

# Teaching work context and performance in ENEM, in public and private schools: study in accordance with The Psychodynamics of Work

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## Abstract

This article aims to understand teaching work, in public and private schools, in terms of student performance in Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio (ENEM). The research was based on The Psychodynamics of Work, a theory that guided the data analysis. Qualitative data collection occurred through 19 interviews with teachers from public and private schools. The results were analyzed based on the meaning core analysis technique, with the help of the Atlas.ti software. The analysis and discussion of the results made it possible to describe the work of teachers, in the context of preparing students for ENEM, as well as identifying that this context of external assessments can sometimes be prone to suffering and illness, especially in the private sphere. Using the categories of work organization, working conditions and labor relations, it was possible to identify convergences and divergences between public and private schools.

Keywords: Psychodynamics of work. Teachers. Ensino Médio. Work Context.

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## Contexto de trabalho docente e o desempenho no ENEM, em escolas públicas e privadas: estudo à luz da Psicodinâmica do Trabalho

## Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo compreender o trabalho docente, em escolas públicas e privadas, em sede do desempenho dos alunos no Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio (ENEM). A pesquisa se deu à luz da Psicodinâmica do Trabalho, teoria que orientou a análise dos dados. A coleta de dados qualitativos ocorreu por meio de 19 entrevistas com docentes de escolas públicas e privadas. Os resultados foram analisados com base na técnica de análise dos núcleos de sentido, com o auxílio do software Atlas.ti. A análise e discussão dos resultados possibilitou descrever o trabalho dos docentes, no contexto de preparação dos alunos para o ENEM, bem como identificar que esse contexto de avaliações externas pode ser, por vezes, propenso a sofrimento e adoecimento, principalmente no âmbito privado. A partir das categorias organização de trabalho, condições de trabalho e relações de trabalho, foi possível apreender convergências e divergências entre as escolas públicas e privadas.

Palavras-chave: Psicodinâmica do Trabalho. Docentes. Ensino Médio. Contexto de Trabalho.

## Contexto del trabajo y desempeño docente en la ENEM, en escuelas públicas y privadas: estudio a la luz de la psicodinámica del trabajo

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### Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objetivo comprender el trabajo docente, en escuelas públicas y privadas, en términos del desempeño de los estudiantes en el Examen Nacional de Educación Secundaria (ENEM). La investigación se basó en la Psicodinámica del Trabajo, teoría que guió el análisis de los datos. La recolección de datos cualitativos se produjo a través de 19 entrevistas a docentes de escuelas públicas y privadas. Los resultados se analizaron con base en la técnica de análisis de núcleo de significado, con la ayuda del software Atlas.ti. El análisis y discusión de los resultados permitió describir el trabajo de los docentes, en el contexto de preparación de los estudiantes para el ENEM, así como identificar que este contexto de evaluaciones externas en ocasiones puede ser proclive al sufrimiento y a la enfermedad, especialmente en el ámbito privado. Utilizando las categorías de organización del trabajo, condiciones de trabajo y relaciones laborales, fue posible identificar convergencias y divergencias entre escuelas públicas y privadas.

Palabras clave: Psicodinámica del Trabajo. Maestros. Escuela secundaria. Contexto de trabajo.

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### Introduction

Work is part of individual and collective human living, demanding meanings to assume a central role in the constitution of individual identity and intervening in the various forms of social insertion of individuals (Dejours; Deranty; Renault; Smith, 2018).

Contemporary changes in the world of work do not necessarily mean progress and well-being. In teaching work, reforms in basic education have made the teacher primarily responsible for the performance of students and the school (Areosa, 2021; Piovezan; Ri, 2019).

Faced with increasing precariousness, teachers suffer from the impositions of educational competitiveness, generally due to national assessment exams that rank schools (Costa; Mueller, 2020). In this context, although work is a source of pleasure, and suffering is inherent to working, these processes have contributed to depersonalization and social devaluation (Silva; Mafra, 2014).

For the research that originated this text, Psychodynamics of Work (POW) was chosen as a theoretical lens, an approach developed by Christophe Dejours, which enables an in-depth study of the work-subjectivity relationship, understanding intra and intersubjective conflicts that accompany subjects in the field of work.

