The work of professors, gender inequalities, and health at public universities

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> **Abstract** This study aimed to problematize aspects of the work of professors in relation to gender, assessment policies, and health. For this purpose, a qualitative social investigation was conducted within the aspect of participatory studies and the views of materialist feminism. An analysis of the material was carried out through content analysis, according to the topic, using four main themes: conflicts between professors' work and domestic work; professors' work, motherhood, and guilt; policies for the assessment of professors and gender relations; and the sexual division of labor and teaching. It was possible to perceive just how much the demands of the productive sphere have gone beyond the time of the workday and into the reproductive sphere and the private life of professors, compromising the struggle for health and leading to processes of suffering and illness. The theme of the sexual division of labor in public universities appears to be an important issue that highlights work overload and psychological illness, especially at a time when the teaching profession is becoming increasingly competitive. In conclusion, we believe that there is an imperative need for investments in public policies that can guarantee gender equality in higher education.

Key words The work of professors, Gender, Workers' health, Public university

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This study defends a thesis which proposes the promotion of equality among men and women in the academic career as a determining factor for the health of public university workers, based on a gender relationship perspective. According to Schneider⁶, there is a need to elucidate violences, which perpetuates gender division at work and the submission of women, within the organizational sphere of the universities, ranging from daily tasks to the agendas of research and extension.

Moreover, it is important highlight the issue of gender inequality in labor relations, since women have faced opressive shifts in both the productive and reproductive spheres. For Siqueira7, adding to the steep intensification of the workload and the precarious working conditions, there is also illness, moral and sexual harassment, and the struggle against patriarchy at the level of politics and in trade unions. Findings from Araújo et al.8 point to the fact that men have been considered the "gold standard" against which women have been compared at different levels of the educational system, and the gender differences in attributions and the social valorization of work still persist. The mentioned study above was conducted at the basic education level and showed that female teachers worked longer weekly shifts, had a greater domestic work burden, and participated less in the decision-making processes related to work, when compared to men.

Consistent with the work of Velho and León9, there have been several attempts to explain why women, even after having obtained access to the academic career, do not make progress at the same proportion and pace as men. The traditional explanation adopts a simplistic and prejudicial view according to which women have lower academic production than men. That lower productivity by women, however, has been significantly relativized in studies which seek to understand the contexts, motivation, and production conditions of males and females at the academic level. At the end of the 90s, the same authors had previously shown that it is important to consider such factors as family versus work issues, the levels of investment in female education, as well as subtle systems of discrimination.

Specifically concerning the health of the professors, Hoffmann et al¹⁰ verified a strong connection between the professional burnout of professors and the organization of academic work. In the case of female professors, this burnout seems also to be related to a lack of recognition by their peers. Women suffer more from feelings of injustice, disqualification, and depreciation. There is a denial of the fact that men and women, submitted to the same working conditions in an environment of higher education, should have proportionally similar responses of satisfaction or suffering, and are thus exposed to the same kinds of health risks. The unfavorable situation perceived by women refers, among other aspects, to the overburden of "conciliating" family and professional lives. According to the authors, gender roles can be considered an element which promotes distinctions at work and creates vulnerability to health problems. In this sense, it is important to mention the observation by Hirata and Kergoat¹¹, when they suggest the substitution of the concept of "conciliation" for the concepts of "conflict", "tension" and "contradiction", to indicate the fundamentally conflicting nature of the simultaneous burden of family and professional responsibilities to which women are subjected. According to the authors, the critical thinking of such "conciliation" requires reflection about the modalities of reproduction of domestic servitude. In doing so, they consider relevant psychological aspects, such as affection, and means of domination, which perpetuate sexual division of labor in both the productive and reproductive spheres.

Considering this approach, one should understand that, in a line of work that is essentially intellectual, such as that of the university professor, which demands a high degree of professional qualification, one must consider how female professors perceive the effects of the sexual division of labor and how they have been dealing with the difficult and conflictive management of daily life in academic activities. Therefore, the core objective of this study was to identify the problems that affect higher education professionals in the sphere of gender relations, and the relationship between assessment policies and health, focusing on the dialogue with public education professors.

