

Pandemic times: impacts on teachers' work and leisure in Pernambuco

Tempos pandêmicos: impactos no trabalho e no lazer de professores em Pernambuco

Tiempos Pandémicos: Impactos en el Trabajo y el Ocio de los Profesores en Pernambuco

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Highlights

Some of the activities disseminated during the remote period were maintained after the return to in-person classes.

Changes in the teaching work process led to work oversizing over leisure.

Female teachers have less access to and time for leisure when compared to men.

Abstract

The research aimed to understand the effects of the period of remote work, resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as those that remained after the return to in-person work, in addition to teachers' work and leisure time in the Pernambuco State Education Network. Likewise, it sought to analyze the differences observed in the organization of these social times from a gender perspective. It was configured as a qualitative investigation, based on document analysis and semi-structured interviews with 12 teachers linked to this education network. The interviews were interpreted through categorical content analysis by topic. It is argued that, even after the return to in-person work, some of the characteristics arising from the remote period were maintained and that work dynamics, intensified by the use of Information and Communication Technologies, led to work oversizing over leisure, especially among female teachers.

[Resumo](#) | [Resumen](#)

Keywords

Work and Education. Free Time. Leisure. Gender. COVID-19.

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| Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted the world of work and society as a whole. For teachers, the period of emergency remote teaching represented a milestone when work was no longer taken home, and home environments became the priority location for work activity (Silvestre *et al.*, 2023). In this context, virtual contact with school management, family members, and students was intensified and began to occur at any time, not just during the previously considered usual shift.

However, some of the changes implemented during the health emergency were incorporated into the teaching work process and became part of everyday school life in many education networks. It can be seen, therefore, that the pandemic period accelerated and consolidated trends that were already underway in the Brazilian educational context, such as the processes of precariousness, flexibility and intensification¹ of teaching work, in addition to the growing use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) (Catini, 2020; Minto, 2021; Nepomuceno & Algebaile, 2021; Silva, 2020).

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the widespread use of ICTs is not a one-off movement. As Gjergji and Denunzio (2023) pointed out, analyzing the use of these technologies only in light of the health emergency caused by the pandemic tends to overshadow the efforts undertaken for decades by companies and national states to implement training models focused on digital education. One example of this process is the large sums that big techs such as Google, Apple, and Microsoft are investing to build intelligent systems aimed at the educational market (Gjergji & Denunzio, 2023).

In such a scenario, even with the resumption of in-person teaching activities, previous levels were not reestablished and teaching work was invariably impacted. The fact is that educational policies in Brazil, under the diffusion of New Public Management (NPM), already aimed to incorporate and adapt to changes arising from the process of productive restructuring. However, with the technological advances driven by emergency remote teaching, educational networks are under pressure to respond to the changes of the so-called industry 4.0 (Previtali & Fagiani, 2023). This reality increases the pressure for teaching work in the just-in-time, platformized or uberized model (Gjergji & Denunzio, 2023).

In other words, the pandemic is gone, but the platforms, instant messaging groups and, in many cases, direct contact between teachers, management and family members/students via smartphones and other digital devices remain. Thus, we observed new work pressures on the organization of social times and consolidation of a work dynamic with more devices that force teachers to be connected at all times and available for their professional practice.

¹ Intensification of teaching work can be summarized as reduced rest, lack of time for professional requalification and increased work overload (Hypolito *et al.*, 2009).

The construction and organization of social times is permeated by political disputes and social struggles. In Brazil, according to Cardoso (2017), tensions for the flexibilization and rapprochement of work and non-work times increased from the 1990s onwards, with the implementation of neoliberal policies. In this context, in addition to the intensification and increase in working hours, there is also the growing fragmentation and individualization of the portion of time dedicated to work, as well as the emergence of new times dedicated to such activity (Cardoso, 2017). It is a process that, in addition to directly impacting work activity, has consequences for life outside of work, including free time and leisure.

