

Commodification of Education, Overexploitation of Teachers' Work in the Pandemic and the Trivialization of Labor Suffering

Jade Prata Bueno Barata

Collective of Studies on Marxism and Education (COLEMARX), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Abstract

The present work aims to understand the forms of expropriation and exploitation of teaching work in the context of the pandemic, focusing on the perspective of working women in the first sector of basic education in the private education system of Rio de Janeiro. It will use an intersectional approach of gender and class, grounded on marxism and feminism, both addressed from a dependent and peripheral perspective. The context is a changing configuration of the private educational structure that recently became mostly subordinated to financial capital. This has resulted in the widespread increase in the implementation of technological tools and has deepened the dynamics of exploitation of teaching. To better understand the point, a contextualization of the recent history of Brazil is carried out, especially with the neoliberal policies under the last extreme right government of Bolsonaro. Finally, the focus is on teaching and the voice of its workers.

Keywords: *teaching overexploitation; social reproduction theory; mental health, pandemic isolation.*

Introduction

Worker exploitation is a *sine qua non* condition of the capitalist system:

All work is, on the one hand, an expenditure of human labor power in the physiological sense, and in this quality of equal human labor or abstract human labor it generates the value of the commodity. All work is, on the other hand, an expenditure of human labor power in a form specifically suited to an end, and in this quality of concrete useful labor it produces use values. (Marx, 1985, p. 53).

It is work based on private property and the extraction of the worker's lifetime that structures all of modern society. Alienated labor loses its formative character and becomes a producer of surplus value when it is a part that does not comprise the whole. It happens when the worker doesn't have any control either on the product of their labor, or the time given to do it. "The division of labor is the economic expression of the social character of labor within alienation." (Marx, 1978, p. 24) Thus, "the division of labor and the accumulation of capital condition each other reciprocally." (Marx, 1978, p. 26). Therefore, it is crucial to understand the specificities in how such exploitation materializes in order to confront it.

It is essential to examine the particular reality of exploitation in Brazil, considering its dependence on central capitalist countries, as Florestan Fernandes (1986) presentedⁱ. This type of society has its social and economic relationships defined by cultural heteronomy (often seen as backwardness), preserving distinct historical periods alive. In this context, Brazilian workers are overexploited because surplus value is extracted to sustain the internal dominant class and also to ensure external power over the country.

This paper focuses on female education workers. Multiple factors influence their working conditions and, consequently, the workers themselves. These include the impact of public policies, particularly the 2017 labor reform, and the emergency measures implemented by the former Bolsonaro government, in 2020 and 2021, during the period of social isolation related to the Covid pandemic. Additionally, the adjustment of teaching labor into its platformized format, such as “google classroom”, along with the specific challenges faced by women in the teaching profession, are explored in a context where social labor has increasingly infiltrated the private sphere.

The analysis of this research begins by moving from the general to the particular and then returns, recognizing that there is a structure that directly impacts the bodies of female teachers. In this context, despite their individual specificities, they undergo a shared process of suffering stemming from the exploitation of their labor, whether in the productive or reproductive sphere, which intersect at this point.

Associating Grada Kilomba's provocation: "Can the subaltern speak?" (Kilomba, 2019, p. 47), with the understanding that there are cracks produced by the contradiction of capital where resistances emerge in narratives not always told, it becomes important to sift through the debris of history under the wind of progress (as inspired by Walter Benjamin (2013), and to sew tomorrows through these voices like the roosters of João Cabral's poemⁱⁱ.

The relevance of this work is rooted in the need to understand the ever-changing configurations of the educational structure, and the forms of expropriation and labor exploitation in the pandemic context, and the ways to resist through the voices of women educators. It is worth emphasizing that although the temporal scope of the covid pandemic, may seem limited, it was responsible for

implementing a series of changes in the teaching labor configuration as some persist. The distancing of bodies due to the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, the virus of the Anthropocene also resulted in a separation between students, educators, and the educational environment, and gave rise to unprecedented conflicts in Brazilian basic education.

It is understood that within this context the working conditions of private sector teaching have been redefined by employers, shaping new forms of work intensification and knowledge expropriation. Moreover, reshaping the ways of real subsumption to capital, especially through technological mediations. According to Jandrić (2022) the interaction between technology, base, and superstructure is central to understanding contemporary capitalist society. Technology is no longer just a tool within the productive forces (base) but also shapes and is shaped by the superstructure in profound ways. In this context, the production, control, and use of technology are crucial to understanding how power is structured and maintained in capitalist systems.

A crucial question is: how does the infusion of fixed capital (provided by investment funds and other expressions of 'financialization') into the reshaping of technologies such as educational systems and work platforms alter labor relations in basic education? Understanding how workers are affected by productive transformations in basic education, and simultaneously comprehending how they organize in response to such changes to resist and consequently reconfigure this structure is challenging, yet also potent and necessary.

The entry of corporate capital into basic education is recent, with significant growth in the years 2018 and 2019 (Costa, 2020). In this period big financial groups from other economic areas, as “Bahema”, that today is called “Bioma

Educação”, and “Grupo Raiz” bought private familiar schools (schools that were set up and run by private families).. This means that the impact of their acquisitions in the educational field is gradually being felt by female education workers. Thus, there is still no elaboration on how such interference transforms the lives of these professionals, nor their identity given that the formation of class identity is a process that occurs amidst a constant retrieval of memories between subordinations and struggles. (Mattos, 2003)

According to the School Census (2020) women constitute the majority in teaching positions in basic education. In early childhood education, women make up 96.4% of professionals. In the initial and final years of elementary school they account for 88.1% and 66.8%, respectively, and in high school they represent 57.8% of the total teaching staff. The pronounced concentration of women in the first two segments is noteworthy. These are also the ones with the lowest minimum wage. Problematically, such work is so undervalued while bearing significant responsibilities at the same time (Ministry of Education, 2021).