Theoretical reference

Among the array of different theoretical-political views within feminism, we follow the dialectical materialism school of thought, which considers work as central in its social-historical materiality and as a political practice of resistance. This view also recognizes the importance of work as the engine of human, individual and collective emancipation¹². This perspective further proposes three types of indissociability: between material and symbolic life, without disconnecting the economic determination from the cultural and symbolic spheres; between the spheres of production and social reproduction, bringing the value of domestic labor into view; and finally, between the dimensions of gender, race, and class, which intertwine within capitalism so as to optimize the extraction of added value13-16.

It is through this kind of dialectical materialist feminism, by definition anti-capitalist¹⁷, that we will analyze the relationships between gender, the work of the university professor, and health. To undertake this analysis, the concept of the sexual division of labor is essential in the critical understanding of female work, both productive and reproductive, removing it from the sphere of private relationships, de-naturalizing it as female *instinct*, or as an expression of "maternal love", and resignifying it as work (exploited and not paid for), constituting what is defined as a "double workload"¹¹.

Kergoat¹⁸ postulates that social sex relations and the sexual division of labor are two indissociable propositions which make up a single system. The author considers these two concepts inseparable, since the analysis in terms of sexual division of labor allows for the demonstration of the existence of a specific social relationship between sex groups, showing that "...the distinctions between men and women cannot be

reduced to greater or lesser exploitation or to an unequal division, but are rather a contradictory treatment according to sex"19 (p. 2). Such inequalities can be easily identified through the analysis of objective and subjective data from the work process. According to this author, feminism brought to light the sex categories as social categories, showing that social roles of males and females are social constructs that are anchored on and overdetermined by a material basis, and not merely set upon a socio-ideological foundation. Therefore, the concept of the sexual division of labor provides the material basis - historical, social, and economic - which allows the criticism of the means of conceptualizing the sciences, which naturalize the sexualized characteristics of female labor, reducing it to the sphere of biological determination. Therefore, labor, in its inseparable productive and reproductive dimensions, is at the center of gender relations, and it is through this perspective that we will be able to critically understand labor and the health of female university professors.

Methodology

This study is a qualitative social investigation that adopted its core aspects from Paulo Freire's theory²⁰ and from participative studies, with emphasis on its dialogical nature²¹. Through this approach, we postulate that it is by means of dialogue that one can have access to the investigation data, it therefore being possible, from its content, to identify the themes in the quality of knowledge generating units, or specifically, analysis keys for the problematization and interpretation of reality. In this line of understanding, the discussion groups are sources of knowledge and provide data which can be the object of reflection and critical interpretation, granting an epistemological connotation to the dialogue²⁰. Here, the emphasis is on the narratives of the oppressed workers as the subject of the knowledge process, thus building a collective criticism through a collegiate board and through reciprocal education, with potential for action development. In practical terms, the necessary conditions are created to allow the group to transform reality by means of critical analysis and reflection on work and its relationships, crisscrossed with the sexual division of labor.

Concerning the procedures of this study, two investigation techniques, qualitative and participatory, were used: "workshops on worker's health"22 and "health and work notebooks"23. The workshops on worker's health are spaces in which the workers and researchers can discuss work issues related to health, based on elements of participative investigation and of Freirean pedagogy, as well as on foundations from the field of workers' health. Concerning the health and work notebooks, these are investigational tools inspired by Italian labor union experience²⁴. Conceived as small notebooks that can function as a field diary, they allow the worker to register their experiences at work and in daily life, placing work at the center of their observations and their records related to health.

In this study, four workshops were conducted, and eight health and work notebooks were used. The workshops took place in 2015 and 2016, lasting approximately two hours, held in facilities that were part of a public federal university. The notebooks were presented and distributed to the participants, and during the workshop sessions, instructions were given on how to use them.

