issues involved in this public policy. The results also point a clear need to expand the conceptions / views of professionals, the construction of new technical references and the development of ideas, policies and strategies to act in the face of these demands. Such changes in conceptions can promote improvements in their practices in handling complaints submitted by schools.

KEYWORDS: Education. Psychology. Social Assistance. School Failure.

RESUMO | O artigo foca nas concepções de psicólogas/os dos Centros de Referência em Assistência Social de Salvador - Ba que recebem demandas escolares. O estudo faz parte de uma ampla pesquisa de Viégas (2013; 2014; 2016) que identificou a insuficiência de psicólogas/os atuando no campo da educação e encaminhamentos dirigidos a outros serviços públicos que dispõem de atendimento psicológico. O estudo utilizou o método qualitativo, entrevistas semiestruturadas com seis profissionais de psicologia que atuam nos CRAS. As entrevistas foram gravadas em áudio, transcritas e analisadas através da articulação de seus conteúdos com os estudos da educação e a construção do espaço das/os psicólogas/os na assistência social considerando as questões envolvidas nessa política pública. Os resultados apontam a necessidade de ampliação das concepções/visões dos profissionais, da construção de novas referências técnicas e o desenvolvimento de ideias, políticas e estratégias para atuação frente a essas demandas. Tais mudanças nas concepções podem promover melhorias nas suas práticas no atendimento de queixas encaminhadas pelas escolas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Educação. Psicologia. Assistência Social. Fracasso escolar.

Introduction

This work originated from a development of the interinstitutional research "Performance of psychologists in Public Services of Social Assistance and Health in the face of school demand in Bahia: conceptions, practices and innovations", developed between 2013 and 2016, which was coordinated by Prof. Dr. Lygia Viégas (FACED - UFBA). Two public teaching institutions (Federal University of Bahia and Bahia State University) and two private institutions (Bahian School of Medicine and Public Health and São Bento of Bahia College) participated in the research through their teachers and students of Initiation to Psychology and Education Course Research.

The research received funding from the Research Support Foundation of the State of Bahia (FAPESB - Notice # 011/2013) with the objective of surveying the psychologists who meet school demands across the State in the aforementioned public services. It had as objective: to identify and to analyze conceptions and practices developed by the psychologists who work in the public services of Social Assistance and Health in Bahia facing the school complaints, having as highlight the Reference Centers in Social Assistance (CRAS) and Centers of Psychosocial Attention (CAPS).

Although the tools that are part of heterogeneous public policies stand out in this research, the first belonging to the Unified Social Assistance System (Sistema Único de Assistência Social - SUAS) and the second belonging to the Unified Health System (Sistema Único de Saúde - SUS), and therefore, retain their particularities, the research by Viégas et al. (2013; 2016) indicated that these are the main services by which the forwarding of school demands was concentrated, since there is a very small number of psychologists in the Public Education System and Private System. Thus, school complaints appear quite significantly in CRAS and CAPS, since there is the presence of psychologists as part of the multiprofessional team of these services, not infrequently, they are the only professionals available in the public system of small towns in Bahia. It is worth mentioning that Law 13.935/ 2019 was recently approved, which provides for Psychology and Social Service assistance in Public Basic Education Systems, composing multiprofessional teams, which should develop actions to improve the quality of the teaching and learning relationship.

The research was developed and carried out in stages, which included the mapping of professionals across the state, the survey of these demands and, subsequently, the concepts and practices developed. For the present work, the focus will be to deepen the discussion about the conceptions of psychologists from the Reference Centers in Social Assistance of Salvador-Ba, how they understand and meet the school demand in their work environment.

The Social Assistance Policy has expanded since the implementation of SUAS. With the consolidation of the equipment of this policy, especially the Social Assistance Reference Centers, there has been also an expansion of the psychologist's professional field, which is part of the minimum reference team for the service. This growth has produced the need to rethink its role and social purpose to meet the demands of this demand that deals daily with social inequality and the guarantee of Social Rights. An important element to be considered relates to the fact that the SUAS policy is intermediary to the others, that is, its functionality is aimed at non-compliance and effectiveness of the integrality, universality and equanimity of Protection and Social Security. Therefore, it is up to us to think about the articulation between the Education and Social Assistance Policy in the work of the psychologist.