The priority and interest in focusing on teachers in the early segments arises first and foremost, because they are predominantly women; secondly, because they have the lowest salaries; thirdly, because this segment has faced the most pressure from civil society for in-person return, even though it has the least ability to adhere to COVID-19 contamination sanitary protocols; fourthly, because these segments involve children with less autonomy in using the communication devices necessary for online classes. Consequently, requiring more intervention from teachers to achieve their educational objectives and exposing their work more to parents or guardians. Social reproduction is a key mechanism that creates and perpetuates new forms of subordination for women by assigning them the essential but invisible labor of maintaining both the

workforce and the social fabric. It also reinforces gendered divisions of labor, creates dependency, and supports the capitalist economic system's need for cheap labor. In this way, women's labor is central to both the survival of the workforce and the capitalist system, but their contributions remain undervalued and exploited. (Rosen and Newberry, 2022)

Preschool teachers are the ones demanded to provide diligent "care" for children even though they are the most exploited professionals. Many of them have precarious contracts and receive lower salaries compared to other professional categories with the same level of academic qualification. For an average of 37 weekly hours, the average salary in the city of Rio de Janeiro is R\$ 2,837.20, and the minimum wage in 2021 is R\$ 2,700.03. According to the Teachers' Union of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro and Region (SinproRio), the minimum wage for preschool teachers up to the 5th grade starting from December 2021 is R\$ 1,398.60 monthly and R\$ 12.95 per hour/lesson. Considering today's dollar value in Brazil, at R\$5.69, the hourly wage of early childhood education teachers would be equivalent to only \$2.22 USD.

The pandemic context in Brazil

It is important to understand that despite various social losses that have affected workers during the pandemic, the loss of labor rights is product of multiple factors that accelerated within this catastrophic scenario of 2020/2021. Like layers of paint on a canvas it is necessary to look at least at three dimensions of the crisis that unfolded in 2020: the health dimension, the political dimension, and the socio-economic dimension.

The Bolsonaro government (2018 – 2022) in line with its proposals and campaign sought to maintain its support base from both dominant sectors and the "Bolsonarist" masses through denialist speeches. This was done in order to

shirk responsibility for stricter quarantines and the subsequent decline in corporate profits shifting this blame onto the governors.

The former far-right government did not create the crisis but took advantage of it. It operated like a parasite, finding room to grow within an already weakened body. However, it deepened both the economic and political crisis, as well as the institutional and humanitarian crises. It radically redefined the priorities of national politics through its governmental measures to sustain the dominant business sectors, even amidst the pandemic scenario.

In an analysis of the legal measures implemented by the Bolsonaro government during the pandemic scenario, when viewed as a whole they can be characterized within four axes:

1. Dismantling of the public sector.
2. Extreme openness to foreign capital.
3. Erosion of social and labor rights, deepening the labor counter-reform of 2017.
4. Establishment of digital mechanisms (such as applications), flexibilizing and expediting processes related to social and environmental rights.

These four aspects constituted the scenario of a government with extreme neoliberal policies. And it is to this scenario that the pandemic adds its impact. During the pandemic, exploitative flexibilization took on alarming contours, at a time when the State needed to be present in its role of organization and care. In a management approach that would minimize health and life risks for the people within the nation's borders the State did the opposite. It devised and executed a plan that seems to lead to the extermination of the Brazilian working class people.

It is important to highlight the effects of Emergency Measures (Medidas Provisórias, or MPs), such as MP No. 927/2020 and MP No. 936/2020 (converted into Law No. 14,020/2020), which established the "Emergency Program for Maintaining Employment and Income." These measures were aimed at labor rights and were justified as a means to mitigate the economic impact of isolation measures. Every emergency measure holds the force of law but has a determined period of validity due to its emergency nature.

MP 927 came into effect on March 22, 2020, and sparked significant social mobilization. As a result, its Article 18 which allowed for the suspension of an employee's salary for four months was vetoed the next day. The key points addressed in MP 927 included telecommuting, the anticipation of individual vacations, granting collective vacations, utilizing and advancing holidays, implementing a time bank for hours worked, suspending administrative requirements for occupational health and safety, directing workers towards qualification, and deferring the collection of the Severance Guarantee Fund (FGTS).

MP 936, which later became Law No. 14,020, also aimed at preserving jobs and incomes during the pandemic, providing for the reduction of working hours and wages, as well as the temporary suspension of employment contracts. These measures were presented as emergency responses to the economic challenges posed by the pandemic.

In its second article, MP 927 stipulates that "the employee and the employer may enter into a written individual agreement to ensure the continuity of the employment relationship, which shall take precedence over other normative, legal, and negotiated instruments, respecting the limits established in the Constitution." (Brazil Provisional Measure 927, 2020). Meanwhile, in the fourth

article which deals with "telecommuting," the employer is granted full autonomy, both in deciding when the work becomes remote and in determining the return to in-person work. The fifth paragraph specifies that the use of communication applications will not be counted as paid working time. This effectively formalizes a recurring practice of overwork where employees are expected to be available to attend to demands outside their regular working hours.

Political and Economic Contextualization

The 2017 labor reform was an expression of the state's coercion over the worker. Law No. 13,467, enacted on July 13, 2017, amends the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT), and it assumes that there are already "new labor relations" that would thus be in violation of the previous law, as they did not conform to it, without the offenders of this offense - the employers - being punished. Law No. 13,467 shamelessly caters to the demand of those who were breaking labor laws, in other words the employers attacking the rights of workers.

Not surprisingly, "All employer unions in Brazil supported the 2016 Coup, just as they supported the 1964 Coup." (Arruda, 2018, p. 147). Pedro Arruda (2018) identifies three sectors of the national bourgeoisie that were more involved in the removal of President Dilma Rousseff^{fiii} in August 2016: industries, banks, and agribusiness.

The legal limitations on labor exploitation by capital through labor laws are based on the principle that there is no equality in the negotiation between capital and labor. On the contrary, they stem from the "principle of protection for the disadvantaged" (Arruda, 2018, p. 152). In this case the worker who possesses only their labor power has less bargaining power than the capitalist and thus

needs to be protected. Therefore, labor laws are meant to safeguard workers' rights from a reformist perspective, not a revolutionary one, maintaining conditions for the reproduction of capital (Arruda, 2018). Consequently, the Labor Consolidation Laws (CLT) and the Federal Constitution of 1988 are systematic targets of attacks from the national bourgeoisie.

The law that should have protected workers undergoes changes that authorize restrictions and even suppressions of their rights and guarantees. Some noteworthy changes include: collective agreements now take precedence over legislation, the mandatory payment of union contributions is no longer required. The workday previously limited to 8 hours a day and 44 hours a week can now be negotiated for 12 hours of work and 36 hours of rest. As long as the monthly total of 220 hours is respected, and vacations which used to be 30 consecutive days per year can now be split into up to three periods among other modifications.