Concerning the profile of the subjects in the study, 10 professors participated in the workshops, including six women and four men. Eight professors participated in filling in the notebooks, including five women and three men, with ages ranging from 30 to 50 years. Each professor had a Ph.D., with tenure status in an exclusive dedication system, and was employed in both undergraduate and graduate programs. The inclusion criteria included being an active professor and belonging to a public federal university. The exclusion criterion was to be a professor away from work due to leave or vacations.

The analysis of the material was conducted using the content analysis technique, according to theme. Therefore, from the material transcribed from the recordings of the dialogues held during the workshops and from the information written in the notebooks, four main themes were identified for analysis: conflicts between the work as a professor and the domestic work; work as a professor, maternity and guilt; policies of the assessment of the professor's work and gender relations; and the sexual division of labor and the professor's work. These themes were identified by the classification of the extracts according to the criteria of similarity, frequency, and relevance for the themes of gender, labor, and health. Concerning the presentation of the results, an alphanumeric resource was used, that is, a letter accompanied by a number, in which "O" represents phrases from the workshops and "C" represents phrases written in the notebooks. The numbering referred to the random identification of the participating professors.

This study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee from the Escola Nacional de Saúde Pública Sergio Arouca (ENSP/FIOCRUZ).

Results and Discussion

Conflicts between the professor's university work and housework

The results obtained from the discussions during the workshops and the records on the notebooks indicated how much the demands from the realm of production have overridden the time allotted for work shifts in the reproductive sphere and private life, especially in the case of female professors. The 24 hours in the day are not enough to fit university work, housework, raising the children, and the remaining activities of private life. Findings from Rodrigues et al²⁵ have shown that the organization of the university professors' work time demonstrates other facets of the concept of a "24-hour society", considering the demand for work during nights and weekends. According to the authors, professors face a situation of excessive work demands. There is a series of demands that, from the point of view of faculty members, must be fulfilled, even though they extend beyond the hours of the actual work shift. Such a dramatic situation has been faced, in a more disadvantaged manner, by female professors, compromising the struggle for a healthy lifestyle and causing conflicts which may result in physical and psychological illness.

At 8:30 pm, after finishing all the domestic work, I start working again. All the time, my 9-year-old daughter comes to check if I am finished yet. I feel remorse for not spending time with her. I tell her that I still have work to do. At 10:30 pm, I sit with her in front of the TV, but take my laptop with me $[\dots]$ At 11:30, I give up and go to sleep (C6).

We noticed a certain naturalization of the fact that part of the professor's work must be done at home. This intensification of work indicates that professors' relationships have become more precarious in recent decades²⁶. For those who are mothers of small children, this overburden is even more severe. The arduous act of playing the role of the mother demands a strong, subjective, affective, and even physical mobilization, which makes it very challenging to conciliate with the "availability" for extending the professional work into the time spent at home, since the work of

the professor requires a considerable capability of concentration, abstraction, analysis, and reflection. Female professors have point out that it is not about a choice: they attempt to overcome the conflict, to manage the conciliation. They are aware that the extra dedication to work has been essential to achieve the stern assessment criteria.

With small children, I really can't manage. It's been quite some time that I can't work [at home], it's really rare, only when there is something very specific, I tell my husband: please handle it, take them out, because I can't. But it rarely happens. (O3)

I myself, for instance, believe that with the children, things add up, you arrive home, must make dinner, must work after a certain time, I think that if you check it, there is no one who sleeps the necessary number of hours. I feel like that. I am always tired. It isn't even that I feel sleepy, I just feel tired, my memory is weak. (O5)

This situation may worsen if there are other work demands, which is not rare among university professors who started their careers recently and have lower salaries and higher requirements to progress in their careers. Surely, the overburden of work may affect the health of the female teachers, including problems related to sleep disorders. Similar conclusions are mentioned by Rotenberg and Carlos²⁷, when they state that university professors work at a very intense pace. According to the authors, female professors constantly feel as if they are in professional debt, and that pushes them to work after hours. This behavior causes the worker to develop an irregular sleep-wake cycle, which results in partial sleep deprivation, causing negative consequences for health and for performance at work.