Among the requirements imposed for the professional insertion, it was fundamental to recognize the construction of references and guidelines that guide the policy, as well as to build norms consistent with the social demand for the profession of psychologist. Consequently, being a recent policy, as well as the identity of the Psychology professional in this new field of action has been established, we believe it is fruitful to analyze the concepts that support the psychologist's work as a contribution to rethink his role in view of the school demands that have come to the CRAS of Salvador-Ba. We intend to bring in this text central questions that involve the understanding of the forwarding of school complaints to these professionals, taking into account aspects of the educational system in a context permeated by inequality and exclusion of rights.

Role of Psychology in the face of school demand

The term social inequality refers to the state of great disparity between people, a real situation of imbalance

produced historically and politically. Inequality and social exclusion are not exclusively linked to economic disparities, or only linked to income, but to a political condition, the result of the political and economic forces that they impose under public policies and social rights (Gonçalves Filho, 2007). Its discussion involves aspects related to equality of rights, including those of having positions regarding reality.

Maria Helena Souza Patto (2015), the reference author of our study to understand the relationship between Psychology and Education, produced a fundamental criticism for the understanding of school failure from the understanding of this phenomenon as structural, perpetrated by the project of a capitalist society. The author understands that school failure is a historical problem in the process of construction of the Brazilian school system, which is marked by inequality (Patto, 2015). School demands, related to the use of teaching and the difficulties in this context, have been explained as an issue linked to the individual who “does not learn or behaves” (Patto, 2015).

Deterministic, reductionist and naturalistic explanations have supported prejudices and stereotypes produced in the midst of scientificity. Psychology played an important role in the reading of the phenomenon, based on the assumption that the “problem children” were unable to adapt to school, as they originated from precarious environments, whose poor families were treated as unstructured (Patto, 2015) or the teachers accused of being uncommitted or incompetent (Souza, 2006). Conceptions that sometimes reduce to the individual, sometimes to their “environment” and that maintain concepts that disregard school failure as a historical, social and political production in the maintenance of a system that foresees exclusion and selectivity in its structure. Ideological discourses that condition social mobility from the perspective of meritocracy as a foundation, under the point of view of a liberal ideal, whose pyramidal structure imposed on the school the function of “regulating this traffic” (Patto, 2015).

The author, although not based on a reproductive perspective, discussed how educational systems are at the service of social stratification. Her work sheds light on important historical analysis of school failure, considering the participation of the school system itself in producing this event and the role of Psychology in maintaining the status quo. A field of knowledge that was based on the perspective of objectification,

measurement, selection and adaptation of human subjectivities, contributed to the consolidation of a worldview that produced important effects on educational policies.

The criticisms made by Patto (2015) brought as a consequence a movement within Psychology itself, rethinking the reductionist and simplifying view of school failure, which, through medical explanations, feedback into a social gear sustained by subordination, discrimination and subordination present in the mode of capitalist functioning. We mean by medicalization a process in which:

The issues of social life, always complex, multifactorial and marked by culture and historical time, are reduced to medical logic, linking what is not adequate to social norms to a supposed organic causality, expressed in the individual's illness (Fórum sobre medicalização da educação e da sociedade, 2012).

From the criticisms of School Psychology, a group of researchers started a movement towards the construction of School Psychology in a Critical Perspective. This movement brought together researchers from different theoretical perspectives who could no longer disregard the productions produced and the criticisms made of the role of school and Psychology in the social context.

Without intending to devalue the role of the school in society, the authors have turned their gaze to rethink the role that school education has historically played. Access to school is not yet fully democratized, and even those who have been able to enroll, the broader participation in education, considering the learning of school content and the creative and collective development of the processes of construction of meanings about life, have been emptied, disregarding the social reality.