Among these points I emphasize the issue of "negotiated vs legislated." When we place negotiated agreements above the law, we fail to establish limits to what can be done. While on one hand it expands the potential for collective agreements, on the other hand, especially in a context of growing unemployment, and a significant decline in average wages, it weakens the union structure, thus fragmenting its social base. The abrupt elimination of mandatory union contributions was not carried out gradually, severely compromising the unions. As a result, it leaves the worker exposed and alone in an extremely unequal negotiation, where without dialogue with their class through and supported by the union, the worker sees only two alternatives: accepting the employer's proposal or facing unemployment.

The word "agreement" appears 34 times in the text of the new law, always as a possibility to be defined "between the parties," the employee and the employer who (and I will not content myself with saying it only once) possess extremely asymmetrical degrees of power due to their respective positions.

From Proletarianization to Platformization of Teaching Work

Teachers are proletarians in the primary sense of the word, they possess nothing beyond their labor power and are not owners of the means of production.

Hence, they sell their labor power in exchange for a salary (Marx, 1985).

Although teachers in private schools are considered productive workers, they are not initially producers of capital as the surplus value produced from the exploitation of their labor is not acquired through the immediate production of commodities, but rather from the difference between the money paid to the bourgeois owner of the school and their salary.

One of the factors that had an irremediable impact on workers during the quarantine period was digital work. This radical change in the nature of work cuts through the individual in a constitutive manner, something is lost when the social sphere of life turns into the private sphere. While in the physical classroom a critical space can be constructed within the confines of the contradictions of capital. In the digital realm this limit is even greater as, "Every facet of these spaces is designed top-down by capital. There is literally no space for workers to create space" (Graham and Anwar, 2020, p. 55, emphasis added). Therefore, it is essential to understand these new "digital spaces" master their topology, and identify their weaknesses in order to build resistance against such forms of control and subsumption of labor.

Platforms—in their various forms—are on one hand the realization of accumulation and value extraction through data mechanisms and algorithmic

mediations, on the other hand they represent their most visible face (or user-friendly interface) infiltrating social practices with the promise of providing personalized services and inducing dependence on their web infrastructures across various sectors of society. (Grahman, 2020, p. 95).

Platforms simultaneously serve as means of capital extraction, circulation, and production. They collect data, produce interfaces based on algorithmic analysis of that data, facilitate various forms of work, and enable personal, commercial, and public communication. The functioning of platforms lacks ideological neutrality as there is no ideological neutrality in the objectivity of how platforms operate.

Platforms serve as both a means of production and communication, functioning as a locus for both activities. This reduction in dead time accelerates production and consumption (Grohmann, 2020). Consequently, they enable simultaneous work and interaction exposing the fallacy of the still-propagated notion by capital's ideologues that automation will provide us with more time. Work through platforms reflects the cultural imperative of accelerated time control and management, aiming to optimize productivity and minimize time wastage. In the case of teaching work this dimension is evident in reports where activities should be pre-scheduled for posting and student access, significantly accelerating the pace of the teaching-learning process.

The platformization of teaching work also brings about a transformation of lexicons, an inherently ideological space where productivity is enhanced. This radical shift in the meaning of work creates a sense of estrangement among educators who do not recognize themselves and their work in this multifaceted environment.

The introduction of digital technologies into teaching work allows for simplification and standardization of tasks making workers more easily replaceable, while also enabling monitoring and automated management. Huws (2020) in an interview with DigiLabour presents the model of work that combines these trends as "logged." According to the author this term can have three meanings: work divided into tasks; work recorded, tracked, and surveilled (through GPS, client recording, and evaluation); and work managed through digital platforms, requiring workers to stay "logged" into the platform to perform their tasks.

Although presented as distinct meanings of the term, I understand them as dimensions of the same process that may or may not be present in the context of platform work. In the case of teaching work, all three dimensions are observed in this "logged" work – surveilled, not necessarily through recording, but by amplifying the number of interlocutors beyond the student body, and fragmented into tasks and interfaces within the same platform. The class now consists of "synchronous and asynchronous" activities: posting assignments and teaching materials, interacting with students, and grading, which is now more often identified as "feedback" provided to students through individualized asynchronous comments. Ultimately, the work is always performed while "logged" into the teaching platform.

The Theory of Social Reproduction

Bhattacharya (2019) identifies three interconnected processes through which the workforce is reproduced. Firstly, there are activities related to the regeneration of the workforce, such as sleeping and eating, as well as the maintenance of psychological well-being. Secondly, there are activities involved in the creation, maintenance, and education of non-workers, whether they are future or former workers, such as children and adults outside the labor market. Thirdly, there is

the process of giving birth to potential new workers. Reproductive labor also extensively involves psychological care. "The key to the system, our workforce," is produced and reproduced outside of its focus, within four walls in what has conventionally been ideologically identified as the private sphere, generally in a place called the "home," where the "family" resides (Bhattacharya, 2019).

The capital's need for the formation of the family strengthens the maintenance of this abstract unit. This notion is significant as this so-called "private" sphere has been invaded by the realm of social labor raising the question: "What happens when productive work invades the sphere of unproductive work?" The Theory of Social Reproduction serves as a crucial lens for this work as it analyzes what occurs when productive work encroaches upon the realm of reproductive work, causing women to now engage in a dual workload simultaneously. The intention to separate social reproductive activities from productive work and relegate them to the private sphere aims to render them invisible. However, when these activities are superimposed onto productive work within the home space such separation becomes impossible.

Methodology

To comprehend the living and working conditions of educators as well as the manifestations of labor-related distress, questionnaires were conducted addressing various aspects of work and union involvement. These surveys were administered via anonymous Google forms, primarily distributed through WhatsApp with the aim of reaching elementary education teachers in the private sector of the Rio de Janeiro municipality.

The questionnaire consisted of 43 objective questions, some of which provide an option for justification totaling 50 items. It takes approximately 5 minutes to

complete if the respondent does not provide justifications, and has 58 responses. The questionnaire encompasses four main sections: 01 - Teacher Profile; 02 - Working Conditions During the Pandemic; 03 - Sentiments Regarding Work; 04 - Category Organization and Relationship with the Union. It was distributed to teacher groups without restrictions to ensure wider circulation, resulting in responses from both male and female teachers across all educational segments and systems within the municipality. Through these responses a comparative analysis is possible, examining both overall and specific outcomes based on the presented profiles.