Disputes involving the construction of social times are fundamental to understanding the relationship between work and leisure. After all, according to Peixoto (2007), the way in which leisure is produced and the meanings attributed to this phenomenon are closely linked to the way work is organized in the current form of social organization. Thus, the possibility of enjoying leisure depends on objective conditions, time use, activities developed and values internalized by society at each historical moment (Peixoto, 2007).

In fact, work and leisure categories, although distinct, cannot be analyzed in isolation or interpreted as opposites; both make up, each in their own way, the totality of social life organization (Padilha, 2003). From this perspective, leisure can be understood as one of the manifestations related to the free time dimension². It is a modern phenomenon, permeated by disputes between capital and labor, experienced in the context of everyday life, by contradictions and disputes of hegemony and meanings, constituted from the synthesis of multiple determinations (Marcassa, 2003; Mascarenhas, 2003).

Although the COVID-19 pandemic has affected teachers' working hours and life expectancy as a whole, the impacts of remote work activities have been different for men and women (Pessoa *et al.*, 2021; Temudo, 2023). After all, in addition to lower pay, even when women gain a foothold in the job market, they continue to be responsible for unpaid domestic work (Bonalume *et al.*, 2023; Boix *et al.*, 2023; Kergoat, 2009).

As the adoption of emergency remote teaching has brought new contours to teaching work, it is important to investigate the impacts of this process on these professionals' daily lives. Bearing this in mind, the following questions guided the research construction: what are the effects of emergency remote work on Pernambuco State Education Network (In Portuguese, *Rede Estadual de Educação de Pernambuco* – REEP) teachers' work-leisure relationship? Did the changes in work processes continue to affect this relationship after they returned to in-person activities? What are the impacts on REEP teachers' leisure time?

The decision to research the impacts of remote work on daily life, especially on REEP teachers' free time and leisure, goes beyond the adoption of a remote format during the pandemic and the introduction of new virtual teaching platforms. This

² It is worth highlighting that the expression "free time" is used with the understanding that nothing is truly free under the imperative reality of the social metabolism of capital (Padilha, 2003).

choice is also related to the characteristics that permeate work in this location. The managerialist logic, meritocratic values, and principles based on efficiency and economic rationality, typical of NPM, have accentuated, since the 2000s, processes of flexibility and instability in the forms of hiring, degradation of labor relations and conditions, and intensification of work in the educational network in question (Lindoso & Santos, 2021).

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that, as in the rest of the country, teaching work at REEP is predominantly female, with approximately 61.2% women and 38.8% men in the teaching staff (Anísio Teixeira Brazilian National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (In Portuguese, *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira* – INEP), 2024). Thus, REEP also becomes a privileged place for research that seeks to understand the dynamics that involve teachers' work and daily life from the perspective of gender issues.

This research, therefore, aimed to analyze the impacts of the remote work period, as well as those that remained after the return to in-person work, on REEP teachers' work time and leisure time. Likewise, we sought to analyze the differences observed in the organization of these social times from the gender perspective.

In addition to this introduction, methodological approach and final considerations, the article is organized into two more sections presenting the research results. The first discusses the overestimation of working time over other life times, something that was not inaugurated with remote work, but which has become increasingly frequent among REEP teachers. The second section argues that the deleterious effects of emergency remote teaching on leisure time and activities are even worse for teachers in this school system.

| Methodological path

This is descriptive-interpretative research, with a qualitative approach, which sought to investigate the impacts of the period of remote work, as well as those that remained after the return to in-person work, on REEP teaching staff's work and leisure time as part of a whole, permeated by disputes and contradictions. By explaining these categories, we intended to demarcate that historical-dialectical materialism was the theory of knowledge that guided the construction of this study. Through this approach, we sought to go beyond the appearance of the phenomena investigated – work and leisure – and to grasp the essence of these objects, their structure and dynamics, viewing them as a process (Paulo Netto, 2011).

