

Identity, teaching work and school pact: tensions and challenges in remote teaching

Identidade, trabalho docente e pacto escolar: tensões e desafios presentes no ensino remoto

Identidad, labor docente y pacto escolar: tensiones y desafíos presentes en la enseñanza remota

Paula Cristina Santos Menezes^I

Kelly Pedroza Santos^{II}

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the period of emergency remote teaching from the point of view of teacher-student interaction and teacher identity. For this, 20 interviews were conducted with teachers from the city of Rio de Janeiro who worked in basic education between 2022 and 2023. We identified five categories that contributed to a precarious experience of remote teaching: autonomy, long work hours, privacy, lack of resources in accordance with the objectives of distance learning and breach of the school pact. We also identified strategies for the reconstruction of the learning context that focused on the pedagogical-affective aspect and an intense production of didactic materials. We also sought to understand how the new technology and communication technologies (NICTs) can forge precarious identities, but also allow the reinterpretation of teaching practice.


Keywords: Distance Learning. Teacher Identity. School Pact. Education. New Information and Communication Technologies.

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa o período de ensino remoto emergencial do ponto de vista da interação professor-aluno e da identidade docente. Para tal, foram realizadas 20 entrevistas com docentes do município do Rio de Janeiro, atuantes no ensino médio, entre 2022 e 2023. Identificamos cinco categorias que contribuíram para uma vivência precária do ensino remoto: autonomia, longas jornadas de trabalho, privacidade, falta de recursos condizentes com os objetivos do ensino remoto e ruptura do pacto escolar. Identificamos, igualmente, estratégias de reconstrução do contexto de aprendizagem que se concentraram no aspecto pedagógico-afetivo e numa intensa produção de materiais. Buscamos ainda compreender como as novas tecnologias da informação e comunicação (NTIC) podem forjar identidades precárias, mas também permitir ressignificações da prática docente.

Palavras-chave: Ensino Remoto. Identidade Docente. Pacto Escolar. Educação. Novas Tecnologias da Informação e Comunicação.

^IColégio Pedro II, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Email: menezes.paula@gmail.com  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9711-7920>

^{II}Colégio Pedro II, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Email: kellypedrozacp2@gmail.com  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3724-1820>

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza el período de la enseñanza remota de emergencia desde el punto de vista de la interacción profesor-alumno y de la identidad docente. Para esto, se realizaron veinte entrevistas a docentes de la ciudad de Río de Janeiro, que trabajaban en la escuela básica, entre 2022 y 2023. Identificamos cinco categorías que contribuyeron a una experiencia precaria de enseñanza remota: autonomía, largas jornadas de trabajo, privacidad, falta de recursos acordes con los objetivos de la enseñanza a distancia y ruptura del pacto escolar. También identificamos estrategias de reconstrucción del contexto de aprendizaje que se centraron en el aspecto pedagógico-afectivo y una intensa producción de materiales didácticos. También buscamos comprender cómo las NTIC pueden forjar identidades precarias, pero también permiten la reinterpretación de la práctica docente.

Palabras clave: Enseñanza a Distancia. Identidad Docente. Pacto Escolar. Educación. Nuevas Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación.

INTRODUCTION

The period of social isolation in Brazil due to the COVID-19 pandemic has mobilized different analyses in the field of education, especially due to the phenomenon of emergency remote teaching. The extent of this experience, combined with the complexity of the education system in Brazil, poses a challenge to studies on education, sometimes by radicalizing and accelerating existing processes, sometimes by raising new problems, requiring broad mobilization to interpret this scenario.

This work aims to analyze the period of emergency remote teaching from the point of view of social interaction and reformulations of teaching identity. It also seeks to contribute to important issues present in the debate on education and teaching work in the country, in dialogue with the productions on the impacts of the pandemic on education, particularly trying to answer to what extent new information and communication technologies (NICTs) can be sources of the constitution of a precarious identity, but also of resignifications of teaching practice and identity. To this end, twenty interviews were conducted with teachers from public and private networks in the city of Rio de Janeiro, who were working in high schools between 2022 and 2023. These were teachers of different disciplines, with different age and gender profiles. They described relevant aspects of their work routine and the teaching-learning process during this period, addressed broad themes related to the precariousness of remote teaching, and to their professional identity and teaching practice, which deserve a closer look.

THEORETICAL DEBATE

Theoretical debates about the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on education have appeared in academic articles since the first few months of the interruption of regular activities in schools across the country. They reveal the concern of researchers about the consequences of this decision and the urgency to seek an understanding of this phenomenon. A series of changes in the dynamics of teaching work have gained relevance in these analyses, and the adoption of remote work, characterized by the routine of synchronous classes and the posting of teaching materials in online platforms, has emerged associated with the theme of the precarization of teaching work.

The concepts of precariousness and precarization are central to debates about the contemporary world of work and have occupied a prominent position in the discussion about teaching work during the pandemic. The theme of the precarization of teaching work arose in conjunction with a set of transformations in the daily professional lives of teachers. The most notable were the extension of

the workload for preparation and planning (Silvestre, Figueiredo Filho and Silva, 2023), requirements for qualification and acquisition of new skills in a short space of time (Fialho and Neves, 2022), and investments in the acquisition of materials to enable remote teaching, mechanisms for monitoring and controlling teaching work, etc. We also note analyses that emphasize the correlation between the precarization of teachers' working conditions and the impacts on their mental health (Pinho *et al.*, 2021).

The thesis of precarization of teaching labor is not new and mainly refers to the working conditions and salaries of this group. Sampaio and Marin (2004) systematize the most frequently discussed aspects of this process, namely: teacher training/qualification, salary issues, working conditions (which include class size and teacher/student ratio) and the level of turnover. More recently, Silva and Da Mota (2019) explored the concept of "teaching precariat", pointing out a particular subgroup in the professional category that makes a living under precarious contracts. In fact, the working conditions and salaries of teachers vary greatly across the country, and the process of precarization of this profession must take this variety into account.

Two elements are, in our opinion, little explored in the analysis of the precarization of the teaching profession: firstly, the dimension specific to the educational act that corresponds to communication and interaction between teacher and student; secondly, the various strategies of teachers to counter current trends and reconstitute their identity. The communicational dimension appears even more pertinent in a scenario where there is a platformization of society, with communication being repositioned in a central place both in the forms of control and in the forms of resistance (Grohman, Mendonça and Woodcock, 2023).