At that moment, I began to realize many things. I was teaching, I was a professor, worked at a private university, was also a public school teacher at a technical school, the time I had - I had a small son - the time I had was late at night, to take care of everything I had to do. (O3)

We take theses to read at home. We are under pressure to write articles. And the husband! He says...But I can't because I have to finish an article. And the husband says: You work the entire time!! (O2)

We were able to notice, in some of the comments, the absence of the husbands in the division of housework, which suggests that even though those women have an intellectual career, university level, with social prestige, the sexual division of labor remains, implying in a high cost for the women, and consequently, for their children. That reiterates how deep the roots of sexual division of labor are, in family and in society²⁸. If on one hand the access to paid work could constitute the basis of female autonomy, on the other hand, the social sex relations continue to be intermingled with exploitation and appropriation²⁹.

The professor's work, maternity, and guilt

The social gender relations which permeate contemporary capitalist society establish expectations for women, which remain in every phase of life, since birth. Even with relative autonomy accomplishments and self-realization, the idea that maternity is central in the lives of women remains unchanged, as does the sexual division of labor. Therefore, when women enter the work market with justifiable desires of self-realization, they continue to feel responsible for caring for the home and for the children. The challenge of "conciliating" those two spheres, by definition conflicting¹¹, force women to push themselves and become exhausted, physically and psychologically, when they realize that they cannot satisfactorily accomplish those two objectives. As a consequence of this historical construct of gender roles, women often demand more from themselves and blame themselves for the little time dedicated to the children, especially when they are little.

We come back from maternity leave, but our thoughts are still there, with the daughter that is still so little...Then I go to work and have a million things to do, and I leave work with a million and one [...] I always say, I always fall short, especially at home. (O2)

Today I am particularly sad, since my daughter will participate in a flag ceremony at school and I won't be able to be there. I know this is the cost, or one of the costs of work, but I can't help feeling guilty. (C6)

The statements of the professors who took part in this survey allowed us to see how the spheres of family life and work for women, who must often, alone, shoulder both the demands and self-demands in a society that (still) expects women to be good mothers, are conflictive.

Professor assessment policies and gender relations

When dialoguing with the professors, we were able to notice different nuances of the gender relations in the sphere of university education, and one of the aspects which stood out were the professors' assessment policies. From the point of view of the female professors, the assessment policies are one of the main factors that compromise recognition and professional development of women at universities, since they prescribe discriminatory guidelines that enhance gender inequalities.

We received the assessment back. In the case of women, in the same project, the grades were lower. The assessment was always worse if the work was signed by a woman. So, I think that it happens. There is bias in the assessments.

There are a series of impacts, I have always said that. There is bias in the assessments, when it is the work of a woman. When men are assessed, it's different. (O6).

Female teachers referred to the implications of the gender issue in the processes of assessment at public universities, using the term "bias". The interpretation of the term "bias" can be defined as institutional processes which discriminate and oppress women. In the view of the female professors, the different means of assessment in universities deepen the gender inequalities and demonstrate the entrenched prejudice against women within institutional work relations. We must emphasize, at this point, that according to Kergoat¹⁸, the concept of social sex relations must always be interconnected with the concept of social practice, which allows us to pre-define the inseparable relationships between the material and the symbolic levels. This represents a great challenge, since the work and power relationships between genders show that the hierarchy of males above, females below, which is still true³⁰.

In terms of the current assessment policies in university education in Brazil, it is essential to consider Law 10,861 from April 14th, 2004, which created the National Assessment System for Higher Education (SINAES, in Portuguese)³¹. The institution of that policy defines the concept of the State as the evaluator and the model of public management aimed at results, guided by political and social principles of a neoliberal nature. Ribeiro32 states that the emphasis of SIN-AES is on controlling workers through result oriented assessments, causing competitiveness and antagonism. According to the author, a formative and pedagogical conception of assessment must be developed, enabling new views on university work in all of its dimensions, seeking to consolidate an assessment culture which, from our point of view, must necessarily incorporate the perspective of social sex relations.^{18, 33}.