It is worth noting, in line with this tradition of thought, that there is no set of pre-established research techniques that reveal the dynamics of the object of investigation. For Paulo Netto (2011), it is the object's very structure and dynamics that command the procedures to be used by the researcher. The investigation, therefore, was based on the analysis of documents relevant to the study topic and on conducting semi-structured interviews with teaching staff linked to the education network in question.

In order to expand the dialogue with theoretical references that discuss teaching work, free time and leisure, a bibliographic survey was carried out using keywords such as “work and education”, “teaching work”, “remote work”, “gender”, “free time”, and “leisure”³. Documentary analysis (Markoni & Lakatos, 2004), in turn, was carried out based on legislation, normative acts and official documents from the government of the state of Pernambuco and the State Department of Education and Sports that deal with teaching work in the state.

The semi-structured interviews were based on basic questions of interest to the research, supported by the theoretical frameworks expressed here. The criterion for selecting participants was convenience. After the first contact with a REEP teacher, other teachers were contacted through “snowball” sampling, with the collaboration of respondents themselves. This form of non-probabilistic sampling is used mainly for exploratory purposes and has proven to be an opportune technique for studying different social groups (Vinuto, 2014). In the case of the category investigated, teacher collaboration proved to be fundamental for accessing the interviewees, especially considering the delicate moment of resuming in-person activities in schools.

The interviews took place between February and June 2023, after the end of emergency remote work at REEP, which allowed for a discussion about the resumption period as well as the period immediately preceding it. The script for the semi-structured interviews consisted of 28 questions divided into five chunks: (1) profile of teaching workers; (2) reality of work; (3) REEP’s educational policies; (4) life outside of work; (5) free time and leisure.

Chart 1 below, with the fictitious name of each participant, presented the characterization of the 12 teachers interviewed (7 women and 5 men) during the research⁴.

Chart 1

Profile of teachers interviewed

Name	Age	Form of hiring	Teaches at a reference/full-time school	Time working in the state network	Number of children	Marital status	Another paid activity
Eduardo	40	Effective	Reference and full-time	15 years	1	Married	Yes
José	52	Effective	Traditional and nontraditional education	21 years	1	Married	Yes
Silvia	50	Effective	Nontraditional education	18 years	0	Divorced	Yes
Tiago	35	Effective	Traditional and nontraditional	4 years	0	Married	Yes

3 The search was carried out on the CAPES theses and dissertations portal, CAPES journals portal and SciELO.

4 It is important to emphasize that the research was approved by the proposing institution’s Research Ethics Committee, under Opinion 4,945,168, and that all ethical conduct established by current legislation was followed.

education							
Flávia	55	Effective	Reference and part-time	27 years	2	Married	Yes
Clara	29	Effective	Reference and full-time of two shifts	4 years	0	Married	Yes
Igor	29	Temporary	Regular	2 years	0	Single	Yes
Cíntia	42	Temporary	Regular	2 years	0	Single	Yes
Eduarda	39	Effective	Reference and full-time	7 years	2	Widowed	Yes
Angelina	59	Effective	Reference and full-time	33 years	1	Divorced	Yes
Diego	45	Effective	Reference and full-time	16 years	1	Married	No
Josefa	36	Temporary	Reference and full-time	20 years	0	Single	No

Source: own elaboration.

The number of participants was defined based on the interview saturation criterion, i.e., based on the idea that object size and study complexity are elements that should guide the number of people interviewed. Thus, after establishing the necessary proximity to the field, verifying the recurrence of information and elements considered sufficient to answer the initial questions, the interviews were concluded (Minayo, 2009; 2017).

In this sense, it is important to highlight that recurrence of information about the overestimation of the work sphere over other dimensions of life and observation that free time and leisure are even more diminished among teachers that were among the criteria for finalizing the interviews. Furthermore, as stated, the discussions arising from these observations also served to organize the way in which the arguments present in this article were presented.