The situation of emergency remote teaching, in this sense, can be understood as having the potential to worsen work conditions in education (Neves, Fialho and Machado, 2021), but it has important variations depending on the teacher's internet connection, the equipment provided or already acquired, as well as a certain digital-informational capital, which was fundamental in determining the teacher's experience during this period and their relationship with the "machine" of producing classes. It is also possible to affirm that the dimension of precariousness that emergency remote teaching added to the teaching work routine was not restricted to material and salary conditions, presenting new contours in the context of the pandemic.¹

When considering the precarization of work during the pandemic, we propose to consider not only the material dimension, including salary and work autonomy, but also the context in which there is a precarization of interaction and communication between teachers and students. Our argument is that the precarization of education has also revealed itself as a disorganization of teacher-student interaction that has been, consequently, followed by a process of precarization of the teaching identity itself.²

The obstacles to interaction³ between teachers and students in remote teaching can be identified in the reports of teachers who reveal immense difficulty in monitoring the students' learning process. With cameras and microphones turned off, silent and "invisible" classes became part of the teacher's routine. In this class format, the student's body, their gaze and their gestural communication became invisible. Without these clues, which are fundamental for modulating teacher-class communication, teachers were unable to map who had learned or who had not

1 On this debate, see the contributions of Biesta (2006); Selwyn (2017); Andel *et al.* (2020); Öztok (2020).

2 On the discussion about the construction of identities, see Berger (2007[1963]). On teaching identity, see Galindo (2004).

3 The discussions on interaction present in the work of Erving Goffman (2011[1967]; 1974) emerge as a reference in the attempts made in different texts to understand the changes that took place in education during the pandemic. Although remote teaching is not characterized as a situation of face-to-face interaction, Goffman's analyses are commonly mobilized to understand the disorganization of the interaction patterns previously in force in the teacher-student relationship (see Miller, 1995).

understood the explanation, whether they could move on or whether they needed to dwell on some content.

This process of emptying the school, in our perspective, impacted the professional identity of teachers, as remote teaching changed both individual perceptions and practices regarding teaching activity, and also required adaptations in an attempt to make the collective work experience viable. In this sense, it was observed that teachers, in their daily practice, sought strategies to reproduce “some of the school environment” in the remote experience. These efforts also led them to seek various strategies to rebuild their own professional identity.

To share our empirical results and give meaning to this debate, we propose a two-stage analysis: first, we will explore the elements in the dynamics of remote teaching that contributed to a tendency towards the precarization of teaching identity; then, we will explore the strategic elements adopted by teachers to compensate or re-signify their practice and professional identity.

METHODOLOGY

This article is the result of research developed within the scope of an interdisciplinary project that has been ongoing since 2022, involving teams from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ) and Colégio Pedro II, funded by the funding agency Fundação Carlos Chagas Filho de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (FAPERJ), which aims to debate the several social aspects implied in algorithmic acceleration.⁴ The focus of our subproject was to understand education in NICTs, and our first stage consisted of producing an evaluation of remote teaching from the perspective of elementary school teachers. Our choice for a qualitative protocol based on semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus groups was due to our first objective of observing the experiences and strategies of teachers in this emergency teaching modality, which would contribute to thinking about the links between the precarization of this profession and the use of new technologies.

The interviews were carried out in two stages: first, we interviewed eight teachers from Colégio Pedro II (federal education network), between September and December 2021, and the second phase included 12 interviews (six with teachers whose main employment relationship is with state schools and six with teachers whose main relationship is with private establishments), between October 2022 and April 2023. The teachers were contacted using the snowball technique (contacts who indicated other contacts to us), respecting the balance criteria of our sample (educational network of work, age, gender and disciplines taught).

Our interview guide was based not only on the reading of recently published empirical articles on the same topic, but also on theoretical readings that inspired us, which are detailed in the theoretical debate. The topics covered were: profile information, professional trajectory, home/family conditions during the pandemic, family tensions, material adjustments, adjustments in working conditions, use of technologies/applications and websites, relationships with staff and institutions, relationships with parents and students, pedagogical teaching and assessment strategies, affective aspects, perceptions about the dynamics of distance learning, difficulties in the remote teaching process, evaluation of the technologies used, evaluation of the return to in-person teaching, and assessment of the period.

The interviews were scheduled in advance via WhatsApp and conducted via Google Meet or Zoom. The interviewees were informed about the objectives of the project and the anonymous nature of the information used, and their consent was given before the start of the interview,

4 The project was supported by the Support Program for the Thematic Projects in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Faperj, under the title “Rio de Janeiro between algorithmic acceleration and catastrophe” (E-26/211.314/2021).

orally, and then through a free and written consent form. The interviewed teachers continue to contribute through spontaneous exchanges via WhatsApp and will be informed of the results and progress of the project. The anonymous list of collaborating teachers is provided in the appendix to this article (Annex I).

The interviews were analyzed thematically, coding and recoding segments to reach pertinent conclusions. The transcriptions were performed by students of the project and with the support of the online software Sonix. The analysis was performed with the support of the software Maxqda, which allows for improved coding and visualization of the segments, in addition to their quantification. We chose to transcribe a series of statements in our analysis of results, as they reflect the richness of the themes worked on and the intersections between different aspects of reality.

THE CONTEXT OF BASIC EDUCATION IN BRAZIL BEFORE AND DURING THE PANDEMIC

Teaching and learning conditions in Brazilian schools vary significantly depending on the network, student resources, location and a factor that is somewhat overlooked in research and public policies: the number of students per class/teacher. The public network has approximately 6,636 schools, with a total of 465,000 enrollments in secondary education and 1,400,000 enrollments in primary education. The private network also has a significant number of schools (4,716), but a smaller number of enrollments: approximately 116,000 enrollments in secondary education and 554,000 enrollments in primary education.⁵

Regarding the socioeconomic profile of Brazilian teachers, we gathered data from the 2018 School Census and the Teaching and Learning International Survey—TALIS (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD, 2011]), particularly regarding income profile. According to the 2018 School Census, federal schoolteachers work an average weekly workload of 39.6 hours and earn R\$11,760.00 (average standardized pay for 40 hours per week), while state schoolteachers work 29.6 hours per week and earn R\$4,587.00, and private school teachers work 29.7 hours and earn R\$3,400.00. To interpret these data, it is necessary to consider that a large proportion of teachers in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, due to the large number of schools, tend to have more than one work contract in the state school system or combine different contracts in state, municipal, and private school systems. On the other hand, teachers in the federal network generally have a single employment contract, which justifies their higher salaries. As a result, teachers in the state and private networks, as a way to improve their income, take on heavy workloads, while teachers in the private network have a moderate workload.⁶

These disparate situations were clearly reflected in the conditions for adopting remote teaching, as well as in its temporality. In state and federal schools, remote teaching was implemented quite late, with a wait of up to around one year, as in the case of the federal network, where the union, the dean's office and some teachers positioned themselves against remote teaching, understanding it as an opening to the precarization of education. In private education, reports from teachers indicate that remote teaching was implemented as early as the day after the official closure of schools. The private network was also quite rigid in terms of monitoring students and adapting the curriculum, with teachers reporting little autonomy in decision-making and extreme demands regarding student attendance and participation. Teachers in the public network, particularly in the federal network, reported a very long wait for adaptation and guidelines from institutions, often having to adopt completely autonomous strategies for pedagogical continuity.