In addition to the online questionnaire, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four female teachers from the early educational segments within three corporate groups: Bahema, Raiz Educação, and Eleva. The interviews were centered around the question, "What was it like being a woman and a teacher during the pandemic?" Brief contextualizations were provided only to establish important temporal milestones during the years 2020 and 2021. These milestones included the commencement of remote classes, the return to physical classrooms and the implementation of hybrid teaching, and the vaccination phase.

The criteria for selecting interviewees were: being female and teachers in the early educational segments of schools within the mentioned groups above. Given the atmosphere of tension and fear of unemployment during the pandemic, combined with the intense end-of-year workload, the interviewed teachers were the only ones willing to provide interviews. Contacts were established through other teachers within their institutions; this mediation by individuals they already trusted facilitated their participation. All participants were aware of the thesis topic and guaranteed anonymity.

The free narrative captures what was most significant to the individual, thus everything that was discussed holds relevance. In this manner the accounts addressed all the themes pertinent to this analysis, such as working hours, physical and technological infrastructure, the blending of home and work both spatially and temporally, adaptations to remote work, the novel conditions brought about by the pandemic context, as well as what proved to be temporary versus what endured.

Findings

What was it like to be a woman and a teacher during the pandemic, especially in the early years?

"It was all of a sudden, we left on a Friday, and the feeling I have is that the school I had will never come back."

All the interviewees are women who work in private schools in Rio de Janeiro, including Bahema, Eleva, and Raiz Educação, groups that are strongly involved in the previously discussed financial commodification of education. However, they are not identified in the interviewees' statements. To identify their profiles, the following questions were asked: "Which educational segment do you teach?"; "To which teaching category do you belong?"; "Are you subject to a contract with a specified number of working hours?"; "Do you have children? If yes, how old are they?" and "What is your support network?" In order to preserve their identities and their relationship with the institution, here the accounts will be presented in a more restricted version where the narratives intersect, highlighting what was overlapped and somehow gained relevance under the investigation's perspective, either due to the force of repetition or the delicacy and exceptional nature of the interviewees' situations.

Analysis categories were created based on the teachers' narratives of their working conditions to better assess the convergent transformations they experienced. These categories included: time, overlap of home and work, exposure and control over work, communication with the institution, work format, its metamorphoses, and tool usage, health, feelings towards the new work context, and organization of the category.

Interviews

About labor conditions

Time

The increase in workload happened gradually. I started working 4 to 5 hours a day, but within a month, I was already working 10-12 hours a day, every day of the week, including Saturdays and Sundays.

It felt like I was working 24 hours a day. I can't take it anymore; I developed a work phobia.

Slowly, families started demanding more, and the school adjusted to meet those demands.

Mornings were occupied by school tasks, afternoons were for creating materials and finalizing plans, and evenings often had meetings.

The stretching of working hours during the first year of the pandemic in 2020 was felt and indicated by all the teachers. The expansion of time dedicated to work, without a change in contract or agreement between the parties is the first indication of deepened work exploitation. In this case, the time dedicated to work started occupying all three daily shifts in which work is normally divided (morning, afternoon, and evening), thereby expropriating these workers of their life time, that is the social reproduction of their own workforce. This stretching took on brutal proportions clearly exceeding the stipulated working hours, and resulting in an increase in absolute surplus value. Furthermore, there was no

control over hours, which is one of the characteristics of platformized digital work.

Social Reproduction

Then there's another aspect of being a woman and being at home. So the afternoon demands were interspersed with household chores.

Washing dishes, having lunch, putting clothes in the laundry. So the feeling I had was that I never stopped. It was kind of overwhelming. It was all the time. The never-ending dishes. There was no break. I couldn't relax and breathe.

I don't have any peace, sometimes I'm breastfeeding while teaching. Breastfeeding! I have a picture of that. So you take it from the neck up, nobody sees it, but the child is there on your chest.

It is in the realm of social reproduction that the lack of time and the overlap of tasks fall most cruelly and overwhelmingly on women. As one of the interviewees stated: "about being a woman and being at home," as if productive work even when exploited is liberatory from reproductive work when done outside the home. When the possibility of socializing reproductive work is eliminated by social isolation, thus the entire burden of work falls on women while the patriarchal structure exempts men from responsibility and proactive involvement in household tasks.

This situation is exacerbated in the case of mothers. The biological factor crucial to the baby's development, breastfeeding is overshadowed by teaching work. Although of utmost importance to the child's health, it can become a burden when it is added as another obligation being energetically extremely demanding work. And because it seems to depend on the female body it is attributed entirely to women, while the father even when present does not face

the same demand. Although it is work that can easily be shared if the woman pumps and reserves breast milk in bottles.

About exposure and control

I think that was another issue, being at home and having to receive these families at home. I found it very strange, I felt invaded. It's my space. Especially since I lived in a very small space. This feeling of being constantly watched. And that sensation was very unpleasant. The feeling of constantly being evaluated.

I felt exposed in the online meetings because you weren't alone there with the children, they were with their parents beside them. It was your meeting with the child and with the rest of the class, and also with the family that you didn't know because I had never been the teacher of that class before.

The feeling of exposure is a consequence of the process of control and evaluation to which teaching work becomes subjected in its platformized version. While many families take on the role of "clients" and view education as a "service," the control and evaluation of teaching work are not only carried out by the educational institution but also directly by the families who pay and expect to receive in an "equivalent" manner. This accentuates the level of exploitation of teaching work due to the demands they place on the school, without possessing the pedagogical expertise or training for such, thus contributing to the increase in relative surplus value.

About work metamorphoses

We had to adapt all the materials, all the lessons. How do I start a conversation about addition and subtraction for kids who are distant? So, we had to create. We created slides, games, activities, and searched for sources on the internet and adapted them. It required

necessary research beyond the in-person setting when we are there with the children.

It felt like I had to come up with elaborate things. So, I created various strategies throughout the year... It was something new every day, even until today. First of all, we had to teach computer skills because the kids didn't know what an email was. So, I was teaching technology classes.

We didn't have any technological tools besides the teacher to manage everything. And the school didn't give up on any parallel projects

The continuous changes in the years 2020 and 2021 in the configuration of teaching work generated an excess of demands and an immediate need to adapt to new contexts that destabilized the teachers and effectively led to an expansion of relative surplus value extraction. The transition from in-person to digital work requires time, technological infrastructure, and instrumental training for this adaptation, which the teachers did not have beforehand.