The interviews were transcribed⁵, and to explore the material, categorical content analysis by topic was used (Bardin, 2011; Souza Júnior *et al.*, 2010). More than the search for statistical inferences, the organization of this form of analysis considers material interpretation based on the cores of meaning, significance and contradictions related to the social dynamics and the object investigated (Souza Júnior *et al.*, 2010). Thus, we sought to identify the thematic core through the mobilization of analytical and empirical categories. The analytical categories, defined *a priori* and supported by the theoretical framework used, were teaching work and leisure as well as the reapplication of the categories in the gender perspective. The empirical categories, determined after the interviews with teachers, were remote work and leisure time.

⁵ The interviews resulted in 80 pages of transcripts. Some excerpts from these transcripts are presented and discussed in the following sections.

| **Work oversizing over leisure time**

Since the COVID-19 pandemic, remote work, via virtual platforms and environments, has become widespread. In the state of Pernambuco, the operation of schools and other public or private educational establishments was suspended as of March 18, 2020, by Decree 48.810/2020 (Pernambuco, 2020a). Remote school activities, in turn, were regulated by means of Normative Instruction of the State Department of Education and Sports 007/2020 (Pernambuco, 2020b).

As in many occupations, teachers began to unexpectedly and improvise their activities from home. In this context, professional and private obligations began to occur simultaneously. The boundaries between personal life and work became blurred, with work activities taking precedence over other aspects of life (Silvestre *et al.*, 2023; Souza *et al.*, 2021).

By supporting this fact, it is worth highlighting the interview with Teacher Silvia, who reported how boundaries between personal life and work were blurred with the spread of emergency remote teaching. In the dialogue about the relationship between work and other times of life, more precisely about leisure, the teacher expressed the following argument:

Yes, leisure, personal life [...]. Yes! It mixed a lot. So, you had to build this [...] separation, but sometimes it didn't separate, because you were at home. So you were in your space, so I'll just put on the "uniform" and that's it, I'd wear flip-flops [...] so, it really, really mixed [...]. (Teacher Silvia – March 2023)

Remote classes were linked to different challenges for teachers, who had to adapt to their home environment due to work. After all, in addition to the development of the teaching activity itself, the costs of materials, furniture, energy and the creation of conditions for the execution of an activity were the responsibility of teachers. Teacher Diego, who had an effective contract and taught full-time at a reference school, commented on the new expenses during this period: "We continued to give our classes, even remotely, spending a lot of money. We were the ones who bought the equipment" (Teacher Diego – June 2023).

Transfer of costs to workers was not an advent of the pandemic period, but was intensified during the period of emergency remote teaching. For Antunes (2018), it is typical of the current stage of capitalist development to impose on workers expenses that were previously considered the responsibility of employers. Souza *et al.* (2021, p.10) add that: "It seems correct to state that this is a new and complex configuration of work that is deepened in the context of the pandemic and makes exacerbated use of technology, articulating new modes of control, extraction of surplus labor and social surplus value".

The need to reorganize teaching work went hand in hand with the extension of working day and work intensification (Silvestre *et al.*, 2023). The most immediate consequence, based on the idea that work and leisure form a binomial in which the movement of one interferes with the movement of the other (Padilha, 2003), is the oversizing of the sphere of work over leisure.

Given the predominance of a life taken up by work and, consequently, with little free time, the teachers interviewed reported a decrease in the time dedicated to other aspects of life, including leisure. Thus, of the 12 teachers interviewed, 10 reported not having enough time for activities and experiences related to leisure. Teacher Eduarda even considered the possibility of her other work activity being seen as leisure⁶, but she stressed that she did not have time for these activities, as explained in the following passage:

My work is not from here [state school] – on the weekends, I do online mentoring –, but on the weekends I also do in-person events, we have meetings, we do things, we teach people [...]. So, I interact with people and I look at my work in person, in person on the weekends. I travel a lot. This weekend I'm going to the countryside to do this work. I also see it as leisure because it's something I like, but like... [leisure] doesn't exist, today I still don't have it. (Teacher Eduarda – June 2023)