5 The data in this section were collected by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (Brasil, 2019).

6 It is also important to point out that almost all teachers in the federal network have completed higher education, while in other networks this percentage is relatively lower.

In the following pages, we will analyze our interviews in depth, in two stages: first, we will focus on the conditions that seemed to contribute to the process of precarization in education, not only in terms of teaching work conditions, but also (and mainly) of teachers' professional identity. If material precariousness can be relativized due to the emergency nature of remote teaching, the subjective elements related to the experience of online interaction reveal to us a potential for profound change in the profession that goes beyond emergency remote teaching and may have direct repercussions on teaching practice, increasingly permeated by new algorithmic technologies and artificial intelligence.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

ELEMENTS OF PRECARIZATION OF THE TEACHING IDENTITY

The labor conditions of workers in general are a central factor in analyzing the process of precarization of a profession, a company or a corporation (Costa and Oliveira, 2011; Tardif and Lassard, 2014; Oliveira and Ribeiro, 2022). They may be associated with a broader framework of precariousness, which affects an entire category, or they may correspond to an equally important factor in assessing inequalities within the same professional category, as is the case of teachers (Fanfani, 2005). These strong inequalities in the professional group in question are complex, since even in the Brazilian private school system the differences are significant. Thus, geographical differences, as well as differences in salary and school conditions, and particularly inadequate infrastructure and intensified working hours, suggest greater or lesser precariousness of the teaching activity, as well as the perception of it (Cruz *et al.*, 2010; Costa and Oliveira, 2011; Mesquita, 2020; Oliveira, Pereira Junior and Revi, 2020).

Regarding the state of emergency during the COVID-19 pandemic, we could assume a certain approximation of working conditions, since workers in "teleworkable" professions were less exposed to factors such as virus contamination, traffic and workplace infrastructure. However, national and international studies reveal great disparities in remote working conditions due to inequalities in housing conditions, particularly between those workers who were already equipped for remote work, since they had done it before, and those who were experiencing it for the first time. Analyzing the professional category of primary school teachers, Lima Filho, Nilin and Santos (2022) identify some of these disparities, which are notably related to internet access and computer equipment, but also to operational technological knowledge. As noted by Santos, Nunes and Gomes (2022) based on a bibliographic analysis of current studies, the precariousness of teachers' working conditions and the intensification of the workload were significant despite the work being carried out from home.⁷

In our research, we identified that an aspect that was not being covered in scientific articles was the disparity in working conditions among teachers, based not only on the school network in which they work, but also on their overall economic conditions and previous contact with different technologies. During our interviews, when asked about their working conditions at home and what equipment they used, teachers reported different situations, which we classified as having a positive or negative impact on remote working conditions. Among those with better conditions, most were teachers in the federal and private networks, without children, with slightly larger apartments, who had the possibility of moving in with relatives that had an adequate space. This is the example of a 62-year-old teacher in the federal network, and a 59-year-old teacher in the private and federal networks:

⁷ On this discussion, see also: Almeida and Dalben (2020); Bernardo, Maia and Bridi (2020); Fernandes and Gatolin (2021); Máximo (2021); Nóvoa and Alvim (2021).

So I live alone, which makes it much, much easier, I believe, right? Because I watch some of my colleagues' live meetings and the child who passes by calls here, calls there, the person has to deal with a situation at home. So I didn't have any problems because I live alone and have good internet. So, in that regard, I didn't have any problems. (Federal school teacher, 62 years old)

Well, for me, in terms of logistics, it was easier, because I live in a house here in Méier, it's a very big house, so I can afford to have my office here, you know? It was my daughter's room, she went to São Paulo and I used it as my office. I had the camera and the board. At that time, the year of the pandemic, I went to São Pedro da Aldeia, I stayed there in the middle of the woods. There I had great internet. (Teacher in the private and federal schools, 59 years old)

Among those who cited the greatest difficulties in carrying out remote work, we found particularly teachers from state and private schools, who have small apartments and share them with numerous people. Having small children was cited as the biggest problem, regardless of the school system in which the teachers work. This is a particularly penalizing situation for breastfeeding women, as can be seen in the report of a teacher who was fired from one of the schools where she worked:

As I said, I lived in a one-bedroom apartment. So, with a two-year-old child in a one-bedroom apartment, no matter how many times I started the class while he was asleep, he would wake up during the morning. There was no way that this wouldn't happen. And then when he woke up, like every two-year-old baby, he wanted his mother and that was the issue of attention... taking off his diaper, and then he asked to go to the bathroom, he had his needs. (...) And so, those two semesters were basically very difficult, with a lot of questioning from management, until I got a phone call asking me to come to school. I said that I couldn't because I was teaching at [name of another school where she works] and then the coordinator ended up calling me and told me over the phone that she was letting me go from the school (...), she said: "You already know the reason for your dismissal, it's because your son is disrupting the progress of the classes". (Private school teacher, 38 years old)

In addition to material conditions, our analysis and classification of the interviews revealed five central categories related to a precarious remote learning experience. These are: lack of autonomy, long working hours, privacy issues, lack of resources consistent with the objectives of remote learning, and the "disruption of the school pact." What we describe as a disruption of the school pact encompasses a displacement of the learning context, which is associated with the precariousness found on the side of the student body and the very dynamics of online education, which does not allow for spaces of parallel interaction like those existing in the physical school space.

Privacy was cited by 12 of the 20 interviewees as a central element of their experiences and concerns, particularly female teachers. Thus, some teachers even chose not to show their faces in online classes, or adopted strategies to organize the space to create a "neutral" environment. They also mentioned attempts to organize parallel communication, such as via WhatsApp or email, in order to preserve a certain level of privacy in the online environment.

This aspect is also related to long working hours, that were associated with intense learning and investment on the part of teachers to adapt their classes to remote teaching and the use of platforms. Although some teachers reported having received computers from their schools, most

invested heavily in physical space, internet or equipment, or even in advanced training courses; two teachers even reported investing in digitizing tablets. Although many teachers reported having some type of workspace at home to prepare lessons, remote teaching required specific skills and materials for developing lessons and adapting teaching resources to online communication and interaction.