The scenario led these professionals to constantly adapt to new variables and to simultaneously perform various roles, both in terms of material tasks and technical aspects such as IT skills. This was evident in the classroom with hybrid learning and in the early stages of remote work, facilitating computer-related content for students. Moreover, on a subjective level they had to provide support by addressing fears and anxieties not only from students but also from families. The need to create innovative materials also led to overwork, with the expenditure of time spreading throughout the daily routine, extending into nights and early mornings. Teachers became multitaskers, flexible, and resilient, aligning themselves with the contemporary vocabulary of platform-based and precarious work.

Even when the worker supported the execution of her work there was a technological limit, a fixed capital that needed to be invested to meet the demands of the return to in-person teaching, even in a situation of a health crisis where classes needed to be divided and a portion of students continued learning from home. However, such investment was not made which further burdened the teacher who still felt responsible for being present. Mediating between technology and students became a source of stress at various moments during this period.

A hallmark of this biennium was the production of digital teaching materials, including videos, games, activities, texts, and podcasts. In one case, the material was used in other units of the company's network, with the teacher's consent but without any additional salary compensation. This further increases the degree of surplus value extraction. On one hand this teacher holds the power of intellectual authorship over the material. On the other hand teachers from other units who receive the ready-made material to simply replicate will experience a deepening of the alienation of their work.

Health

Because my mind was filled with so many things that I couldn't comprehend how I would find time for yet another demand. I had a crying fit and said, "I can't take it anymore, it's not working for me anymore. I can't be held responsible for doing a good job in this way." So, the school demanded something that wasn't possible, and we get stressed because we're the ones putting ourselves out there. This generated a lot of stress, a lot of fatigue. Our emotional well-being went out the window. Now, seeing the school's evaluations from parents with only praises and them being so grateful, I couldn't help but think, "at what cost?"

For me, this became very strong, the devaluation of life. Because, you know, forget about it, you have to come to work, the flag is at full red, but you have to come to work. (...) I felt very undervalued.

I have some blank moments, where things disappear from my mind. I've been receiving psychological treatment all the time, I think that helps. But I have migraines, it's a nightmare. And I had symptoms of panic attacks when I started working this year. When I sat in front of the computer to start working, it was a bizarre trigger, I started to feel short of breath, uncontrollable crying, a sense of despair, this feeling that I'm going to run out of air and I'm going to die, and then it happened two more times.

What I loved the most was being a mother and being in the classroom, and during the pandemic, I cried almost every day before the start of class. All the teachers on the team are dealing with serious personal issues. One lost her baby, another with a teenage daughter, the girl took all the medicines in the house.

Oh, and here's a detail, in 2020 I got sick in all this madness. The doctor said, "It's not that there's nothing wrong, it's restlessness. You need to have some time for yourself in your life, you need to take a break from work, you need support from your husband, or someone, I don't know."

The increase in workload, the "crazy pace," the frequent disruption of routines, the constant rise in demands, pressure and expectations for productivity, lack of listening, the fear of getting sick and losing loved ones, and the blatant devaluation of workers' lives by capital; all contributed to a collective state of illness. Exhaustion, body aches, metabolic dysfunctions, dependencies, anxiety, headaches, and crying spells became part of the lives of these teachers during the pandemic. They share in their testimonies how this was a collective rather than individual experience.

The harsh realization of the contradiction of working in education, which by principle can be liberating but also treated as a commodity even though it rarely becomes a reified product, greatly affects the health of the workers which is a vital condition for the social reproduction of individuals. In this scenario of profound exploitation and intrinsic devaluation of teaching work, a broad picture of collective burnout is produced which could be seen as the 'discontent' of the 21st-century civilization.

Organization and resistance

It was as if they were doing us a favor by maintaining our salaries. That was the feeling I had. In fact, that was a statement made: "We didn't cut your salaries. And these families want more things. We're already holding the fort. So, this isn't acceptable. You shouldn't complain. You should stop whining, because you have a job and a full salary. We need your help. We need enrolled families."

Because that response was a threat. Like a "shut up." Because the response was very disproportionate to prevent us from speaking up. And it worked really well, the people who were already demobilized became completely demobilized.

We were very careful and didn't appoint any leaders, we held meetings and produced texts, so several teachers from different areas and segments would read the text. There was no way to know who the leader was. And when they asked for a leader, because they asked a lot. It was great because we shielded ourselves, protected ourselves, organized ourselves, and no one was fired.

The meetings eventually stopped due to a lack of quorum. In the beginning, there were 70 people, and in the end, there were 8 or 9 people, so there was no representation. The teacher who was the representative of the Eleva teachers' committee at SINPRO was fired at the end of the year. And this also hinders the continuation of the meetings in 2021.

The impact of teaching work during the pandemic had a dual effect on the organization of the category. While it led to exhaustion and consequently greater difficulty in finding time for mobilization. It also compelled the teachers to seek different ways to resist the constant and growing attack on their worker status.

In one of the accounts even though the teacher didn't present an organic and organized relationship with the institutional representation of the category as evidenced by the vague response about her union membership, "I don't know, I think so, I must be," her political engagement in the year 2020 became clear. She enthusiastically described the teacher organization at her school through a "Teacher Committee" that held regular meetings. Her understanding of the broader working category was emphasized in her statement: "The issues were general, even though the committee was composed of teachers." This reveals a class consciousness, however, all the issues were specific to the pandemic context and did not extend when circumstances changed, nor did they encompass fundamental workers' rights.

This demonstrates two aspects of class consciousness building. On one hand, oppression generates resistance, and this resistance is only formed from the understanding that there are common reasons connecting individuals, constituting a group. On the other hand, it exposes that under "normal" circumstances outside of a pandemic there is a normalization of the exploitative condition of this group.

The reasons for the internal organization's weakening are multiple, but one of the main factors is the institution's repression of organized workers. This is notably illustrated by the dismissal of the teacher who held the role of mediator

between the "docent committee" (a group of teachers) of this school and the union. As well as the intentional division of the teaching staff and the lack of listening and disproportionate response to basic demands. The administrative figure representing the institution's managerial interests becomes detached from the pedagogical aspect in these institutions. While the school aims to maintain pedagogical coherence it often fails due to larger economic and political interests.