This research is guided by the following problem: how is the context of teaching work focused on performance in *Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio* (ENEM) characterized in public and private schools? The objective is to understand teaching work, in public and private schools, in terms of student performance in ENEM.

To achieve the proposed objective, methods and techniques of a qualitative nature were used and data collection occurred through individual semi-structured interviews. The research was carried out in the context of basic education, carried out with 19 teachers who teach in the third year of Ensino Médio, a school year that should enable the continuation of studies and the advancement of students to higher education (Brasil, 1996).

The interviews were carried out with teachers, including men (11) and women (08), being ten teachers from public schools and nine from the private sector. Professionals are between 25 and 61 years old; have spent time at school from 8 months to 18 years; and experience in the profession between 1.8 and 40 years.

Data collection took place through semi-structured individual interviews, in person and online (*Google Meet*), guided by guide topics in a script, ending when empirical data saturation was reached. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in full, with the consent of the interviewees in accordance with the conditions established in the Free and Informed Consent Form (Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido, TCLE). To preserve the identity of the interviewees, fictitious names were assigned to reference the interviewees in the results analysis and discussion section.

Regarding the selection of schools, research was carried with the schools with the best performance in ENEM, according to data released by *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira* (INEP) and according to the current classification on the website *Melhor Escola*. The analysis of qualitative data was based on the Meaning Core Analysis technique (*Análise dos Núcleos do Sentido*, ANS), proposed by Mendes (2007).

ANS acts as a reference theory for analysis and discussion of results presented in the next section.

## Dimensions of teaching work in the private sector

In the private sphere, the statements were categorized into three categories: work organization, working conditions and work relations (Dejours, 1992; 2004). These categories are formed by the themes: i) prescribed work; real work; personalization of work; demands and supervision; coordination; ii) structure; technological conditions; iii) absence of parents; precarious relationships; relationships with the group; relationships with students.

### Work Organization

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*In dejourian* conception, Work Organization is defined as the division of labor, the way in which work should be carried out, the content of tasks and the power relations that involve the hierarchical system. The dimension also includes the different forms of command present in the organization and the issues of responsibility (Dejours, 2004), which are often expressed in the ways of planning, organizing and controlling work. Labor perceptions about work planning are socialized by Jairo:

There we have an annual plan, we don't have a plan like some public schools where we need to be sitting there planning, there we have an annual plan and in this plan we will develop the activities, so it is also week by week, there's the spreadsheet for that week, there's this content. So, we end up looking for different ways to demonstrate the same thing (Jairo, 2022).

Another emerging content was the difficulty in complying with the rules imposed by the organization, that is, *Prescribed Work*, this being the way in which the school organizes work, imposing rules, norms and procedures. However, due to the prescribed work, it is not possible to predict all circumstances, nor anticipate the perceptions of workers (Areosa, 2021), as highlighted in the statement by teacher Mateus:

So, sometimes, school management fails in this regard, in setting too many rules. And then when you set too many rules, it becomes difficult for the teacher to remember them all, comply with them all and execute them all. And then the teacher ends up being frowned upon, the teacher who doesn't turn in his diary on time. It was one of the fights I had in schools, this issue of 'being a bureaucrat' [...]. My relationship with the students is very friendly, so I usually say that my biggest problem isn't with the students, right, it's with the coordination demands (Mateus, 2022).

The rules amount to demands from coordinators, who demand compliance from teachers that goes beyond their capabilities. When the prescribed work rules are numerous, it is difficult to comply with them in full, considering that you also need to deal with the real work, which is imposed by unpredictability (Areosa, 2018; 2021). Rigid rules end up affecting autonomy and highlight the distance between prescribed and real (Borba; Diehl; Dos Santos; Monteiro; Marin, 2015; Bueno; Zambon, 2020).

In order to be able to carry out the prescribed work, in balance with the demands of *Real Work*, the teacher needs to work with zeal, which can be understood as the individual's initiative to recreate their work and find solutions to deal with the difficulties and needs that arise and that were not previously foreseen by the work organization. Regarding this, teacher Benjamin mentions his personal lesson planning, as well as the material he uses, not limited to just the planning and material imposed by the school, as the worker adds his intelligence to the prescribed work to make things work (Areosa, 2018).