In parallel with these investments, long working hours were practically unanimous in the interviews, which confirms a trend indicated in other studies on the subject. The teachers justified this extension in relation to three central factors: the need to adapt the content to an online dynamic, attempts to capture the students' attention and the search for meaning for their own teaching identity. In addition to the synchronous classes, the support materials should replace the exchanges between teacher and students that happened, in face-to-face teaching, "on the outside", and this work was seen by the teachers as fundamental:

For me... it was quite chaotic. I worked much more than I normally do in the classroom, because the classroom dynamics themselves will bring the content to be covered, right? You can interact much more with the student. In remote learning, I had to create tools so that they could later have access to the content, so... that's what I said, I worked much more, I started going to bed much later and waking up much earlier, so I could create devices to get the students' attention during class and leave the material for those who would come later. (Private school teacher, 38 years old)

Interviewer: *And then, in general, do you think that the time spent preparing classes was longer in the remote period than in the in-person period?*

A.: *You can multiply that by at least five. Considering everything I did, right? So, if I spent about four hours on average, I started to put in more than five, I really spent a lot of time to do everything I did. So, I really worked full time, I only stopped to eat, then I worked a little more until 9 pm, for a little more, everyday preparing new things. (Federal school teacher, 41 years old)*

Interviewer: *And how did you manage this class preparation? Did you also find it more complicated to prepare classes?*

A.: *It was much more complicated because I had more work, because I had this particular care. I didn't have this obligation, I didn't have this obligation administratively speaking, I didn't have it. But, as a teacher, I did.*

Interviewer: *Why?*

A.: *Because I am a high school teacher. I have to seek autonomy and reflection. So, basically, I couldn't do it that way. I was training people without autonomy and without reflection, because they didn't have to reflect, interact, or anything. So I sought interaction all the time. (State school teacher, 50 years old)*

The issue of autonomy was addressed through questions regarding institutional support and reports on how schools introduced remote teaching. This point showed a wide divergence between the conditions of teachers in public and private schools: while in the former there was a slow implementation of remote teaching, sometimes taking more than six months, in the latter teachers reported an immediate start, often with the same workload as in-person classes. Some schools were flexible in terms of assessments and adaptations for online classes. Teachers, who often work in different schools, had to adapt to the different strategies of each school, as this teacher tells us:

So there were those two weeks of shutdown when it returned in April, which had already ended, in quotation marks, the holidays, the schools [returned]. I think the

principals and coordinators didn't know what to do either. So, for example, in the beginning, how did the Barra School do it? They said: "You're going to record videos, I think it was 20 minutes long for each class, with the subject of that day, with you explaining, sharing the screen." I said: "Okay." Here at Maracanã they said: "Wow, you're going to create a Google Classroom, you're going to attach a PowerPoint, a PDF with the subject of the day and you're going to set a time there and during your class time you're going to be available in the chat to answer questions." At Fonseca, I remember that it started on WhatsApp, the coordinator created a group with the students and it was like: "Oh, what's the topic?" I would attach the PDF to the group and would be available to answer questions. Each school took its own path. (Private school teacher, 33 years old)

Teachers' actual autonomy was achieved, in the end, as a result of the institutions' difficulty in controlling routines. However, the "creative" solutions of some schools were aimed at increasing "control", not only over attendance, but also over the level of interaction of students in online environments:

There was control, yes. Both in terms of length of stay, which is the... the coordinator would come in every now and then to see who was really there or not. What they asked us to do was to interact and to see who was interacting or not. So we used a system to tell them who never interacted, who interacted a little, who interacted a little more, who interacted a lot, right? And then the metrics were up to them. It wasn't up to us directly. (Private school teacher, 47 years old)

The most important aspect to highlight in the precarious experience of teachers in online environments is, however, subjective. More than the material conditions of the teachers themselves, many anxieties and concerns arose around the teacher-student relationship and the moment of interaction itself. Thus, the precarious conditions of the students and the difficult conditions of their access seemed to contribute to what we see here as a "disruption of the school pact". This scenario was certainly more affected in the public school system, where students had not only difficulties accessing the internet, but mainly lacked an environment conducive to the mental organization required for studying. Even with the help offered by the local Education Secretariat for internet access or the distribution of schoolbooks or manuals, the massive use of Google Classroom, which was adopted in public schools, consumed a lot of internet data and affected the family economy of digital access, with a delicate balance at that time. This fact also explains the massive use of the WhatsApp platform as a primary or parallel form of communication by several teachers, precisely because it allows less data consumption.

The public school teachers reported numerous exchanges with students who justified their absences due to financial difficulties, the need to work, or numerous family and health problems that had accumulated. The teachers were very sensitive to the issue of students' visual "exposure" on camera, because although this situation caused discomfort in online communication, some students did not have the necessary equipment or the emotional conditions to show their family dynamics to the group:

They would say, "Oh, teacher, sorry my Wi-Fi isn't working properly." And every time they tried to say something or I asked them something about themselves... There was a lot of noise in many homes, right? So we could see that they weren't in a proper environment that provided silence for studying. They would send me messages directly via WhatsApp or through the platform itself: "Teacher, I'm

working for iFood. I'm working and getting things to help out here at home. So it's not working, I don't have time to study." There was also this social issue in the state that prevented many people from attending synchronous meetings. (State school teacher, 37 years old)

I had to learn to be very respectful. I had classes where no one would turn on the camera. And some classes where I didn't even have a microphone to ask questions, I would talk for forty, fifty minutes alone. And I felt a bit embarrassed to impose anything. Why? Because in other classes some would turn on the camera and would not mind (the environment, the privacy), and I would see their siblings jumping around behind me, fuzzing around (...) then I realized how much turning on the camera could expose a family situation of confusion, lack of space, lack of privacy, right? And that bothered them a lot. (Federal school teacher, 62 years old)

With few possibilities for interaction and content assessment, as well as more effective methods of pedagogical monitoring, the "disruption of the school pact" was interpreted as the most important factor for teachers, given the repercussions on their professional identity. The *learning context* is thus evoked in the interviews as the emblematic element and constructor of meaning for the school, and the new *remote learning context*, not corresponding to the communicational richness of the in-person scenario, always seems to come with a significant pedagogical loss. The testimonies were enriched by the report of the countless anxieties of teachers in the face of attempts to reconstruct this learning context, with a particular repetition in the interviewees' speeches signaling the need for the student's body as a modulator of the teacher's discourse: teachers refer notably to the "eyes" or "faces" of students as a primary indicator of their work, and this indicator is unavailable in most cases of remote teaching.