What I think exists, I'm not sure, is a kind of prejudice, if you look at the managerial positions, Deans, CNPq researchers, how many women are there? And how many men? (O6)

We noticed in the dialogues that power and prestige in the sphere of the universities have a strong gender connotation. Massarani et al.34 call attention to the issue of the invisibility of women in the field of sciences and define as a fallacy the fact that Brazilian science is a space solely for males. In fact, data available from the Brazilian Directory of Research Groups³⁵, accessible at the Lattes platform, shows that, in 2016, the percentage distribution of researchers according to gender is strictly the same: 50% men, 50% women, However, it is well-known that there are inequalities in the occupation of the most prestigious areas, like exact sciences, and in the occupation of higher hierarchical positions. Löwy³⁶ ensures the maintenance of a close historical relationship between sciences and gender, shaped by the elementary dichotomy of male and female in society, a strict bipartition that must be analyzed and critically supported in the understanding that sciences are dominated, socially and culturally, by men, from a Western background, and from the upper social classes.

Considering that, we must emphasize that it is important to conceive the work at universities in the context of the time and place of production. Therefore, from the female professors' point of view, there is an important issue in contemporary science, which is the construction and revision of instruments and tools that can be used as reference in the process of assessment of university professors, much like the Lattes platform would enable.

Recently, a lady from London who came over mentioned that in England, women write in their curricula when they have children. In a given year, so-and-so professor had a child. Then, people who assess your curriculum know that in that year you had a child. [...] It is something that obviously has an impact. This frustration that you can't cope with everything you have to do. (O2)

From the point of view of female professors, the assessment criteria for their work, prescribed by government departments responsible for post-graduate policies in Brazil, such as CNPq and CAPES, end up being stricter for female than for male professors, generating a situation of inequality and discrimination. Therefore, the issue of public policies related to maternity and to the work of female professors must be revisited and improved in order to become reality. Measures

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announced by CNPq in the beginning of 2019, such as the inclusion of the date of birth or of the adoption of children in the Lattes curriculum, which would provide protection for women and maternity and should result, effectively, in changes in the criteria of assessment of professors, still has no set date to be implemented.

At the international level, studies, such as that from Kapareliotis and Miliopoulou³⁷ noted that even in the European Union, where there has been an emphasis on the need for gender equality through the creation of policies and guidelines, there are still considerable differences between the member nations in terms of legislation, regulations, and institutional policies. And even in countries that actively fight for gender equality, like Sweden, Gunn et al.³⁸ found evidence that some women are unaware of the policies created to support them, or even hesitate to use them. By contrast, there are countries where equality or anti-discrimination policies are limited or non-existent.

We noticed, by the remarks of the female professors, illness and suffering, which were conveyed by expressions and symptoms related to mental health, such as anguish, sadness, and depression. These are manifestations of dissatisfaction and frustrations allusive to the desire of obtaining recognition in the academic career, at the standards established by the assessment boards.

My curriculum is not robust enough to guarantee the result of my work at home. I feel like I want to cry. (C5)

On weekends, my daughters demand, they want to be with me and I really enjoy being with them. Then, my production drops, obviously, and my anguish increases. (O3)

Considering these reflections, one can notice conflicts of an emotional nature in terms of conciliating being a mother and being a professor and researcher. We agree with Hirata's³³ statement that the sexual division of labor, under any circumstance, may not be explained or clarified without resorting to the overworking dimension, in other words, the relationship between professional and domestic work. In fact, the female professors, in order to meet the goals of production and maintain their status in the academic community, must work more, which implies taking work home, intertwining professional work with family care, which most certainly results in health costs.

There is the delivery, breastfeeding, and for a certain time, there is no other way, the connection of breastfeeding is really strong [...] Besides the cul-

ture, there is actually a physiological aspect in that relationship, which makes us have little time and concentration to work, really no concentration to work. (O6)

Once I was strolling at the beach when I met the grad school coordinator, and she was reading a thesis as she strolled. I stopped and said - so and so, you will trip and fall! Just walk, and later you can read. And she answered - well, I can do many things at the same time, can't you? (O3)

The most concerning aspect noticeable in this extract is the submission of the professors' social time to work time and the economic sphere, typical of the capitalist production system. In that sense, public debates about work time are cricial to reducing the differentiation between men and women, and, consequently, gender inequalities³⁹. Hence, we defend the importance of elaborating public policies specifically aimed at valuing female university workers.