However, I also have my personal planning, but the planning I do is weekly. So in this case, I plan the chapter that will be taught, in this case, in a way, it is already an imposition, I have to fulfill that goal of that chapter, but all the teaching, you know, the whole process, the slide that I will build, the questions that I will answer. In this case, I am the one who plans, who determines the distribution of this methodology within the classroom (Benjamin, 2022).

It is clear, then, that the teacher discovers new ways of teaching the content, even though there are pre-existing standards. This fact allows you to develop creativity, while meeting institutional goals (Bedin; Fontes; Braatz, 2020).

Regarding *Personalization of Work*, the work context contributes to teachers taking on many responsibilities, such as monitoring and supervising multiple tasks, in addition to dealing with different problems, as Davi reports:

I'm really afraid of this generation that's coming up, because when a student has a psychological problem, we always have different treatment, and at school, in this big school, there are many students with different difficulties and, at the same time, we have to teach the content and take care of those students individually. Just imagine a room with 63 students in which there are five who are special, we need to have a differentiated service, it's very complicated, but the students are great, I really like it (Davi, 2022).

Regarding the topic *Demands and Supervision*, the relationship between schools and ENEM places the teacher at the center of the process with regard to accountability and demands. Benjamin reports feeling responsible and anxious about the expected results, as the school demands a lot and, each year, the parameter of demands seems to increase, setting higher goals based on the previous year's results.

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I feel a little responsible, I confess that when the ENEM test actually arrives, not only me, but the teachers are generally very anxious because as it is a private school we also work with results, right? So, from the moment of these results, of course more is always demanded every year. So, for example, an institution approved seven students for Medicine in the exam and everyone, everyone celebrated and I was very nervous because if you approve seven this year, next year they will want eight, the aim increases (Benjamin, 2022).

Demanding results, based on quantitative criteria, ends up generating instabilities, causing teachers to suffer with the intensification of work. Results strategies measured by the number of students approved in ENEM impose more responsibilities on the teacher, who is affected by the fear of unemployment. Such instabilities and the fear of being judged end up affecting their subjectivity (Bechi, 2022).

Regarding the topic *Coordination*, it is noteworthy that management is not an aspect present in the teachers' routine. It is the role of the school director to participate with teachers in their professional learning activities, positively

influencing the quality of teaching and learning (Leithwood; Harris; Hopkins, 2020). As Rebeca states, the management only passes on demands to the coordination, who delegates them to the teachers, with the coordinator being the most present among the teachers. Marcos also highlights the absence and lack of unity in the management group, demonstrating that these relationships are precarious.

The figure of the principal in private schools is a figure very distant from us, we have the most contact with the supervision (Rebeca, 2022).

Another thing that we cannot see is the management, as I told you, it is a hierarchy that they cannot unite, so today the management falls far short, it does not reach much for the teacher (Marcos, 2022).

It is known that the prescription of work takes the form of coordination, while the possibility of real collective work takes the form of cooperation (Felix; Araújo; Máximo, 2019), however, both – coordination and cooperation – depend on healthy labor relations.

## Work conditions

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Working conditions make up the second category of context, which refers to the physical, chemical and biological aspects of the work environment, also involving hygiene, safety and anthropometric characteristics of the work. This dimension comprises aspects related to the workers' bodies, which may cause wear and tear and physical illnesses. Therefore, the environment in which work takes place is sensorial and plays an important role in the expression of suffering and pleasure at work (Dejours, 1992).

Regarding the *structure* of private schools, it is possible to see that there is a concern to offer an environment that promotes student learning, favoring a climate of concentration and productivity for students and teachers, as Lucas reports:

So, the school I go to for the third year, all of them actually, thank God I'm in big schools, the entire physical structure is like this, it borders on "perfection" like this [...] So the structure Physics is that great, the ideal we need to have a good result, a good job (Lucas, 2022).

Teachers highlight the good structure of schools that have good air conditioning, sports courts, accessibility mechanisms, technological equipment, in addition to the provision of equipment for students during the pandemic.