During the pandemic period (2020/2021), the testimonies obtained from the research reveal numerous attacks on labor rights and the living conditions of educators. Many of these struggles were organized or centered around SinproRio (the Teachers' Union of Rio de Janeiro).

The year 2020 witnessed a series of offensives against private education workers making it a year when the union was extensively sought by these workers. Virtual assemblies became a recurrent occurrence, particularly from May 2020 onward due to the pressure faced by teachers.

SINPRO documented 52 schools that utilized the Provisional Measure 936 (converted into Law 14.020 of 2020), which "Institutes the Emergency Program for the Preservation of Employment and Income." This measure allowed companies to make agreements to reduce working hours and salaries of employees or to suspend employment contracts. The government would cover 30 to 55% of the workers' salaries involved in such agreements, effectively transferring public funds to private institutions.

Furthermore, as evidenced by the data in this thesis, there was no reduction in the workload demand for teachers. As the testimonials indicate, capital demanded a drastic increase in working hours. Although there wasn't an

absolute reduction in salaries there was a clear intensification of exploitation due to the unpaid extension of the working day.

Final Considerations

As the hegemony of "financial" capital expands, it reconfigures the forms of commodity and service circulation and the productive processes as well. This shift results in a corresponding change in the forms of labor exploitation and necessitates a demand for a change in the profile of these workers.

Consequently, it is under the loss of rights and the incorporation of lexicons such as "creative," "adaptive," "resilient," "efficient," etc., that the new required face of the private school worker is constituted in the face of labor flexibilization processes.

Oliveira (2003) emphasizes the "productive" nature of backwardness, which allows for an accelerated pattern of accumulation even without social development and productive forces due to the cheapening of the workforce.

"Underdevelopment would therefore be the permanent exceptional form of the capitalist system in its periphery." (Olivera, 2003, p. 131) This is the reality of Brazil where the reproduction of the workforce is characterized by lowered costs due to the persistence of non-capitalist relations of production (such as community-based construction projects or neighbors caring for children in the backyard), combined with modern patterns of labor exploitation.

In this context, formal professions that are primarily linked to reproductive functions such as teaching tend to have their value diminished. Tied to this is the issue of gender which as both a policy and an ideology, sustains this unique pattern of accumulation and reinforces, through centuries of silence the place of women and their value in class-based society.

Marxist Feminism can serve as a powerful dialogical tool for critiquing the reality focusing on the ways in which gender, class, and economic structures intersect to shape women's experiences, particularly in educational settings and domestic labor. It offers a framework for understanding how women's labor—both in the home and in education—is undervalued and exploited within capitalist systems. Using Marxist Feminism as a dialogical tool allows for a critical examination of the systemic forces at play in the unequal distribution of labor and resources in education and domestic spheres, while also offering pathways for resistance through solidarity and collective action. (Carpenter & Mojab, 2022)

In other words, due to being a woman there is a restriction of opportunities in the formal job market, particularly in sectors historically closely associated with reproductive roles (e.g., teacher, nurse, psychologist, etc.), where an ideological link between biological determinism and caregiving functions exists. These sectors of the economy are already devalued within dependent capitalism due to the characteristics of underdevelopment. As such, there exists a mutually negative relationship between the female gender and the realm of reproductive labor.

With this understanding the COVID-19 pandemic did not introduce new forms of general labor exploitation including that of teaching nor did it establish them. However, it intensified, expanded, and certainly greatly solidified the exploitation of teaching labor. This was primarily carried out through the use of digital technological tools such as teaching platforms, which provided a more controlled work environment, as well as through digital social communication platforms which added personal and flexible dimensions to the work.

In this manner, the pandemic served as a valuable laboratory for capital to test and implement methodologies for increased capital accumulation. Meanwhile, for workers it was a harrowing experience that deepened exploitation. At best, their labor force was regarded as a commodity.

For female teaching workers, the experience of remote and 'hybrid' teaching during the pandemic produced diverse effects due to the "crucial ambivalence of our human presence in our own history, partly subjects and partly objects as voluntary agents of our own involuntary exterminations." (Thompson, 2021, p. 146, emphasis added). My aim is to faithfully translate the complex reality of being private school teachers in Brazil during the pandemic, and its consequences.

Active listening is very important, because, "(...) those who are not heard become those who 'do not belong.'" (Kilomba, 2019, p. 43). In this sense even the embryonic organization of the category at the school level is crucial and serves as an experience in forming the consciousness of belonging to the working class. Based on the understanding that work is constitutive of human beings, and therefore directly influences the formation of their subjectivity meaning, "changes in work alter the worker's identity" (Abílio 2019, p. 4), the aim is to comprehend in a general sense the situation of teachers in the early levels of private schools in Rio de Janeiro within the current political-economic context of neoliberalism and the pandemic.

Work as the ontological essence of humanity is foundational and sense-making acting as the mechanism through which reality is altered and dialectically transforms itself. It establishes a connection between the individual and reality, "at the very least, securely placing them within a portion of reality, within the

human community" (Freud, 2011, p. 36). Within the libidinal economy where the constant pursuit of pleasure and avoidance of human suffering occurs, work fundamentally resides on the side of pleasure in this balance.

However, during moments of crisis when ideological discourse dissipates and is overridden by the coercive power of capitalism, the individual's primary consciousness keeps them integrated into the capitalist social form and thereby naturalizes this structure. This becomes confronted with the exploitative reality inherent in this form where labor itself becomes a commodity. This external crisis internalizes generating a conflict within subjectivity. Though it may appear individual due to the social nature of these relations it is in fact collective. The symptom stemming from this crisis has been identified as burnout.

Burnout is the expression of a crisis between forms of consciousness when the impossibility of maintaining alienation known as the, "first form of consciousness" (Iasi, 2011), is triggered. However, there are no objective material conditions for overcoming the situation that produces it, or these conditions are not identified by the subjects. Even though they have been freed from ideological domination over consciousness they do not express class consciousness for themselves. When the eternal struggle between desire and conformity reaches an explosive internal limit, the individual becomes incapable of being a social agent and worker. Thus, manifesting in various ways depending on their psychophysical predispositions.

As revealed by the accounts and forms there was an increase in dedication to work both in terms of the time spent by the teachers and the intensification of demands. In both cases there is an intertwining with the use of information and communication technologies as a means of conducting teaching work. First, to

learn how to use the new technological tools necessary for remote work; secondly, to plan lessons and produce materials needed to compensate for the lack of physical presence (videos, games, activities, etc.); thirdly, to provide individualized feedback based on the specific conditions of teaching platforms that replace collective procedures like student comments and activity correction. Lastly, but not least impactful, is the establishment of communication with the work team and coordinators, especially through email and WhatsApp resulting in constant surveillance and work without formal time boundaries. Simultaneously, there was no increase in salary during the same period.