It is also notable that part of the female professors refer to the "Women in Sciences" program, created in 2015 to promote more balanced gender relations in the field of Sciences and Technology, with a particular focus on extending scholarships in cases of child delivery or adoption. Therefore, concerning the policies of assessment of professors and gender relations, it is indispensable to promote debates which can make such relations more democratic and participative, and for that, major engagement of the female professors themselves is essential.

Sexual division of labor and teaching career

Kergoat⁵ states that sexual division of labor reveals two general principles in the social gender relations: the principle of separation - characterized by the difference between the work of men and the work of women, and the principle of hierarchy, in which the work of the man is worth more than the work of the woman. For Federici⁴⁰, inequality between men and women is expressed in the valorization and production of wealth, considered to come mostly from the productive work assigned to men. This is different from the reproductive work destined to women, which although fundamental, is appropriated by the productive work and naturalized as gratuitous and devalued work. Such inequalities can be also observed in the lives of the female professors who took part in the study.

My mother tells me: you can't complain about "*X*" (*husband*) *because he helps you a lot. In the past, husbands didn't do anything.* (O6)

I wake up at 4:30 am, and chose to read the Master's thesis again because I am part of the examining board today at UERJ.[...] At 7:00 am, I wake up my daughter and husband. I ask him to take her to the guitar lesson, but he's late. I drop everything and get out in a hurry. I come back at 9:20 and continue reading the thesis. Working at home is bad, there are too many distractions. I try to focus. (C6)

Thus, the assessment of female professors should incorporate non-academic work: [...] she needed to do what before getting to work? Who cooked her dinner, made her bed, and relieved her stress so that she could be able to go back to work after an exhausting shift, day after day? Not only for her, but for the rest of her family as well?⁴¹ (p. 108).

On the other hand, and reinforcing again that the positive or negative attributions given to women and men cannot be unchangeable and connected to the gender of the one who is in the professorial career, we should highlight the role performed by some men (although counter-hegemonic). Alvarenga and Vianna⁴², for instance, in a research with professors from the state of São Paulo, highlight a different kind of male professor, who although having a small son and with his time occupied with teaching activities, dedicates himself to the care of his son, with the intent of lessening the burden of responsibilities of his wife. In this same context, the report of this professor who participated in the research seem to converge to the idea of a greater male participation in the reproductive work:

I feel tired. I have a month-and-a-half old son and the paternity leave is too short. I have spent a considerable part of my nights awake. Luckily, we are in the part of the academic year when there aren't so many lessons to teach. (C2)

Hirata and Kergoat¹¹, when they identify new configurations of sexual division of labor, call attention to the fact that, even though very far from a balance, there has been more male involvement in domestic work. However, in the context of the reconfiguration of social sex relations, there are still gender inequalities in relations in the realm of university professors. Investments are needed in public policies, of an educational and social character, which may guarantee equal opportunities for female professors, and it is equally necessary that more studies in this area be conducted and promoted.

Final remarks

The dialogue between researchers and professors encouraged the debate on strategies to overcome the consequences of the stern sexual division of labor in universities, by questioning managerial capitalism imposed on the universities. It is clear that the issue of the sexual division of labor in public universities stands out as an important question that reveals an overburden of work and suffering, ensuring that the analysis of the professional lives of women cannot be dissociated from their private lives, especially in the moments when the professor's work becomes increasingly competitive and based on assessment criteria that is more and more demanding. After all, as the feminist movement has been showing for some time now, "the working class has two genders"28, and in the sphere of paid work, female workers remain in a situation of disadvantage and inequality.

Collaborations

KR Souza and RH Simões-Barbosa participated in the conception and alignment of the manuscript, the analysis and interpretation of the data, and the writing of the article. AMS Rodrigues, EG Felix, L Gomes, and MBM Santos participated in the interpretation of the data, the writing of the article, and the approval of the final version for publication.

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