Regarding *Technological Conditions*, the changes concerning contemporary work that require less physical effort on the part of the worker stand out, and it is important to consider that new conditions have been established regarding the use of new technologies, which can trigger unsuspected suffering and, thus, accentuating the mental dimension of the work (Rodrigues; Alvaro; Rondina, 2006). However, in some cases, the school has the resources and support necessary to optimize the work of teachers (Campos; Leal; Facci, 2016), as identified in the report by teacher Benjamin.

Even when we need to take a projector, there is an IT system there, so they go there and fix your computer, we have adapters, right? VGA, but it only has an HDMI cable, they bring us the adapters. So the monitoring system in this technological part of the school is quite interesting and there are several spaces for combining knowledge (Benjamin, 2022).

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At this juncture, with the exception of the pandemic period, from the teachers' statements it is understood that the physical working conditions of private schools provide well-being for students and teachers. Their statements mention an environment that is always clean, well air-conditioned, illuminated, with chairs and technological conditions necessary for developing work and learning, ensuring that teachers can carry out their activities and that students feel motivated.

## Work relationships

Social work relations originate in the organization of work and involve hierarchy, managers, supervision and other workers (Dejours, 1992). Furthermore, work relationships also include collective intra and inter-group interactions, external interactions, and are subject to precariousness due to work individualization processes (Pujol, 2013). In the school context, the school's good relationship with parents and family members contributes to cooperation between subjects and the student's good development, as family and school are the first two institutions in an individual's life.



The theme *Absence of Parents* is recorded in the statements, a reality that can contribute to the emergence or worsening of problems, including those related to student performance. The importance of constant dialogue between students and family and between teachers and family is evident for the construction of collective and collaborative learning (Ferreira, 2017). The absence of parents was mentioned by all teachers, who expressed feelings of sadness and lack of support, as exemplified by Emanuel's statement:

I feel sad, I'm sad about this because, if I get a parent giving me feedback, it gives me the freedom to give feedback to their child at school. It gives me, it would give me a sense of support. When I notice the absence of the father, I realize that I am working without support, so I feel very sad (Emanuel, 2022).

Familiarity between teachers, within the scope of private schools, is seen as somewhat restricted, as the extensive routine means that teachers do not have time to meet frequently. Teacher Davi describes a situation of familiarity that compromises the work collective, causing a lack of trust in each other.

The tutoring teacher arrives at the end of the year, he is fired to be hired later the next year. Then he wants a position as a full teacher, they will want the teacher to leave, you know? Many times I saw a colleague of mine there trying to resolve an issue, like: man, can you help me with this issue and I'll go straight to the third-year classroom? What is the answer to this one that I can't find? Ah, the answer is this one. And he already knew the answer, he gave the wrong answer intentionally so that he would give the incorrect question so that the students would go to the Director and say that the teacher didn't know and he would be fired, you know? It's a jungle! It's a jungle there! [...]. It's a great place, excellent because of the students, but there are many things that need to be rethought there (Davi, 2022).

This condition reveals the *Precariousness of Relationships* and fails to provide cooperative environments between teachers, which is a condition for the existence of collective labor. The collective, in turn, has a protective role of subjectivity, managing conflicts and attributing meaning to work, building itself in acting together (Dejours, 2012).

Relations *with the Group* between specific areas are perceived as calm for Mateus “[...] within the work group... I speak from mathematics, I don't know the other groups. But within mathematics I never had a problem with any co-worker, it was super calm [...]”, revealing a specific reality of his school. The exchange of experiences between teachers is cited by teacher Lucas as something positive for him, as he is still new to the profession and school:

And with my fellow teachers, I think it's always an eternal learning process, because because I'm very young and already in this world, for me it's very important to get the experiences of those who are older, those who arrive and give a tip, give a ... 'man, go this way, go that way and it will be good for you'. So my relationship with my colleagues is very calm. Thank God it is always very calm, really great (Lucas, 2022).

Regarding *Relationship with Students*, teachers attributed characteristics of trust, proximity and excellence, highlighting the responsibility of guiding them to be attentive to details that may go unnoticed, but are decisive at the time of ENEM. Furthermore, it is interesting to mention that when Rebeca says that she takes on the role of mother, friend and companion of students as a form of partnership, a manifestation of professional identity is identified through this close relationship, as the relationship described by the teacher reinforces the bond with students and the teacher's feeling of belonging to the profession (Nogueira; Brasil, 2013).