Aware of this challenge, it was necessary to build references coherent with the understanding of school failure as a multidetermined phenomenon that did not reinforce a traditional model of action, which may involve important questions about the contradictions, conflicts and paradoxes of the current social system. It is necessary to question with the school its meaning, but mainly an exercise of self-criticism of the profession, for whom and how the practices constituted in this daily life are engendered.

The collective practices of subjectivity production are presented to us as a strategy of interference in the educational process, taking into account that the subjects, when mobilized, are capable of transforming realities, transforming themselves in this same process (CFP, 2013, p.44)

In this sense, we consider it relevant to mention the Technical References for the Performance of Psychologists in Basic Education published in 2013 and revised in 2019 (CFP, 2019), which defines school failure as the object of Psychology, whose theories need to consider the instituted and the institutionalized in the attention and care practices, considering the internal and external networks that tension them. This Reference was developed through the Technical Reference Center in Psychology and Public Policies (CREPOP), producing qualified information so that the Councils System could implement policies to guide professional performance in the public service. The document is based on two major movements: "that of Brazilian society in the direction of the democratization process and of Psychology itself in search of ethical-political references, in defense of a public, free, laic and quality education for all" (CFP, 2019, p. 24).

Among the possibilities of acting, The References highlight that it is essential to recognize the work of the psychologist as the one that puts themselves in partnership, alongside the pedagogical team that contributes to the participatory and democratic construction of the Pedagogical Political Project.

As the focus of the school institution is the teaching and learning process, the contribution of psychology in this field needs to consider the historical-social conditions, seeking to face naturalized situations in the school context, reductionist explanations that blame individuals for the difficulties experienced in this process. In the References, this excerpt brings together an understanding of the role of the psychologist, who we understand that has an affinity with the critical perspective, dialoguing with the CRAS proposal in strengthening bonds and empowering conflict situations:

The psychologist's struggle is to sustain a field of questions that allows time for educators to move also from their places marked in the dichotomy teaching x learning, in the feeling of helplessness in the face of conditions, in giving up everyday changes. For this, it is essential to contribute to the production of new

questions that problematize the relationships that focus explanations on the individual, considered causes "in itself" of the issues that generate suffering, in which there is nothing to do. Therefore, asking about situations, circumstances, values, historical and social conditions, the practices that build day-to-day activities is what moves work, enhancing a shared network of actions/reflections. In this movement, professionals from various fields, with diverse knowledge of the sciences produced by men, are invited to participate in this reflection and to develop measures that contribute to facing the issues posed in the school's daily life. (CFP, 2019, p. 34).

Not only The References offer guidelines for professional performance, but they also indicate an important advance towards both service and understanding of what school demands are based on the accumulation of knowledge produced in the area. Thus, we believe it is important to understand whether these discussions have been attended by the professionals who attend this demand, not only by school and educational psychologists. Hence, we believe that this work is relevant, to analyze the conceptions of the professional psychologists those who have received school complaints in CRAS, understanding that they are reflections on their interventional practices, products of a dialectical position of the professional when influencing and be influenced in the context. To this end, we seek to elucidate some elements that are related to the performance of psychologists in CRAS.

Performance of psychologists at CRAS in face of school demands

The 1988 Constitution was an important milestone in the beginning of changes in the social assistance scenario. This brought fundamental implications, since it put the actions of this field in conjunction with health and social security, constituting the Brazilian Social Security System, which was recognized as public policy in 1993, with the Organic Law on Social Assistance (Lei Orgânica de Assistência Social – LOAS), that aims to guarantee the rights and promote citizenship to various population segments and advocates social protection to all who need it (CFP, 2007).

The National Social Assistance Policy (Política Nacional de Assistência Social – PNAS), approved in 2004, is operationalized through the Unified Social Assistance System (SUAS), having in 2005 the construction of the political project for assistance inspired by the

logic of SUS. This proposal aimed at radicalizing the modes of management and financing of institutional offers in the field of social assistance, which enabled the beginning of a break with the historically impregnated assistance models (CFP, 2007). SUAS carries out its interventions based on two forms of social protection, namely: basic social protection and special social protection. For this article, we will talk only about basic social protection, which proposes to prevent risky situations through the development of potential and acquisitions, and the strengthening of family and community bonds.