But at that time, I worked three days at this full-time school, so it was tough. During the week, it was really tough because there was a lot of material to be done, there was a lot to be produced. Until I managed to get my head around the board, it was really complicated, you know? It wasn't an easy time. The first classes I taught, I felt bad because it was all so sudden, and I didn't know what to do... I was demanding a lot from myself. So, at home, it was a complicated time. (State school teacher, 44 years old)

Even though I'm not a great expert in body language and all that stuff, you can see people's faces and see how they react to what you say. For me, as a teacher, it's essential. I heard this from students, so it was really hard for me. Why? Because I'm used to looking students in the eye when I'm giving a class. So I see if what I said really had a positive effect or not. (...) That was really hard. I used to say, "Go to the chat", but... You know, it's not the same tool. It's not the same thing, right? We're just not there, we're here. (Federal school teacher, 49 years old)

So, your commitment is to the student, it is the desire to make your commitment right there on time, with the student, that is the most important thing of all. We can have all these technological elements, all the most beautiful material in the world, but if that, somehow, does not have a relationship of affection, a relationship of teaching, learning, right? So, it is not a super beautiful and technological material that will really make that difference, you know? It is important as an element, but it needs a connection, it needs a connection that is invisible, right? Here, it is in the teacher-student relationship, which is in the shining eye (...) (Federal school teacher, 45 years old)

This pedagogical loss is translated into an intense search for meaning in order to rebuild the teacher's identity. The countless strategies and attempts made by teachers to reconstruct the learning context aim to reestablish some qualitative bond with the student, some classroom reference and an intense production of materials to "compensate" for the lack of communication. It is in this sense that we consider the analysis of teachers' strategies during remote teaching as essential, focusing particularly on the pedagogical-affective aspect.

COUNTER-STRATEGIES AGAINST REMOTE PRECARIOUSNESS

In our first set of interviews, we addressed the teachers' material conditions and the adaptations of their home spaces to provide remote teaching. The rearrangements mentioned by the teachers ranged from reorganizing the rooms in the house to renovation work and even moving. These rearrangements were considered necessary by the teachers either to ensure a separation between the private and public spheres, revealing a sensitive issue related to privacy, or to create a mental environment compatible with the teaching-learning process. As we saw in the first section, on precarious conditions, privacy appeared to be a sensitive issue for the teachers. We observed the adoption of strategies in two senses: either to "neutralize" the home space or to protect online privacy, avoiding contact via social media; or, in the opposite direction, using the private space to create a bond with the students. The statements of two teachers illustrate these different strategies:

I won't judge, but I think that pedagogically it was very bad for the student to see your house, you know? "Oh, the teacher has a liqueur bar, look at his house", you know? And that kind of thing. I didn't put it in the background, but I would stay in a corner here (points out)... here with you I'm in a more informal space in the house. In the office I set the camera against a corner that has only a white wall, something very mysterious, let's say. (Federal school teacher, 39 years old)

I once walked around my workplace with my cell phone so they could see my daughter's paintings. My daughter is a painter and her work is in the Pinacoteca, but she painted a lot of things, so I showed them all the works of art that I have in my workspace. Sometimes I would pick up the dog, interact, show it (to the students), come in with the dog, something to break the ice, that initial connection for later... I also noticed that the school was forcing us to make the class last the same time (as in in-person classes). But I realized that it wasn't like that, that the meetings had to be quicker. (Private and federal school teacher, 59 years old)

Privacy is clearly related to the overexposure of teachers in remote learning, as opposed to the underexposure of students and other members of the school community. Reports from parents who attended classes or coordinators who watched online classes were also cited.

In addition to this domestic rearrangement, teachers reported numerous investments in equipment and courses. Our survey indicated greater investments in equipment such as whiteboards or digital tablets, cameras and microphones, cell phones, courses on how to use platforms or edit videos, comfort equipment (desk, chair or computer screen) and increased internet speed. A minority of teachers already said they were equipped for an online class scenario and had a comfortable home space to carry out their professional activity. The issue of institutional support was fundamental here, especially for public school teachers who received material support. However, we noticed that the most decisive support in the teachers' experience had to do with collaborative practices between the school and the team.

We observed that the practice of collaboration significantly improved the experience of remote teaching. This aspect was particularly highlighted by teachers from the federal school system, who were already organized into teams at their institution. We only identified one experience of lack of integration and collaboration, reported by a teacher from the private school system, but it seems to reveal a tendency in the management of certain schools that focused on controlling students and not on supporting teachers and students:

Contact with other colleagues? I'll be very honest. I didn't have any, it didn't exist. It was very difficult, and happened only with one or another teacher, because like, let's do some work together, okay? Then there was contact. Other than that, you barely knew if the colleague was alive, how they were, what their life was like. At least with me, okay? I didn't have contact with many people. The school meetings, at school level, at institution level when they scheduled those meetings online, we went in. I listened, at least I did, I went in, I listened to the guidelines, the information that was passed on and so on. (Private school teacher, 44 years old)

The collaborative strategy among teachers was mainly carried out via WhatsApp, through the exchange of experiences and teaching materials. This collaboration was essential to maintain a teaching identity marked by the absence of the student body. The teachers' anxieties and concerns, as well as urgent pedagogical strategies, were the most mentioned points in the interviews.

This question also refers to the feeling of professional appreciation or devaluation, also linked to institutional support. Most of the interviewees felt "supported" in some way by the institution, a feeling that was reinforced in the case where the management was more present. Although the material help in state schools was considered important, the feeling of support and appreciation was due more to the human side of management and team collaboration, as we see in the words of two teachers, one from a private school and the other from the state network.

And I think it's a great benefit, right? Having a coordinator and a management team, which I think is very important, accessible. You know? In other schools we don't have that. You talk to the coordinator, you ask for something and this coordinator tells you, okay, I'll check with the management team and get back to you, and they get back to you, it takes 15 days. You know? So I think this benefit, that we have of having direct contact, makes our work easier and more efficient. (Private school teacher, 44 years old)

So this organizational structure was really difficult for us. Imagine the school, the coordinators, how they managed to organize and transmit this message? And to assist parents... I remember, every day at school there was a line of parents. Every day there was a line of parents. During those final moments, that hybrid moment was between parents and students, me and the neighbor, because they would go to the school and get materials, take supporting materials, get food support, because there were several situations. So, the structure, I think the employees did a lot. I don't know how they managed to handle everything because it was a lot of work for a few employees. (State school teacher, 50 years old)

The use of platforms was essential for the actions to reestablish schools during the pandemic, but they showed that emergency solutions relied on private and paid platforms, mainly Google Classroom and WhatsApp in the state and private networks. The federal network relied on the Moodle platform, which was already partially adopted, but meetings and classes were held via Zoom or Google Meet. Other websites and applications mentioned were Kahoot, Google Forms, YouTube

and email websites. The strategies for using platforms were varied and mixed in order to find a balance between privacy and communication with students, which at first meant managing possible enrollment losses and dropouts. Some teachers reported difficulties with Moodle and adopted the Google platform for synchronous classes. However, the most widely used platform for exchanges with students and teams was WhatsApp, particularly due to its low data consumption, allowing flexible and 24-hour use via cell phone.