Great. Great. Such level of students, they respect us. I think I'm lucky, because I have a great, respectful relationship with them. The Spanish class is a small class. So I think that brings me closer to the students, that helps. So great relationship [...]. Sometimes I forget that I am a teacher and I see a lot of the side of a mother, a friend, a companion [...]. So, I see a lot of partnership between the teacher and the student, especially close to the test (Rebeca, 2022).

Given this scenario, it can be inferred that teachers strive to maintain closeness with students, a characteristic that reveals the construction of open communication driven by affection. This relationship between teacher and student expresses a greater possibility of

intermediation, listening and interaction, in order to understand the students' reality and facilitate their learning (Fernandes; Andrade; Ferreira, 2017).

## Dimensions of teaching work in the public sphere

In the public sector, the categorization also allowed the identification of the three dimensions of context: Work Organization, Working Conditions and Labor Relations. These categories are divided into themes that emerged from the empirical field: i) Planning; Projects; Management Representations; ii) Structure; Technological Resources; iii) Absence of Parents; Problems with Indiscipline; Parent Representations; Relations with Colleagues and Management; Student Representations and Collaborative Work.

### Work Organization

Regarding the theme of Work Organization, the *Planning* of state public schools is unified by teaching areas, which have their own planning day, which takes place at the same time, in all schools. Thus, working together strengthens cooperation and favors togetherness (Dejours, 2004), as reported by Noemi, who explains the planning activity in an interactional context.

Every Tuesday is Portuguese, in all schools in the state, all Portuguese teachers are planning. Everything on Tuesday, for example, I don't bring work to my house, so everything I have to do at school is on Tuesday. We stay at the table, everyone together and automatically each one starts planning, then when we don't have an idea and want to present it to everyone, you know, sometimes we create an activity and say 'guys, I created an activity about language functions, does anyone want to use it?' In this sense, it is not everyone doing the same activity, everyone does their own individual planning and we have moments of interaction (Noemi, 2022).

In the topic *Projects*, it was highlighted in the speeches that state public schools have a widely incorporated project: the Class Director Teacher. The choice of teacher for the project favors criteria such as the teacher's affinity

with the group and the number of classes with the group, aiming to ensure greater contact. Another criterion may be the need to supplement teaching hours.

The Class Director Teacher Project is an internal school project in which we monitor classes and carry out monitoring work both on student regulations and in terms of discipline, as well as the citizenship training part, which are classes taught with themes focused on coexistence and sociability (Hadassa, 2022).

It is inferred that the openness for teachers to develop specific projects in their areas contributes to greater autonomy, cooperating to strengthen positive experiences in their work context.

Regarding *Management Representations*, the narratives include different opinions from those presented by teachers at private schools. Interviewees such as Ester and Felipe describe the management as being open to dialogue and very encouraging of teachers, defending the importance of the management praising the work done with students. They state that this happens in their realities, compared to other schools where they were able to experience different scenarios.

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She is very positive, she always accepts the projects we undertake, she is always supporting us, as she knows our commitment, she is very open (Ester, 2022).

Great, even when I came from private school it was a great incentive to meet the people that excite us and I saw a lot of excitement, I can't get here to sleep in class and age doesn't matter to me. I'm that old with my hair and everything, but inside the room I'm a child and they encourage us a lot, I'm a fan of people, I'm not the ideal person to talk about it because I'm really a fan, they encouraged me, you know, I already had given everything at private school and now I came here and I had already about 30, 33 years of private school (Felipe, 2022).

The statements demonstrate that the positive relationship between teachers and management contributes to the construction of a more balanced work, as well as to the construction of a more democratic environment, reducing the incidence of suffering for workers (Pettan, 2018).

## Work conditions

In general, perceptions about the *Structure* of public schools are unanimous in the schools covered in this research. As portrayed by the teachers, the schools managed to preserve their structure or recently underwent renovation. The teachers themselves compare the current state of these schools in relation to the structure of other public schools, which is still precarious.