The main institution responsible for organizing and offering basic social protection services for SUAS in the areas of vulnerability and social risks present in most Brazilian cities is called the Social Assistance Reference Center (CRAS). This equipment is a state-owned public appliance and is characterized as the main gateway to SUAS. The main functions of CRAS are: to promote intersectoral articulation and active search, to offer continued protection services, involving: families, groups and individuals, carrying out activities: socio-educational, generational, intergenerational, community partner; to carry out the distribution of benefits and the development of training programs and projects and the promotion of productive insertion, the promotion of productive inclusion for beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família Program (PBF) and of the Continuous Installment Benefit, to fight poverty, to fight hunger; production groups and solidarity economy; generation of work and income (CFP, 2007).

Psychology professionals are part of the minimum crew of CRAS, since the beginning of the implementation of the SUAS system, therefore, it is considered essential to reflect the construction of the space of this profession in this equipment. In this inclusion, psychologists were invited to work to overcome social inequality, since it can be a generator or aggravating factor of psychological suffering. Faced with this call to work in public facilities, but specifically in the CRAS, professionals are challenged by social issues that, until now, were ignored (Santos, Roesch & Cruz, 2014). It is necessary that psychologists work on understanding this new area of activity, analyzing the historical, social, cultural and political issues involved in this and its demands. In this field, different psychological practices and activities can be developed in institutional and community spaces.

It is important for psychologists working at CRAS to understand the individual's active role and the influence of social relationships, values and cultural knowledge on their development. The practices of these professionals also aim to: understand and monitor the movements of subjective construction of people, community groups and families, paying attention to the articulation of these processes with the experiences and social practices present in the socio-community and family context. In treatment, welcoming actions, orientations, visits and home interviews, institutional articulations inside and outside the territory covered by CRAS, socio-educational and social activities, facilitation of groups, encouraging contextualized processes should be developed (CFP, 2007).

The CRAS on account of Decree No. 5,209, of September 17, 2004 (Brazil, 2004), which brings the frequency of children in school as a condition for receiving the Bolsa Família Program (PBF), which has the function of contributing to the fight against poverty and inequality in Brazil. The PBF includes three main axes: the complement of income, access to rights (the family must fulfill certain conditions, which aim at ensuring basic social rights reach the population in a situation of poverty, such as access to education, health and social assistance) and articulation with other social actions (MDS, 2004). One of the reasons for finding issues with the educational system in this equipment is discussed by Saraiva (2018) from the experience of multifamily groups held at a Social Assistance Reference Center (CRAS). Generally, the issue of education comes to the CRAS due to non-compliance with conditionality (referring to the requirement of a minimum school attendance of 85% for children and adolescents between 6 and 15 years and 75% for adolescents between 16 and 17 years).

The author points out that those responsible for registering families went through individual assistance, whose action was focused on the sanction received as a result of alleged family problems that would cause their children to miss school. In line with the discourse of the Bolsa Família Program Policy, the importance of school for breaking the cycle of poverty between generations was reinforced, saying that they should make the child return to school and making necessary referrals to the Education managers and Guardianship Council. Although foreseen, almost no appeal for the reversal of the sanction received was presented (Saraiva, 2018).

In his work, Saraiva (2018) pointed out that throughout the meetings held with the groups, it was understood that there were no family issues producing low school attendance. Matters related to school structure, assistance and functioning, such as: difficulties in commuting to school, due to the lack of school transport and which worsened on rainy days; the difficulty in buying all school supplies and uniforms and paying fees required by some schools, even public ones, which ended up postponing the beginning of the school year for those who could not meet all the requirements; the lack of places at the beginning of the school year or for those who had moved to the city in other periods; among others, were observed.