When asked about what could be changed in work dynamics to alter this situation, the majority of teachers stated that they would need more free time. To achieve this, they would need adequate working conditions, limited working hours, fewer work activities taken home as well as other material conditions that would allow time for leisure. However, as highlighted, reality is expressed differently. In addition to work taking up a large portion of their time, the teachers interviewed think about their teaching activities even when they should not be working. See the example of Teacher Flávia, when asked if she thinks about work when she is not working:

I'm traveling... I'm taking pictures, I'm getting ideas for my classes and I put them on my slides. I'm watching TV, watching a movie, I get an idea. I'm watching a documentary, I say, "Wow! This is a good part to work on." I was walking down the street, and then I saw some really beautiful cacti in Candeias [coastal region of the municipality of Jaboatão dos Guararapes-PE] which has an area where I come to pick a piece of cactus to use in my class. I'm... it's like that, there's no way around it, teachers have a very connected mindset, it's hard for a teacher to disconnect. (Teacher Flávia – March 2023)

According to Cardoso (2017), "working time" refers to the time when workers are in their work environment, during their official working hours. "Time dedicated to work" refers to everything related to professional practice. In many cases, these are activities that cause stress to workers, whether in the physical, psychological or emotional spheres. However, these times are not paid or considered part of their working day.

The fact is that the teachers investigated demonstrated that they are connected to work all the time, living according to work organization. During the moments that, in theory, would be for rest and leisure activities, they are looking for improvement or planning for the next day's class. When they organize to watch a movie, for instance, in many cases, they are looking for something related to their profession. During vacations, trips or other activities, teachers report that they make records to be used in their future teaching activities.

⁶ As highlighted in the introduction, work and leisure make up the totality of social time organization. Despite this, they are distinct categories. Leisure is understood here as the predominant form of appropriation of free time over the current form of social organization (Marcassa, 2003; Mascarenhas, 2003; Padilha, 2003).

This reality does not simply refer to the advent of teaching work since the pandemic. On the contrary, it is a constitutive part of teaching work in relation to concrete reality. As Tardif (2012) argues, among the other types of knowledge that constitute teaching work, the category of experiences stands out. In this category, teachers, in the daily exercise of their functions, develop knowledge that expresses their knowledge of their reality in relation to the teaching process with students. This is a complex, contradictory process determined by human relationships. Teachers who seek to qualify their practice are constantly searching for elements that contribute to their social performance.

However, as highlighted, teaching work in Brazil has been marked by processes of precariousness, flexibility and intensification for decades. In this context, combined with the growing use of ICTs, especially after the emergency remote teaching, boundaries between work and leisure have become even more blurred for this category. Thus, glimpses of disconnection from work, even after the return to in-person activities, tend to become increasingly scarce.

The marks of remote teaching upon the return of in-person activities were observed in the dialogue recorded below:

Currently, we have brought a lot of things from the pandemic into our work routine that I don't allow myself to do. Let me explain: we have a group [...] everywhere now has a WhatsApp group, I believe there is, and here we have a group [...] but I delimit it (Teacher Eduarda, June 2023).

Given these elements, it is worth mentioning that the process of intensification of teaching work, catalyzed by the advent of emergency remote work during the COVID-19 pandemic, does not manifest itself in the same way for all teaching workers. While the responsibility for unpaid domestic work falls mainly on women, it is worth looking more closely at the changes resulting from the remote period from a gender perspective. After all, as highlighted, REEP teachers form a predominantly female category. This will be precisely the discussion of the next section.

| Gender, invisible work and (non) leisure among REEP teachers

For the discussions in this section, it is essential to define the concept of sexual division of labor. This concept should not be understood as a biological product from a naturalist perspective. As Kergoat (2009) highlights, it is the historically constructed division of social labor.