Compared to other schools I've worked for; I have a good structure. I have what I need. I have a good library here, I have materials, I have a good auditorium, a large classroom where I can do a lot of things, as much as possible. The conditions here are good (Ester, 2022).

Well, this is very relative because public network varies from institution to institution. This is particularly one that offers excellent physical conditions such as structure, for example, resources used in the classroom and human resources, but thus, it is an exception within the state network, not all schools have this reality. So here we are from good to excellent, but this is very relative if we look at other realities, we have a great lack of personnel, infrastructure, resources that we can use in the classroom, methodologies (Hadassa, 2022).

The scarce investment in material resources prevents the full functioning of institutions, not providing the necessary infrastructure to guarantee good working conditions (Uchida, Sznclwar, Lancman, 2011).

Similarly, *Technological Resources* are still limited in the public sphere. Abigail talks about the availability of computers and how much she dreams of a better internet, however, she has seen a certain evolution since she started teaching in public schools.

In the teachers' room, as you can see, we have computers with internet, unfortunately the internet doesn't work in these classes either, right? This is yet another thing that we still dream of, right? But, since I became a state teacher until now, I have been noticing some improvements, you know, gradually (Abigail, 2022).

This corroborates the understanding that teachers in public schools are in inferior working conditions compared to those in private schools (Borba;

Diehl; Dos Santos; Monteiro; Marin, 2015) because they depend on public resources for structural improvements and technological investments.

## Work relationships

Regarding the Labor Relations category, like in private schools, *Parental Absence* in the public sphere was widely cited by teachers as a problem to be addressed. In Abigail's view, the absence of parents makes her work difficult, especially when it comes to parents of students who most need intervention. There seems to be a transfer, by parents, of their responsibility to the school, however, their presence is essential in the training of students and the professional performance of teachers (Sousa; Rodrigues, 2012).

The relationship with parents is very scarce, right? We see this lack, this huge shortage, especially I think in Ensino Médio, right? In elementary school, perhaps, they are more present, but in Ensino Médio we see parents very little, only when they're required, you know, we see them in meetings when there are meetings, you know, general meetings, the number of parents in relation to the number of students are very few. We still see a number of parents here at our school who come to meetings, but if we compare it to the number of students, there are very few (Abigail, 2022).

Unlike other teachers, the class director has greater contact with parents as he is the teacher responsible for solving problems. Still, parents show little accessibility and are not usually present at meetings. In this way, the absence of parents contributes to teachers feeling more pressured to deal with problems alone. As much as this problem demonstrates parents' lack of interest or lack of time, the school's responsibility for carrying out family/school coordination cannot be exempted (Sousa; Rodrigues, 2014).

Regarding *Problems with Indiscipline*, teachers reflect on the biggest problems of student indiscipline, among them, the frequent use of cell phones in the classroom. Teachers emphasize this issue as one of the biggest problems because it influences the student's level of attention and learning (Machado, 2022), as Gabriel reports:

The biggest problems we are having are the cell phones in the classroom. When the teacher is explaining, the student is there using his cell phone, unable to put it down at all. We are also having a lot of problems with students sleeping during the class, while discipline is not such a big problem, we have one here and another there. The most frequent ones that I have every week are cell phone issues, sleeping issues and then the student doesn't pay attention. In these cases, I think the thing they didn't leave behind during the pandemic while attending remote classes was the cell phone. They don't let it go at all, it's difficult (Gabriel, 2022).

Lack of interest in classes, demonstrated by students, can become an aggravating factor of suffering for teachers, as it triggers processes of demotivation (Esteves-Ferreira; Santos; Rigolon, 2014; Borba; Diehl; Dos Santos; Monteiro; Marin, 2015).

Regarding *Parental Representations*, it is noteworthy that, when there is contact with parents, this is carried out by the class director, who sets up meetings to resolve any demand or problem of student indiscipline. The family has a significant influence on the education of children, and it is important to reiterate that the active and interested presence of parents should be a priority factor.