Although there is still a clear articulation between the role of CRAS in the face of school demands, imposed on the conditionality of the PBF, there is also the forwarding of school complaints for psychological care in these units in Bahia, as highlighted by the research by Viégas (2016). However, it is not uncommon to see the school unit being the focus of intersectoral actions whose purpose is to guide children and families through lectures, workshops, meetings, but which rarely addresses the issue of school failure as a focus. Informational activities, as a rule, deal with “socio-educational” guidelines (Oliveira et al., 2014), but which do not take into account an interinstitutional articulation to face one of the great challenges for childhood and for Education that is school failure. This is due to the fact that the understanding of school demands is understood by the individual and psychologizing bias (Viégas, 2016).

Given the presence of school demands, it is extremely important that professionals have knowledge about school complaints and the aspects involved in it. So that interventions are carried out that are not only focused on “disorder”, difficulty, problem, but that consider the subject inserted in the social environment (CFP, 2007). For this, it is necessary to identify what the professionals' conceptions in relation to school demands are, since these also serve as a basis for their practices.

Methods

This research has a qualitative, empirical and descriptive character. Initially, it was necessary to carry out the mapping of the CRAS in Salvador, and to identify the psychology professionals who have worked on them. Twenty-four Social Assistance Reference Centers were located, with all the equipment having the presence of psychology professionals working at the time of data collection, which took place from February to March 2016.

The initial contacts with the psychologists were made through a psychology professional who works in one of the CRAS in Salvador, a determining factor and which enabled access to the psychologists who were working at the time of the interviews. We emphasize that our research was submitted to and approved by the Research Ethics Committee, according to opinion N352.996 - 08/07/2013, CAAE 13824913.7.1001.5531, related to Resolution no. 510/16, of the National Health Council, which regulates the evaluation of research ethics in Human and Social Sciences.

According to Meihy and Ribeiro (2011), the process of referral from one person to another who can participate in the interview is provided for in the oral history procedures. Therefore, access to the telephone contacts of these professionals was obtained. During the telephone contact, maintained with 15 professionals, all were invited to participate in the interview. Of these, four female psychologists and two male psychologists were interviewed, all agreed to sign the Informed Consent Form to answer a previous questionnaire for the broader research, gave their oral consent in the recordings for the use and publication of their content with preservation of their identities. The six interviews were semi-structured, recorded in audio, transcribed and checked. For the purpose of preserving identities, only numbers were used to identify each participant from E1 to E6, according to the order of the interviews.

For this present article, the analysis of all content was carried out in order to understand their conception of school demand for these professionals. From the fluctuating readings, we seek to contemplate the conceptions about school demands of the participants, based on the academic formation obtained, in contact with the concrete reality and

the consequences of their conceptions reflected in the practices described. Some excerpts will be highlighted to give visibility to the registered analysis, without intending to disregard the singularities of the interviewed subjects.

Results and Discussion

Participants had worked at CRAS for a period of 3 to 10 months. Due to the turnover of professionals in this space, related to political, structural and organizational issues, there was a great difficulty in finding professionals who had been working for more than 12 months in the service, and because of this it was not possible to identify psychologists with a long period of experience on that equipment.

The psychologists interviewed were between 23 and 54 years old, four women and two men. Only one psychologist identified himself as black, all the others as white; they had had between nine months and three years of professional experience, many with public service as their first job. This data matches the profile and self-declaration mapped in the publication "Who is the Brazilian psychologist" (CFP, 2013) and that raises a series of questions both from the point of view of the public who has access to the studying of Psychology, as to questions of racial identity of these professionals, access to the labor market and the exponential growth of courses and the number of newly graduated professionals who enter public policies with precarious bonds.

The conception of the professionals who work at CRAS, regarding school demands, shows the way they understand and analyze this demand, and how it can interfere in their practices. In view of this, the psychologists' understandings of school demand and the various criticisms produced by them in relation to the educational system will be presented below.