The conditions in which men and women live are not the product of biological destiny, but rather social constructions. Men and women are not a collection – or two collections – of biologically different individuals. They form two social groups involved in a specific social relationship: the social relations of sex. These, like all social relations, have a material basis, in this case work, and are expressed through the social division of labor between the sexes, called, concisely, the sexual division of labor. (Kergoat, 2009, p. 67)

Work, according to Saffioti (2013), is the result of the struggle between human beings and nature in the social process of production and reproduction of life. According to the same author, the emergence of capitalism occurred in extremely adverse conditions for women⁷, since, under the patriarchal gender order, care and tasks related to human life reproduction and care remained delegated to the female population (Saffioti, 2013). In this context, there is an overlap of paid work, under inferior conditions to men, added to the responsibility for unpaid domestic work, which greatly impacts women's daily lives and use of time.

Based on these considerations, it would be clear to announce that an investigation into teaching work should consider sexual division of labor. However, this is not just a matter of reaffirming this argument. It is also worth highlighting the fact that teaching work, according to Hirata (2005), as well as unpaid domestic work, is among the professions considered traditionally feminine, understood as an activity of the same nature as care and motherhood.

From this perspective, the example of Teacher Cíntia, who, in addition to her temporary contract at a regular school in the state of Pernambuco, has two other paid activities, is emblematic. The teacher argues that, due to her dynamic life, it is difficult to answer about her leisure time:

Look, this question is more difficult, because I usually take my weekends off to organize what I didn't have time to do during the week. So, I do a lot of things around the house, household chores on the weekend. And so, as a matter of leisure, when I sometimes go to the fair [...]. (Teacher Cíntia – June 2023)

Furthermore, when the dialogue established was focused on the relationships between work and impacts on leisure, especially when considering its multiple employment relationships, the teacher brought the following argument:

So, at the moment, I don't see that work interferes with my leisure time. In fact, it's an accumulation of domestic activities, at home, that I've taken on and I'm not able to organize myself during this period, you know? Because I have the weekend and I end up using it to do household activities, I believe that work doesn't interfere with my leisure time. (Teacher Cíntia – June 2023)

The teacher reported that she lives with her parents, and that part of the housework is her responsibility and the rest is her mother's. Although Cíntia does not relate the lack of free time to her long working hours, she points to the housework she does on weekends as one of the reasons that impacts what would be her leisure time.

This example shows the two organizing principles of sexual division of labor discussed by Hirata and Kergoat (2007): hierarchy and separation. The first, hierarchy, where men's work, historically linked to the productive field, is considered more important than domestic work, associated with women. Thus, the teacher does not consider domestic tasks as work activities, since there is no financial reward. The second principle, separation, concerns the fact that there are jobs for men and women (Hirata & Kergoat, 2007). From this perspective, although Cíntia

⁷ In this sense, Federici (2017) highlights that violence against women acquired a central role in the process of the so-called primitive accumulation of capitalism.

shares the house with her parents, domestic work is the responsibility of only the women in the house.

Examples like this were identified in all the conversations with the teachers interviewed. In the case of male teachers, however, the relationship was the opposite, i.e., it was not the male teachers who were responsible for domestic work, but rather their female partners. Teacher Thiago, when discussing the division of tasks in his home, argued that he should collaborate, but then considered that the majority of the tasks fall on his partner. Not only the greater quantity, but the entire weight of the responsibility for carrying out this work.

You see [...] we are very [...] we share things a lot. So much so that just as she also shares the financial issue, we, I am aware of this [...] to also share the activities. Lately we have even been hiring some people to do it, now, in reality the heaviest part is hers, you know? But there is a contribution from me too. (Teacher Thiago – March 2023)

It is also worth highlighting the case of Teacher Eduarda. The teacher, a widow who lives with her two children and her younger brother, commented on the division of domestic work in her home, as shown below:

At my house, everyone does it, because my son is 20 years old, my brother is younger than me and the girl is eight, but everyone does their part, because there is no way, I can only do what I just mentioned [have two paid activities, to support the family], because when I arrive, I have a base, right? My brother helps, my son too, so the household burden is not just mine [...] everyone contributes. (Teacher Eduarda – June 2023)

Despite arguing that “everyone does it”, the use of the term “help” to refer to the participation of other family members in household activities reinforces that responsibility and management of domestic environments continue to be women’s responsibility. In the case of Teacher Eduarda, although she is the only source of family income, the reality is no different. Even when women are included in the job market, they remain in charge of managing the home, whether in domestic work and/or care activities.