In this way, a profound increase in the extraction of absolute surplus value was carried out. According to Marx (1985), it is exclusively tied to the duration of the workday. Additionally, there was an excessive increment of relative surplus value linked to the increased intensity of work. In this case, it is associated with the significant demands for creating new materials, whether due to the novel and online nature of activities or the unrealistic need. As mentioned, in an attempt to compensate for the teacher's physical absence.

"Time is the field of human development" (Marx, 1978 p. 92). Deprived of their free time the workers whose lives have been "absorbed by their work for the capitalist, are less than beasts of burden." (Ibidem, p. 92). And so, the teachers were during the years 2020 and 2021, "screen beasts" alienated from their humanity when their time was expropriated by the imposition of excessive work by capital.

The teachers, subjected to such expropriation of time combined with the control of work through various matrices namely: the internal communication within the school; through the method of conducting work via platforms where both the timing of publication and the content of the lesson are recorded, shared with

higher hierarchical levels (which does not occur when the lesson is purely conducted in person). Also by the parents of the children who directly access materials and lessons due to the students' lack of autonomy have their work emptied of meaning.

And although they were already subjected to capital they highlight the serious deepening of exploitation during the pandemic and also identify the persistence of this "new" school model which will have traits that endure. Thus, the teaching profession which is generally full of meaning due to its role in shaping critical social subjects loses its meaning and becomes a burden for the workers.

Capitalism as a unified system that integrates and permeates all spheres of life maintains a direct and bidirectional interaction between the productive and reproductive spheres. Women workers are doubly affected by changes in social dynamics during the pandemic in periods of isolation and remote work. This affects both their work involving surplus value production and their work of maintaining and reproducing life.

In this second sphere, there is an overload on women compared to the male gender due to the historical construction of patriarchy, arbitrarily assigning women a central role in household tasks and childcare. Considering all the factors mentioned that lead to an expansion and lack of control over the time dedicated to teaching work, teachers struggle with a scarcity of time for reproductive work yet they are still assigned this role. This results in a profound burden on these women's minds and bodies leading to their deterioration of health.

The idea of the "eternal feminine" underpins the role of women in class society, and the role is attributed with "care" as its central axis. (Beauvoir, 2009, p. 25).

Care is inseparable from teaching work especially in the early grades. This is why and not the other way around that this profession is "typically" feminine and consequently more exploited and devalued. However, it is not by removing the aspect of "care" from educating children aged 2 to 10 years that this profession will gain more value within the capitalist system.

It is through sharing the social responsibility of care with men and the State, and through the organization of teachers as a working-class identifying forms of surplus value extraction. That is the production of commodities in this segment of education that the work of teachers in early childhood and elementary education can be more valued. (Davis, 2016).

As categories are historical and subject to change and transformation (Thompson, 2021, p. 117), it is relevant to reconsider existing categories regarding current forms of labor exploitation. Of importance, updating or even creating new ones that can explain the reality that goes beyond conventional categories. The analysis engages with concepts such as the "just-in-time" worker (Abílio, 2020), "self-manager" (same, 2019), and the concept of "platformization of labor" (Grohmann, 2020) as important categorizations and analytical frameworks to explain the current morphologies of teaching work in the private sector.

Following the (counter) labor reform of 2017, we entered a period of increased flexibility and deregulation of formal salaried work even though this is not the norm in Brazil due to our history and dependent condition^{iv}. Many teachers have had their employment contracts altered by MP 936/2020, resulting in reduced working hours and salary but still maintain employment contracts which is a significant distinction from gig economy workers. However, the categorization of "just-in-time", signifies a process in which "costs and risks of the activity are

transferred to the worker (who lacks associated labor rights), while also facing a complete absence of guarantees regarding their workload and remuneration" (Abílio 2019, p. 3).

Despite these professionals being salaried the pandemic context generated profound insecurity about the maintenance of their jobs and consequently their income. And when they started working from home the costs for carrying out this work such as a good internet connection, information technology devices, and other educational materials became entirely their responsibility.

Meanwhile, the time dedicated to teaching work experienced immense intensification, being stretched and made more flexible, interwoven with domestic work, and infiltrating all dimensions of the teachers' lives. "There is a change in the distinction between what is and what is not working time." (Abílio, 2019, p. 3). According to the accounts all time is work time: "I think the most exhausting thing of all was because it took up all your time right? Because you had to provide feedback to the child. How did you do that right? You had to always be all the time connected to your email that notified you 'so-and-so sent an assignment'."

Such lack of distinction is one of the factors that seriously affects the health of these women. Teachers are professionals who work based on planning, routine, schedules, and strict timelines. The uncertainty lack of control, and the extended work hours due to excessive labor demands result in insecurity, anxiety, and illness. Abílio (2019) emphasizes the notion of the "subordinate self-manager" as a peripheral and updated perspective in our context. Although once again the teaching profession has nuances that may not fully align with this concept as there are relevant connections to its particular reality.

In the case of teachers, as well as the "subordinate self-manager" profile, their "strategies for survival, their management of their own time, are privately appropriated as factors of their work execution and productivity" (Abílio, 2019, p. 5), meaning there is more unpaid work. However, among teachers there isn't a competitive entrepreneurial dimension as one might find in a "self-enterprise" worker. On the contrary, what can be observed from the narratives is a strengthening of solidarity in the workplace. There's an increase in cooperation and a reinforced emphasis on the necessity of teamwork.

The teaching platforms as previously mentioned serve as means of production for big capital, thus enhancing efficiency in extracting surplus value from the teaching profession. With the "effectiveness" of the pandemic experience these platforms have gained ground that was already being slowly conquered. However, due to the emergency context of the pandemic this conquest has become widespread and permanent. These platforms given their multifaceted nature as commodities, means of production, and distribution channels for other commodities, substantially alter the nature of teaching work.

While enabling remote work during periods of isolation, communication between educators and students has become more distant, diminishing the emotional and personal aspects of the learning process, which are crucial for its development. This shift not only individualizes interactions, placing more workload on teachers, but also stifles the collective and social aspects of formal education that are fundamental to human growth.