It is found in the narratives of some of these professionals the reference regarding the understanding of the demands as arising from the difficulties experienced in the schooling process, but which still maintains a vision focused on individuals, as a result of an integration between the school, the family and the student, but that does not extend the concept to the phenomenon involving macro-structural issues:

Well, I think the school demands come from the teaching-learning process itself, from the school process itself, it's not just the teacher, the student-only question, the parents-only question, but this is the family-school-child scenario. Demands and complaints are being built in this process, so I see a lot in this way that it is not in the child, it is not specifically in the parents, it is not specifically in the school, but in a whole context. (E6)

I think it is a broad topic. As to the issue of the school, I think that the school is a social institution, it is also a place of contribution to the education system, a place of teaching and learning. But, as a professional I think that school alone is not enough, it really needs the family's contribution. I think the sum of all social spheres in the constitution of this child's education. (E5)

We can see in this first statement that, even though they do not enter the perspective of blaming a segment, they do not even bring elements of understanding of the historical, political, social phenomenon. The participants, in general, do not contextualize what they understand by the teaching and learning process, and although they point to the school as a social institution, which seems to be an advance, however, the problematization of this in its history and constitution is fragile. With that, we consider that the articulation between family - school - student is necessary, but we emphasize the importance of understanding this tripod from the notion of political performance, beyond the pedagogical question, in an active participation in the broad sense of education without falling into a conception partnership that ends up being limited to the fulfillment of school tasks. Likewise, it is worth considering that this includes rethinking about the inequalities that arise in education.

Research carried out by Tameirão (2018), whose main objective was to investigate and analyze cases of school failure referred to social assistance policy in the city of Diamantina-MG, within the context of a Social Assistance Reference Center - CRAS Regional II, between 2016 and 2017, points out that the subjects related to school failure and referred to CRAS, mostly, are male, black, from peripheral neighborhoods, make up the family nucleus of families that mostly receive the benefit of transfer of the federal government. In its conclusions, it is emphasized that there is a need for better articulation, aiming to achieve jointly and continuously, results that can serve as a solution

for minimizing cases of school failure attributed to children and adolescents (Tameirão, 2018). In this sense, there is a need for a break in the way of understanding the genesis of school failure, which leads to an individualizing perspective with a focus on the subject in the middle (understood as the direct relationships between his family and teachers).

Patto (2015), criticizing the view of psychology, contributed to rethinking its role, analyzing the context that has become something more present in the studies and practices of psychologists. It is important to consider that the issue of inequality in the educational field was not exposed by the participants, in view of accessibility, continuity of students in schools and the quality of teaching. These issues are fundamental when dealing with a population from poverty scenarios.

They were also found speeches that focus on the role of the teacher to justify the present difficulties, demands and even failure:

(...) The teacher, so much that I got to know at the same school, knows a teacher who offers listening to the student, inside the school I saw a teacher who has a fluent, easy, accessible line of communication with the student and certainly this teacher, the students of this teacher are hardly they will be appearing on CRAS. (E3)

Look, it's very complex. First, because teachers do not have this preparation, this stimulus. So, it is a teacher who should often be responsible for dealing with those complaints, who should have the resources to deal with those situations and they end up transferring them to another professional, another body. (E4)

Psychologists refer to teachers as professionals who are unprepared to deal with the demands of the school environment. They also believe that the way these teachers work can interfere with the amount of these demands. Souza (2006) problematized this perspective, a view that disregards the challenges experienced by educators, a reality marked by the precariousness, bureaucratization and massification of teaching work, whose objective conditions do not meet the pedagogical needs. It is noted the perspective that teachers are perceived as disabled to understand the students' difficulties and to make "assertive" referrals.

That's what I said about professional training, because if a teacher is a psychopedagogue, they will have a parameter to be able to say that, but, if they have never studied that, they have only heard about it, they haven't stopped to concentrate, and they just have no patience with that child. So they send, they throw the responsibility, you know? They transfer the responsibility, they do not try to solve the problem, they transfer the responsibility, so, I think that besides being something treated without seriousness. (E2)

The report expresses a reductionist conception of the teaching incompetence discourse. As a consequence, it can be concluded that for the interviewees, the demand reaches CRAS due to the lack of commitment or lack of teacher training, overloading the demands on this equipment and thereby making the psychologist responsible for their role.