In international literature, such as Shockley *et al.* (2021), the discussion about the responsibility for domestic work during the COVID-19 pandemic was also prominent. The aforementioned study, when investigating American couples during the COVID-19 health emergency, observed that in cases where both had paid work and began to carry out this activity remotely, there was a more equal division of domestic tasks.

On the other hand, in a survey conducted with teaching workers, Boix *et al.* (2023) highlighted that female teachers are always busier with domestic work than male teachers. Furthermore, they demonstrate that this is not just a perception of women, since men also identify that women have more responsibilities and are busier in domestic environments (Boix *et al.*, 2023).

In the case of the REEP teachers surveyed, perception was similar to that of the last survey cited. The fact is that 9 out of the 12 interviewees directly assumed that

women are the main ones responsible for domestic work or childcare. This is not an isolated characteristic, and data from the ongoing Brazilian National Household Sample Survey confirm the statements of the teachers interviewed. In Brazil, in 2022, women spent 9.6 hours more per week than men on domestic activities. In homes where both have paid work, women continue to do more housework, almost seven hours more per week than men. Furthermore, in the Northeast region, where the survey was conducted, the difference was the largest in Brazil between men and women: women spent 18 hours more per week on housework than men (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (In Portuguese, *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* – IBGE), 2023).

In short, despite the plasticity of social gender relations (Kergoat, 2009), and regardless of the form of employment, age or marital status, it was observed that the responsibility for unpaid domestic work and caring for people always falls on women.

The discussions and examples on sexual division of labor, in addition to observation of gender inequalities, are also fundamental to understanding the relationship between work and leisure. After all, movements in the world of work directly influence leisure time. In this sense, it is worth highlighting that the sexual division of labor impacts women's leisure time as a whole, since there is a burden of unpaid domestic work. Lack of time and financial limitations correspond to the main barriers to guaranteeing women's right to leisure (Bonalume *et al.*, 2023).

Leisure activities were certainly impacted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ribeiro *et al.* (2020), in a study with different social groups, with a prevalence of 77% of women among the 539 participants, indicated that 15% did not have time for leisure due to paid work and that 15% did not experience leisure activities due to unpaid domestic work. Concerning teachers, Silva *et al.* (2023), in a longitudinal study with teachers in the state of Minas Gerais, also identified a greater lack of leisure experiences among female teachers when compared to male teachers.

In agreement with Silvestre and Amaral (2017), in addition to less free time, the diversity of women's leisure activities was also shown to be smaller, their activities are predominantly carried out in domestic environments, unlike men, who predominantly carry out activities outside the home. However, it was identified that, throughout the period of emergency remote teaching, the difference in the diversity of leisure activities between men and women decreased. As described by Teacher Angelina, who shows the restriction of leisure activities outside the home during the pandemic period:

[...] because we were remote, because we couldn't go out, right? There was no way to have leisure time because of the pandemic, but when I had the opportunity, I went out wearing a mask [...]. (Teacher Angelina – June 2023)

Since both genders were forced to stay at home due to the public health emergency, men and women had their leisure activities carried out in the domestic environment, which thus reduced the difference that exists when both genders can carry out their activities outside the private environment. Upon returning to in-

person classes, however, it was observed that the previous logic prevailed again: female teachers had leisure activities experienced primarily in the domestic environment when compared to male teachers.

In short, the discussion on the relationship between working time and leisure time among teachers must consider the most recent changes in work processes. The growing use of ICTs and the need to consider the profound inequalities between men and women stand out, since the characteristics of work and leisure time between men and women have shown significant differences.

| Final considerations

This research aimed to analyze the impacts of the emergency remote work period, as well as those that remained after the return to in-person work, on REEP teachers' work and leisure time, and to discuss the differences observed in the organization of these social times from the gender perspective.