The main difficulty teachers faced when using platforms was developing monitoring strategies and ways to “compensate” for the lack of school environment. In this sense, the connection with students and the adoption of varied pedagogical practices to retain students’ attention or motivate them was the most commented aspect in all interviews, corresponding to more than 30% of the coded segments. These redefinitions of teaching and learning in the remote context implied a clear concern on the part of teachers with the students’ reality. This led to some strategies of resistance by teachers to schools’ guidelines for controlling student attendance or engagement, particularly in private schools:

For me, it was very difficult to try to do things like they used to, like in normal context, because it wasn’t normal. So I didn’t want to force the student to say “I’m here”, “turn on the camera so I can see you”, ask a question like, “I’m going to ask him to see if he’s paying attention”. I didn’t know what this student was feeling like, I didn’t know what his mind was like, so I tried to respect that as much as possible. I prepared the best material I could and shared it with them, and that’s how we got to this stage. (Private school teacher, 61 years old)

As a result, teachers also valued constant feedback from students, seeking to create communication channels parallel to the synchronous class, such as response forms or communication via WhatsApp. Even during synchronous classes, some teachers also used “ice-breaker” strategies, creating moments of relaxation for students to talk or express their emotional difficulties; or even as a strategy to retain the students’ attention and affection. This seems to have been the most successful strategy reported by teachers, as demonstrated by the statements below:

And they all told me that they felt very alone, isolated at home, and that my class was a joy for them because they could have fun, they could learn, and so on. When I saw that the videos worked, I started teaching and playing. And these games, whether they wanted them or not, from what they said after it was over, showed me that many of them needed this, right? They didn’t want a class alone; they wanted someone who understood them, who encouraged them. (State schoolteacher, 44 years old)

I even asked them that. I did self-assessments. (...) Maybe that was what I got the most feedback from. (...) It was the self-assessments on the forms where they expressed themselves the most, when they even talked about things that had nothing to do with class, like... Personal things that were complicated in their own minds. Really existential questions. I even got that on those forms. (State schoolteacher, 50 years old)

The teachers dedicated a significant part of their time to creating or selecting teaching materials in order to reconstruct some sort of a school context. This seems to be the point of intersection between maintaining the teacher identity and maintaining the teacher-student relationship that was most intuitively used to overcome the difficulties of remote teaching: on the one hand, when

creating materials, teachers felt useful in the exercise of their profession, learning and evolving in their materials and pedagogical forms of transmission; and, on the other hand, the teachers realized that the variety of materials provided by digital tools increased the likelihood of reaching students more efficiently. This is confirmed, for example, by the testimony of two teachers:

First, of course, we have to be constantly studying, constantly researching to try to bring new things. And back then it was no different, it was no different. It was a lot of work. So what is the concern about making them understand that topic that, in this case, was being proposed, that we were working on? Did they understand a certain subject and so on? Trying to provide them with the widest range of information possible so that they could try, right? It was so that they could, in that process, reach the objective of the class, you know? (Private school teacher, 59 years old)

I asked. So, I got a lot of feedback in these synchronous classes from those who had the courage to speak up, right? So, they say: "I'm going to get it" and "I'm so lost"; "I'm picking up the late assignments". So I got feedback like that. But I think that in general they liked having this diversity of tools like that. Having an audio, having a PDF, having a solved exercise, there was a lot of stuff. (Federal school teacher, 41 years old)

The teacher in question is even more explicit when talking about the production of "ideal classes": remote teaching may have allowed an evolution in professional practice because it focused more on the development of content and less on the practices of control/discipline and socialization of students. This statement reveals that interpretations of remote teaching vary according to each teacher's pedagogical conception, which tends to be closely associated with the subject taught, but also with the better or worse use of available technologies, as demonstrated by the two contrasting statements below:

It's as if (...) I had been so happy with these experiences of being able to teach "ideal" classes, you know? With resources and everything, and everything went well, the students didn't bother me, I was playing or doing other things, but I was really happy when I taught at the school and managed to be with them. So that was kind of it. I almost deluded myself with the (online) classes. (Federal school teacher, 41 years old)

This is the feeling I'm telling you about, you know? I felt like I was teaching myself and the person watching this class was me, right? And many times in the class dynamics I didn't have the opportunity to make a real drawing, even though I had taken the courses, to make a drawing, right? There's a little screen here to see something virtual and it's a very complicated dynamic. (Federal school teacher, 59 years old)

This feeling of being able to give an "ideal class" is not, however, a consensual perception. It is, in fact, a minority perception, although most teachers claim to have learned more about new technologies during remote teaching and wish to implement them in their practices. In fact, the teachers in general report a distressing experience of remote teaching, thus adopting strategies to "recreate" the school context such as the use of whiteboards, expository classes or a certain rhythm and discipline routine. The school context is seen as complex and rich, particularly because it provides an affective and social dimension that cannot yet be achieved with the available technologies. Although many teachers expressed the "impossibility" of reactivating the school context as it is in the face-to-face modality, it remained a central reference in remote practice. The statements below highlight the importance of this reference:

I understood, but I wanted to keep that pace. I don't know if it's right or wrong, but in my head I thought we should try something like we had before the pandemic, you know? Having a time to start, a time to finish. (Private school teacher, 61 years old)

That's why, very rarely, when I was projecting something, I would leave the scene, right? Because I was projecting, sharing something. It was very quick. Like three minutes, something like two minutes for me to come back. Even if I opened it and then shared it again. So they could see me all the time. I thought that was important for them. (Federal school teacher, 62 years old)

The pandemic experience made me realize that, although the classroom is, of course, the main focus of the teaching and learning process, the school is much bigger than the classroom. I repeat: there was a virtual classroom and it worked. There were classes, but there were no hallways, no teachers' lounge, no playground conversations, no students looking for you at the end of the day. (Federal school teacher, 39 years old)

These testimonies about pedagogical adaptation and student monitoring also reveal the importance of the school context and attention as an affective dimension of the teaching-learning process (Citton, 2018). They also confirm that remote tools end up favoring a more “banking-style” approach to knowledge, while teachers evoke all the parallel and non-verbal practices of the teaching-learning practice and their attempts to recompose them. We therefore believe it is important to distinguish here, on the one hand, between the available educational technologies and their resources, and, on the other, the pedagogical practices that reappropriate them to find strategies that go beyond the transmission of content and that make up the core of the school: the dynamics of creating affection, maintaining bonds, pedagogical variation, building collective meaning, but also of student control and evaluation. The tension between the teacher's search for student attention and the institutional demands of evaluation and control also seems to have had a significant impact on the precarious experience of teachers, particularly in the context of the public health crisis.