Although important criticisms of the reductionist view of school demands have been consolidated, this has not meant an expanded problematization that opposes this still hegemonic model that tends to a medicalizing bias. Teachers, in the view of the interviewees, occupy the place responsible for failure, even though they are victims of being originated from a State that does not make effective investments in Education and valorization of the teaching staff.

For simplistic explanations, shallow solutions arise, which do not respond to the complexity of the multifaceted character that produces these referrals. We can see that the interviewees believe in the psychologist's need in schools, as if the presence of this professional corresponded to a screening and were sufficient to deal with the difficulties that produce care demands:

Look! I am going to criticize the school demand, because then, I see that there is an extreme need for a psychologist in all schools, the psychologist he needs, the government needs to put a psychologist to accompany these children inside the school, because like, the teachers they don't have, most of them don't have the eye, to make this diagnosis to refer, because then everyone who is referred, everyone, the child is either hyperactive or has an attention deficit. (E2)

The presence of the psychologist in the school environment needs to be seen in a broader way, not only as the one who is present to perform the diagnosis and refer, but to act actively, participating in the school activities, composing a team that collectively seeks to face the challenges experienced. Although the presence of school psychologists in Bahia is very restricted, experiences throughout the country and which are widespread in the literature point out that it is possible to identify the tendency to understand as a disease those who experience difficulties in the schooling process, reducing the look to the individual and adopting organicist explanations for the phenomenon. In this analysis, the speech brings a dubious bias, while it can be a questioning of the misdiagnosis, it can also be understood as a criticism to the medicalization of the phenomenon.

In addition, the Social Assistance Policy calls for strengthening institutions and the community. In this sense, the traditional conception brought up in the report above does not guarantee a performance consistent with what underlies the role of School and Educational Psychology in a critical perspective and of the principles that are based on the work of Psychology at SUAS. The concept of school demands reveals a complexity that needs to be understood in a multifactorial way, since CRAS aims to protect the rights of society, especially those considered most vulnerable.

The results show that the professionals' conceptions carry many contradictions that concern not only the understanding of school demands, but also regarding the role of CRAS in strengthening educational policy and in relation to its own role, as a professional who it needs to understand and dialogue with the community served in order to guarantee access to quality education. It is necessary to break the process of blaming teachers, carrying out a critique that makes it possible to situate the role of education, school and psychology from a socio-historical analysis.

Final Considerations

The research brought elements that made it possible to critically analyze contradictory conceptions of psychologists. The conceptions are still focused on a reductionist perspective of school failure, disregarding its historical genesis and production as part of a social system. They point out, as a solution, the presence of psychology professionals in schools, which denotes, on one hand, that they understand these demands as coming from individual, subjective, psychological and non-pedagogical experiences, and, on the other, they end up disqualifying the possibility of the team to deal with the challenges faced.

In this sense, they can reinforce traditional practices that naturalize referrals, since there is no reflection on exclusion from school and at school. It is also noted the idea that school demands are not demands for the CRAS, which can produce a lack of responsibility in the face of the phenomenon. In this game of forces, those who are historically vulnerable may be adrift of the guarantee rights to social assistance and education.

Given the results of the research, it is considered relevant to carry out a work that allows a discussion among professionals about their conceptions, and to deepen in order to understand how professional practices are produced from such conceptions, in order to achieve the intended objectives by CRAS, based on what was established for the role of the psychologist in this equipment.

Authors' contributions

Andrade, T. F. participated in all stages of the research, being responsible for the conception, design, analysis, interpretation of data and writing of the article. Castelar, M. participated in the orientation for the conception, design and later of the analysis, interpretation of the data and final elaboration of the article. Teles, L. A. L. participated in the interpretation of data and writing and final elaboration of the article. All authors approved the final version of the article.

Conflicts of interest

No financial, legal or political conflicts involving third parties (government, companies and private foundations, etc.) have been declared for any aspect of the submitted work (including, but not limited to, grants and funding, participation in advisory council, study design, preparation of manuscript, statistical analysis, etc.).

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