I'm a class director, so I have easier access to parents, my relationship with them is always trying to solve students' problems. Whenever there is an issue of indiscipline or something a student did that was against school rules, I always contact the parents. In more extreme cases, I call them to have a meeting with me and the coordination and management so we can try to resolve the problems [...]. From parents, the feedback I received the most, as I am a class director, was about the school, I did not receive any feedback in relation to the teacher, I receive complaints "this or that needs to be improved" or praise for the school, never directed to the teacher, so I receive this feedback from parents (Gabriel, 2022).

Regarding *Relations with Colleagues and Management*, attributes such as good or excellent relationships emerged. Felipe, for example, highlights that respect prevails among teachers, although there may be different ways of thinking. The teacher also highlights the importance of more moments that allow familiarity, as there are many responsibilities and time is scarce to strengthen these relationships.

It's a good relationship, I consider it a good relationship, there are different ways of thinking, but that happens everywhere. Even at home with our children, they have different ways of thinking. I can get along with everyone, I have no problem with coexistence, I get along with everyone, I respect and I am respected. It's a precept that I have, my way of thinking and others too. And, when we can, we come together and the work gets even better (Felipe, 2022).

Regarding the relationship with the direction/management, teachers highlight the openness to dialogue and highlight characteristics such as empathy, solidarity, proximity and partnership, which can promote healthy environments in terms of teacher-teacher and teacher-management coexistence. However, a highlighted issue is in relation to ENEM. They state that, when it comes to interdisciplinarity, relationships are distant and there is not much interaction between areas (Felix; Araújo; Máximo, 2019), as Abigail explains: "[...] not in ENEM, it's each person there preparing their class, there isn't much interaction, you know, that interdisciplinarity that we talk about so much, in reality, doesn't exist."

16 Given the context reported by teachers, it is possible to infer that students are the biggest holders of teachers' attention, since it is for them that the work is provided; they are the main actors within the educational process, as Noemi explains:

Thank God I haven't had this problem yet, as far as I remember. It's a formal relationship, but through familiarity it ends up becoming something more intimate, where you're with the same person every day. So they [students], many of them, already know what we like, what we don't like and today they, the majority of them, follow us on social media (Noemi, 2022).

Given the interviewees' statements, *Student Representations* emerge in the interpersonal relationships between teachers and students, although they are friendly, they can sometimes be misinterpreted by students for not accepting the discipline. As addressed by Hadassa:

[...] the teacher does not need to be a friend, nor does the student need to be a friend of ours, but that is how we are and I consider my position in front of the classroom to be professional, ethical, but sometimes we have this difficulty because the student really expects that the teacher is a friend (Hadassa, 2022).



It seems that the rules put by teachers to maintain harmony in the classroom cause a certain loss of teacher autonomy in being able to control these issues, highlighting that the teacher's loss of autonomy is one of the factors that contributes to the illness process (Borba; Diehl; Dos Santos; Monteiro; Marin, 2015).

The theme *Working Together* emerges only among public school teachers. The school is organized by specific ENEM areas and teachers usually meet with other teachers in their specific area to plan classes, activities and organize specific projects aimed at external assessments, as Sarah informs:

So my planning is included in the planning of all teachers because we always try to work together. That happens because let's imagine I teach mathematics 1 and 3 in the first year, but it's not just me who teaches, there's another teacher too. That is, the planning it's reconciled, it's never just one teacher doing planning, it's always working together in all areas too. But the feedback we get doesn't work much on individuality, it's always the area, the area of mathematics, it's really group work, there are teachers who, even with the planning, prefer to take their own material. It happens because it's very free, it can differ, be on the same topic, but the questions the other teacher will apply are not the same questions, but it is on the same topic, at the same time too, so the feedback that is brought (sic) is for the area and never for a specific teacher (Sarah, 2022).

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Collaborative work also results from collective feedback, as Sarah mentions, as feedback is always directed to the area and never to the teacher individually. The importance of unity among the group is highlighted, as strategies to minimize possibilities of psychological suffering must be thought of jointly by the subjects together with management, avoiding the centralization of responsibility for maintaining mental health as being exclusive and individual to the worker (Araujo et al., 2021). It is therefore inferred that there is a context of mutual help between colleagues, favoring the reduction of the competitive climate (Dejours, 2012).