CONCLUSIONS

As previously mentioned, the results and statements presented here should be interpreted with caution due to the variety of working conditions of teachers, depending on the educational network in which they work and their income and housing conditions. However, we understand that some convergent aspects of the teaching experience help us interpret possible trends to take into account in the future adoption of remote technologies in education and even in the assessment of teacher well-being and working conditions. In this sense, it is worth highlighting that the adoption of emergency remote teaching during the pandemic was generally perceived by the teachers interviewed as necessary and inevitable, especially considering the severity of the crisis and the way the pandemic was handled by the Brazilian Government. All the teachers interviews pointed out a series of dimensions of the precariousness of their work during the analyzed period, ranging from material aspects, changes in routine, loss of autonomy to difficulties in adopting new practices appropriate for remote teaching. We would like to draw attention, however, to the importance of qualifying the debate on precarization in education when analyzing the context of the pandemic, given that remote teaching led to contradictory practices, such as the overproduction of content to the detriment of global monitoring of the student, which was reflected at the same time in an attempt by teachers to reaffirm their professional identity.

In this article, we sought to highlight the precariousness of remote education in its subjective dimensions, as present in the teacher-student relationship, in the impacts of the teaching-learning process, in the search for students' attention, and in teachers' own identity. The problems surrounding teacher-student interaction and attention reveal the centrality of the virtual classroom space, which has practically become the "visible" aspect of the school during remote teaching. This centrality occurred at the expense of the absence of other school learning spaces, formal or informal, such as playgrounds, hallways, teachers' lounges, cafeterias, and sports fields. It is in light of this shift that we propose to interpret the experience of remote teaching during the pandemic as a phenomenon of "disruption of the school pact." The "disruption of the school pact" would therefore be revealed in the impossibility of reproducing several school spaces that are important for the learning environment and in the school's reduction to a virtual classroom. With the reduction of the school to the space of the virtual classroom, we can affirm that the reduction of the learning experience to the logic of content transmission has become radicalized.

The reconstruction of the school pact proved to be extremely difficult for teachers with the available instruments. In this sense, despite the use of various technological and informational platforms and devices, the teachers interviewed here, when describing the difficulties and limitations faced, revealed a feeling of incompleteness with regard to the educational act against this scenario.

REFERENCES

- ALMEIDA, Luana Costa; DALBEN, Adilson. (Re)organizing pedagogical work in times of covid-19: on the threshold of the (im)possible. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 4, p. e239688, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1590/es.23968>
- ANDEL, Stephanie A.; DE VREEDE, Triparna; SPECTOR, Paul E.; PADMANABHAN, Balaji; SINGH, Vivek K.; DE VREEDE, Gert-Jan. Do social features help in video-centric online learning platforms? The presence perspective. **Computers in Human Behavior**, v. 113, p. 1-8, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2020.106505>
- BERGER, Peter L. **Sociological perspectives**. A humanistic vision. Petropolis: Vozes, 2007.
- BERNARDO, Kelen Aparecida da Silva; MAIA, Fernanda Landolfi; BRIDI, Maria Aparecida. Remote work configurations for teaching staff in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. **Novos Rumos Sociológicos**, v. 8, n. 14, p. 8-39, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.15210/norus.v8i14.19908>
- BIESTA, Gert J.J. **Beyond learning: democratic education for a human future**. London: Routledge, 2006.
- BRASIL. Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (INEP). **NOTAS ESTATÍSTICAS: Censo Escolar 2018**. Brasília-DF: INEP, 2019. Available at: https://download.inep.gov.br/educacao_basica/censo_escolar/notas_estatisticas/2018/notas_estatisticas_censo_escolar_2018.pdf. Access on: August 21, 2023.
- CITTON, Yves. From economics to the ecology of attention. **Ayvu: Revista de Psicologia**, v. 5, n. 1, p. 13-41, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.22409/ayvu.v5i1.27498>
- COSTA, Gilvan Luiz Machado; OLIVEIRA, Dalila Andrade. Teaching work in secondary education in Brazil. **Perspective**, v. 29, n. 2, 727-750, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-795X.2011v29n2p727>
- CRUZ, Roberto Moraes; LEMOS, Jadir Camargo; WELTER, Marisete M.; GUISSO, Luciane. Teacher's health, conditions and workload. **Revista Electrónica de Investigación y Docencia (REID)**, 4, p. 147-160, 2010. Available at: <https://revistaselectronicas.ujaen.es/index.php/reid/article/view/1024>. Access on: August 21, 2023.

FANFANI, Emílio Tenti. **Teaching conditions: comparative analysis of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay**. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina, 2005.

FERNANDES, Alessandra Coutinho; GATTOLIN, Sandra Regina Buttros. Learning to unlearn, and then relearn: Thinking about teacher education within the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. **Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada**, v. 21, n. 2, p. 521-546, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1984-6398202117277>

FIALHO, Lia Machado Fiuza; NEVES, Vanusa Nascimento Sabino. Teachers in the midst of emergency remote teaching: repercussions of social isolation on formal education. **Educação e Pesquisa**, v. 48, p. e260256, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1678-4634202248260256por>

GALINDO, Wedna Cristina Marinho. The construction of professional teacher identity. **Psychology, Science and Profession**, v. 24, n. 2, p. 14-23, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1414-98932004000200003>

GOFFMAN, Erving. **Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience**. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.

GOFFMAN, Erving. **Interaction ritual**. Essays on face-to-face behavior. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2011 [1967].

GROHMANN, Rafael; MENDONÇA, Mateus; WOODCOCK, Jamie. Worker resistance in digital capitalism communication and work from below: The role of communication in organizing delivery platforms workers. **International Journal of Communication**, v. 17, p. 19, 2023. Available at: <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/17764/4211>. Access on: August 24, 2023.