Based on the analyses carried out, it is possible to state that there was an increase in teaching work time during the COVID-19 pandemic. Hence, the leisure time of the teachers interviewed was reduced due to the introduction of emergency remote teaching. Added to this context is the increased use of ICTs in the teaching and learning process. It is worth noting, however, that these changes were not restricted to the period of the COVID-19 pandemic. Changes in the teaching work process, which have been ongoing for decades, were accelerated during emergency remote teaching, which contributed to blurring the boundaries between work and leisure. Work entered other dimensions of life, with the home becoming a work environment, which increased the costs of materials. Working hours were extended, teachers reported having difficulty "disconnecting" from work, and the few who said they experienced leisure activities used this time for activities related to their professional development.

Regarding differences in leisure enjoyment, it was observed that women have less access to leisure than men, due to unpaid domestic work, regardless of the form of employment. In short, sexual division of labor impacts female teachers' leisure time. In relation to the range of leisure activities, it was observed that the gap that existed in the diversity of practices between men and women before the COVID-19 pandemic was reduced during the period of greatest incidence of remote work, since both genders were forced to stay at home due to the health emergency.

It is concluded that REEP teachers' leisure time has been impacted in relation to their work time since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. At the same time, it is noted that the return to in-person activities was not accompanied by social time organization resumption as before.

It is worth noting that we believe that the gaps left by this research, such as the specific investigation on teachers with more than one employment relationship or the specific analysis on the different forms of hiring, deserve to be further investigated. Likewise, it is pertinent to conduct studies that are dedicated to

discussing the advancement of the use of ICTs on teaching work and the impacts on free time and leisure.

Finally, it is also necessary to conduct more research on work, leisure and gender among teachers in different states, regions and education networks in the country. Therefore, it is worth observing the impacts of changes in the teaching work process on these dimensions as well as analyzing the resistance of teachers to the process of intensification and precariousness of their work.

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Resumo

A pesquisa teve o objetivo de compreender os efeitos do período de trabalho remoto, decorrente da pandemia da covid-19, assim como aqueles que permaneceram após o retorno presencial, sobre o tempo de trabalho e lazer de docentes da Rede Estadual de Educação de Pernambuco (REEP). Da mesma forma, buscou analisar as diferenças observadas na organização desses tempos sociais a partir do recorte de gênero. Configurou-se como uma investigação qualitativa, baseada em análises de documentos e na realização de entrevistas semiestruturadas com 12 docentes vinculados(as) a essa rede de ensino. As entrevistas foram interpretadas por meio da análise de conteúdo categorial por temática. Argumenta-se que, mesmo após o retorno presencial, algumas das características advindas do período remoto foram mantidas e que a dinâmica laboral, intensificada pelo uso das Tecnologias da Informação e Comunicação (TICs), acarreta o superdimensionamento do trabalho em detrimento do lazer, principalmente entre as mulheres professoras.

Palavras-chave: Trabalho e Educação. Tempo Livre. Lazer. Gênero. Covid-19.

Resumen

La investigación buscó comprender los efectos del trabajo remoto, derivado de la pandemia de Covid-19, y los cambios posteriores al regreso presencial en el tiempo de trabajo y ocio de los profesores de la Red Estatal de Educación de Pernambuco. También analizó las diferencias en la organización de estos tiempos desde una perspectiva de género. Se trató de un estudio cualitativo basado en análisis de documentos y entrevistas semiestruturadas con 12 profesores. Los resultados sugieren que algunas características del período remoto se mantuvieron y que la intensificación del trabajo mediante el uso de nuevas tecnologías ha aumentado la carga laboral, afectando especialmente el tiempo de ocio de las mujeres docentes.

Palabras clave: Trabajo y Educación. Tiempo Libre. Ocio. Género. Covid-19.

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