## Final considerations

Guided by the *Dejourian perspective* on the Psychodynamics of Work, which considers that the relation work-subjectivity always occurs in a

context, that is, in a locus that hosts the intra and intersubjective conflicts of work, this article analyzed a specific and expressive contemporary context: that of teaching work, public and private, in terms of student performance in ENEM, aiming to understand it.

The analysis of the three categories that make up the work context according to the POW – work organization, working conditions, work relations – made it possible to identify singularities and similarities between the two educational areas investigated.

If, according to the POW, the work organization dimension has the greatest structuring or destructuring potential of subjectivity, given the degree of autonomy that is granted to the worker to decide about the work, it is concluded, by comparing results, that the researched teaching employment situation has a disruptive potential in the private sector.

This conclusion is based on the content shared by the interviewees, already analyzed, and which can be summarized as follows: i) many rules imposed and the impossibility of their strict compliance; ii) contradictory demand for standardization (giving the content to everyone) and personalization of work (considering special needs) in extreme situations of very large classes; iii) intensification of work resulting from high accountability and demands, accompanied by goals that can be updated at each ENEM; iv) omission of management and evidence of lack of unity in the management body.

On the other hand, at least one mitigating factor of this possible subjective destructuring emerged, associated with the didactic-pedagogical autonomy used in the classroom, by some teachers, to deal with the unpredictability of reality.

In turn, the results of public schools regarding work organization demonstrate greater structuring potential for teaching subjectivity, related to the following contents: i) interactional and cooperative practices in work planning situations; ii) greater autonomy and contact with students in specific projects (class director teacher); iii) openness to dialogue, motivation and recognition of work by management.

The working conditions category was the one that showed the greatest thematic convergence between the two groups, namely: i) physical structure and ii) technological conditions. Both groups tend to evaluate it positively,

although a positive evaluation predominates among teachers at private schools, and some comparative reservations among teachers in public schools, who rationalize through dependence on public resources.

For POW, the working conditions category sheds light on the importance of the body at work, a subject historically addressed in ergonomic studies, however, expanded in POW by not only considering the biological body, but also the psychic body. Regarding the biological dimension, it is concluded that the interviewees are satisfied, mentioning good lighting, cleanliness, air conditioning, among other aspects that promote physical well-being. As for the conditions that can affect the well-being of the psychic body, it is inferred that such conditions emerged when the interviewees mentioned intrasubjective content (environment that promotes learning, a climate of concentration and productivity) and intersubjective content (existence of support from other workers when use of technological equipment).

Finally, conclusions are presented on the category Labor Relations, on which the POW deepens the debate regarding the greater or lesser potential for intersubjective conflicts, whether with peers, superiors, subordinates or with the recipients of the worker's labor. In this research, a worrying convergence was highlighted between the two groups of teachers, the absence of parents, which generates, in teachers from private schools, feelings of sadness and lack of support and, in teachers from public schools, the impression of transference of paternal responsibility, which, it can be inferred, tends to increase the subjective workload of the work.

Regarding the specificities of work relationships, in private schools, an antagonism between relationships with peers and relationships with students stands out. In the first, themes favorable to suffering and illness emerge, such as: i) little time for familiarity, due to the intensification of work; ii) distrust between peers; and iii) little cooperation. On the other hand, relationships with students tend to be subjectively balanced, as they are based on closeness and trust, highlighting the role of student guide, assimilated by teachers. It is inferred that such a role is accepted by them not only due to the fact that schools are legitimate spaces for secondary socialization, with the teacher being one of the main protagonists, but also due to the evident lack of the family, as the primary instance of training individuals.

In public schools, in turn, regarding relationships with peers and managers, positive values stand out, based on respect, dialogue, empathy,

solidarity, even if we consider the lack of time to strengthen relationships and little interdisciplinarity among teachers, regarding ENEM. Only among public school teachers the theme of working together emerge, referring to specific areas and collective feedback by areas, minimizing competition between individuals.

Taken together, the POW dimensions studied allow us to conclude that the context of teaching work in private schools, in terms of student performance in ENEM, tends to have the potential to disrupt the worker's subjectivity, especially in view of the forms of organization of the work and social work relations. It is inferred that this result is related to the competitiveness prevailing in the Brazilian private educational sector, a dimension not prevalent in the public sphere.

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