LIMA FILHO, Irapuan Peixoto; NILIN, Danyelle; SANTOS, Harlon Romariz. Teaching work and the covid-19 pandemic: An investigation with elementary and high school teachers. **Theory and Culture**, v. 17, n. 1, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.34019/2318-101X.2022.v17.34782>

MÁXIMO, Maria Elisa. Turning off the cameras: experiences of higher education students with remote learning in the context of Covid-19. **Civitas**, v. 21, n. 2, p. 235-247, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1984-7289.2021.2.39973>

MESQUITA, Silvana Soares de Araujo. High school teachers: working conditions and formative characteristics of a silenced professional category. **Ensino Em Re-Vista**, v. 27, n. 1, p. 302-332, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.14393/ER-v27n1a2020-13>

MILLER, Hugh. **The presentation of self in Electronic life: Goffman on the internet**. Paper presented at the Godsmishts' College Conference, Embodied Knowledge and Virtual Space Conference. University of London, 1995. Available at: <http://www.douri.sh/classes/ics234cw04/miller2.pdf>. Access on: August 23, 2021.

NEVES, Vanusa Nascimento Sabino; FIALHO, Lia Machado Fiuza; MACHADO, Charliton José dos Santos. Teaching work in Brazil during the Covid-19 pandemic. **Education Unisinos**, v. 25, p. 1-18, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.4013/edu.2021.251.26>

NÓVOA, António; ALVIM, Yara Cristina. Teachers after the pandemic. **Education & Society**, v. 42, p. e249236, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1590/ES.249236>

OLIVEIRA, Dalila Andrade; PEREIRA JUNIOR, Edmilson Antonio; REVI, Natalia de Santana. Teachers' working conditions and job satisfaction: an analysis in seven Brazilian states. **Revista Cenas Educacionais**, v. 3, n. e9503, p. 1-19, 2020. Available at: <https://www.revistas.uneb.br/index.php/cenaseducacionais/article/view/9503/6990>. Access on: August 21, 2023.

OLIVEIRA, Walas Leonardo de; RIBEIRO, Luís Antônio. Reflections on the precariousness of teaching work in Latin America. **Trabalho & Educação**, v. 31, n. 3, p. 29-47, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.35699/2238-037X.2022.40831>

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (OECD). **Brazil – Country note**. Talis 2018 results: upper secondary education. 2021. Available at: https://www.oecd.org/education/talis/TALIS2018TR_ISCED3_CN_BRA.pdf. Access on: August 21, 2023.

ÖZTOK, Murat. **The hidden curriculum of online learning**: understanding social justice through critical pedagogy. London: Routledge, 2020.

PINHO, Paloma de Sousa; FREITAS, Aline Macedo Carvalho; CARDOSO, Mariana de Castro Brandão; SILVA, Jéssica Silva da; REIS, Lívia Ferreira; MUNIZ, Caio Fellipe Dias; ARAÚJO, Tânia Maria de. Remote teaching work and health: repercussions of new requirements due to the Covid-19 pandemic. **Work, Education and Health**, v. 19, p. e00325157, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1981-7746-sol00325>

SAMPAIO, Maria das Mercês Ferreira; MARIN, Alda Junqueira. Precariousness of teaching work and its effects on curricular practices. **Education & Society**, Campinas, v. 25, n. 89, p. 1203- 1225, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-73302004000400007>

SANTOS, Fernanda Franco; NUNES, Célia Maria Fernandes; GOMES, Valdete Aparecida Fernandes Moutinho. The working conditions of basic education teachers in emergency remote teaching: Brief analysis of research. **Educação em Foco**, v. 25, n. 45, p. 31-51, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.36704/eef.v25i45.6407>

SELWYN, Neil. **Education and technology**: key issues and debates. 2. ed. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.

SILVA, Amanda Moreira da; DA MOTTA, Vânia Cardoso. The precariat of teachers and the trends of precariousness that affect teachers in the public sector. **Roteiro**, v. 44, n. 3, p. e20305, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.18593/r.v44i3.20305>

SILVESTRE, Bruno Modesto; FIGUEIREDO FILHO, Carolina Barbosa Gomes; SILVA, Dirceu Santos. Teaching work and emergency remote teaching: extension of the working day and expropriation of free time. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, v. 28, p. e280054, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-24782023280054>

TARDIF, Maurice; LESSARD, Claude. **Teaching work**. Elements for a theory of teaching as a profession of human interactions. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2014.

How to cite this article: MENEZES, Paula Cristina Santos; SANTOS, Kelly Pedroza. Identity, teaching work and school pact: tensions and challenges in remote teaching. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, v. 30, e300031, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-24782025300032>

Conflicts of interest: The authors declare they don't have any commercial or associative interest that represents conflict of interests in relation to the manuscript.

Funding: The study didn't receive funding.

Authors' contributions: Conceptualization, Research, Methodology, Formal Analysis: Menezes, P.; Santos, K. Writing – First Writing: Menezes, P. Writing – Reviewing & Editing: Santos, K.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

PAULA CRISTINA SANTOS MENEZES holds a PhD in sociology from the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). She is a professor in the Institut de Communication/Institut d'Urbanisme – Université Lyon 2 (France) and professor in the Department of Sociology at Colégio Pedro II. KELLY PEDROZA SANTOS holds a PhD in sociology from the Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Políticos of the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (IESP-UERJ). She is a professor in the Department of Sociology at Colégio Pedro II.

Received on September 19, 2023

Approved on February 29, 2024



Annex I – List of interviewees.

	Discipline and network	Age and sex	Family and housing situation
1.	Mathematics, federal network	M, 41	Single, no children, lives alone
2.	History, federal network	H, 44	Divorced, one child, joint custody
3.	Chemistry, federal network	M, 62	Divorced, two adult children, lives alone
4.	History, federal network	M, 45	Divorced, lives with teenage son
5.	Biology, federal network	H, 59	Married, with two adult daughters
6.	Biology, federal network	M, 40	Married, with two daughters
7.	Sociology, federal network	H, 39	Married, no children
8.	Mathematics, federal network	H, 49	Married, with a 5-year-old son
9.	Geography, state network	M, 48	Married, with two children
10.	Sociology, state network	M, 37	Single, no children
11.	Mathematics, state network	M, 49	Divorced, lives with son
12.	Physical Education, state network	H, 50	Married
13.	Physics, state and private network	H, 36	Married
14.	Geography, private network	M, 38	Married, with two children
15.	Physics, private network	M, 61	Married, adult son lives separately
16.	Mathematics, state and private networks	H, 44	Married, with two children
17.	Biology, private network	H, 47	Married, with daughter
18.	Mathematics, private and federal networks	H, 59	Married, two adult children
19.	Chemistry, private network	H, 33	Married, with child
20.	Biology, private network	M, 44	Single, lives with her mother, grandmother and two brothers