The control over teaching work on platforms is also unprecedented, involving multiple forms and perspectives of surveillance. There is greater monitoring of both the time spent and the content of the work, whether by the institution, the students' parents, or even algorithms. Since these platforms are not planned,

conceptualized, or produced by teachers themselves, but rather by agents of capital there is a lack of control over their structure and consequently over the structure of the lessons. This amplifies the alienation of these workers in relation to their work within these virtual spaces. In the words of the teachers: "The constant feeling of being monitored. And that feeling was very unpleasant. The sensation of being constantly evaluated".

Notes

ⁱ The entry of newly independent countries, while maintaining the colonial mode of production, into the capitalist economic system generates the coexistence of two distinct historical periods: the pre-capitalist mode of production and an exchange relationship already integrated into the capitalist system. This configuration points to an insertion in the international division of labor that places the domestic economy in an unfavorable position. However, the native elites quickly submit themselves, and a coherence of interests is formed between the native dominant classes and the world market, resulting in the persistence of economic and social structures, which leads to a disorderly adherence to the institutions of commercial capitalism in the country. (Fernandes, 1986)

ⁱⁱ **Weaving the Morning**

João Cabral de Melo Neto A rooster alone cannot weave a morning:

it will always need other roosters.

One that picks up its cry and
throws it to another; another rooster
that catches the cry of a rooster before
and throws it to another; and other roosters
that with many other roosters cross
the sun's threads of their rooster cries,
so that the morning, from a thin web,
can be woven, among all the roosters.

ⁱⁱⁱ Dilma Rousseff was elected President of Brazil in 2011 and impeached on August 31st, 2016.

^{iv} The condition of a dependent capitalist country, concept developed by Florestan Fernandes (1976), means that although there is an internal development of capital, this is subordinated to international capital, not allowing for autonomous internal economic development, as well as increasing the exploitation of its workers who need to generate surplus value for both national and international capital

References

Abílio, L. C. (2019). Uberization: From entrepreneurship to subordinated self-management. *Psicoperspectivas: Individuo y Sociedad*, Spain, Val Paraiso, 18(3), 1–11.
<https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-69242019000300001>

- Abílio, L. C. (2020). Uberization: The era of the just-in-time worker? *Estudos Avançados*, São Paulo 34(98), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0103-40142020000100001>
- Arruda, P. F. (2018). The 2016 coup and the labor reform counterrevolution. In L. A. Dias & R. Segurado (Eds.), *The 2016 coup: Reasons, actors, and consequences* (pp. 95–113). Intermeios. Rio de Janeiro
- Benjamin, W. (2013). *The angel of history* (J. Barrento, Trans.). 2nd ed. Autêntica. São Paulo. (Original work published 1940)
- Bhattacharya, T. (2019). What is social reproduction theory? *Revista Outubro*, (32), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0101-7326/2019>
- Beauvoir, S. de. (2009). *The second sex*. 2nd ed. Nova Fronteira, Rio de Janeiro
- Brasil. (2017, July 14). Law No. 13.467 of July 13, 2017. *Amendments to the Consolidation of Labor Laws*. Planalto. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/113467.htm
- Brasil. (2020, July 7). Law No. 14.020 of July 6, 2020. Establishes the Emergency Employment and Income Maintenance Program [related to the coronavirus pandemic]. *Diário Oficial da União*, <https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou>
- Brasil. (2020, March 22). Provisional Measure No. 927 of March 22, 2020. Addresses labor measures for dealing with the state of public calamity [resulting from COVID-19]. *Diário Oficial da União*, Brasília, DF, <https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou>
- Brasil, Ministério da Educação. (2021). *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira: School census*. Retrieved June 4, 2021. Brasília, DF.
- Carpenter, S., & Mojab, S. (2022). Marxist Feminism and Education: Gender, Race, and Class. In A. Maisuria (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Marxism and Education* (pp. 453–466). Brill.
- Costa, H. B. (2020). *Financialization of basic education: Trends in the period from 2010 to 2019* (Master's thesis, Faculty of Education, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil).
- Davis, A. (2016). *Women, race, and class*. Boitempo. São Paulo
- Fernandes, F. *Revolução burguesa no Brasil*. Zahar, 1976. São Paulo.
- Freud, S. (2011). The discomfort of civilization. In *Complete works* (Vol. 18, P. C. de Souza, Trans.). Companhia das Letras. São Paulo (Original work published 1930)
- Graham, A. A. (2020). Digital labor. In R. Antunes (Ed.), *Uberization, digital labor, and Industry 4.0* (1st ed., pp. 45–67). Boitempo. São Paulo.
- Grohmann, R. (2020). Platformization of work: Characteristics and alternatives. In R. Antunes (Ed.), *Uberization of labor and Industry 4.0* (1st ed., pp. 93–109). Boitempo. São Paulo
- Harvey, D. (2011). *The enigma of capital: And the crises of capitalism*. Boitempo. São Paulo
- Iasi, M. L. (2011). *Essays on consciousness and emancipation* (2nd ed.). Expressão Popular. São Paulo
- Jandrić, P. (2022). Postdigital Marxism. In A. Maisuria (Ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Marxism and Education* (pp. 552–567). Brill.
- Kilomba, G. (2019). *Plantation memories: Episodes of everyday racism* (1st ed.). Cobogó. Rio de Janeiro.
- Marx, K. (1985). *Capital: Critique of political economy*. Volume 1, Book One (2nd ed.). Nova Cultural. Rio de Janeiro.
- Marx, K. (1978). Economic-philosophical manuscripts. *The Thinkers Collection* (2nd ed.). Nova Cultural. Rio de Janeiro
- Mattos, B. M. (2003). *Brazilian unionism after 1930*. Zahar. São Paulo.
- Oliveira, F. (2003). *Critique of dualist reasoning: The platypus*. Boitempo. São Paulo.
- Rosen, R., & Newberry, J. (2022). Early Childhood, Feminism, and Marx. In A. Maisuria (Ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Marxism and Education* (pp. 217–233).

Thompson, E. P. (2021). *The misery of theory and other essays* (1st ed.). Vozes. Petrópolis.

Author Details

Dr. Jade Prata Bueno Barata is a researcher of Education Policy at the Collective of Studies on Marxism and Education (COLEMARX) of UFRJ, in Rio de Janeiro/ Brazil. Contact: jadepratabb@gmail.com