



Social Psychology

Work conditions of women: An integrative review of the Brazilian literature


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Abstract

The study aimed to identify, describe and analyze the conditions of women's work reported in the Brazilian scientific literature. An integrative review was performed in the SciELO and PePSIC databases, using the descriptors "trabalho feminino" and "trabalho AND gênero". The search resulted in 238 articles, of which 22 were selected. The analysis resulted into three categories: Gender relations and conflicts in the work environment; Work and family; and Precarization of the work. Precarious work, power relations and the sexual division of labor are the main dimensions related to the working conditions of women. Gender differences remain entrenched in the female labor context and are often treated in a naturalized way. The conquest of a place in the world of work by women happened in parallel with the perpetuation of obligations towards the family and, as a consequence, established a double (or triple) working day.

Keywords: women's work; precarization; gender inequality; sexual division of labor; work conditions.

CONDIÇÕES DO TRABALHO DA MULHER: UMA REVISÃO INTEGRATIVA DA LITERATURA BRASILEIRA

Resumo

A pesquisa objetivou identificar, descrever e analisar as condições do trabalho da mulher relatadas na literatura científica brasileira. Foi realizada uma revisão integrativa nas bases de dados Scielo e Pepsic, utilizando como descritores "trabalho feminino" e "trabalho AND gênero". A busca resultou em 238 artigos, dos quais 22 foram selecionados. A análise resultou na divisão de três categorias: Relações de gênero e conflitos no ambiente laboral; Trabalho e família; e Precarização do trabalho. O trabalho precarizado, relações de poder e a divisão sexual do trabalho são as principais dimensões relacionadas com as condições de trabalho de mulheres. As diferenças de gênero permanecem arraigadas no contexto laboral, muitas vezes, tratadas de forma naturalizada. A conquista de um espaço no mundo do trabalho por parte das mulheres aconteceu de modo paralelo à perpetuação de obrigações para com a família e instaurou, como consequência, a dupla (ou tripla) jornada de trabalho.

Palavras-chave: trabalho da mulher; precarização; desigualdade de gênero; divisão sexual do trabalho; condições de trabalho.

CONDICIONES DEL TRABAJO DE LA MUJER: UNA REVISIÓN INTEGRATIVA DE LA LITERATURA BRASILEÑA

Resumen

La investigación objetivó identificar, describir y analizar las condiciones del trabajo de la mujer relatadas en la literatura científica brasileña. Se realizó una revisión integrativa en las bases de datos Scielo y Pepsic, utilizando como descriptores “trabajo femenino” y “trabajo AND género”. La búsqueda resultó en 238 artículos, de los cuales 22 fueron seleccionados. Los resultados se dividieron en tres categorías: Relaciones de género y conflictos en el ambiente laboral; Trabajo y familia; y Precarización del trabajo. Trabajo precarizado, relaciones de poder y división sexual del trabajo son las principales dimensiones relacionadas con las condiciones de trabajo de las mujeres. Las diferencias de género permanecen arraigadas en el contexto laboral, muchas veces tratadas de forma naturalizada. La conquista de un espacio en el trabajo por parte de las mujeres ocurrió de modo paralelo a las obligaciones con la familia e instauró, como consecuencia, la doble (o triple) jornada de trabajo.

Palabras clave: Trabajo de la mujer; La precariedad; Desigualdad de género; División sexual del trabajo; Condiciones laborales.

1. Introduction

Analyzing the “work” phenomenon allows us to consider a diversity of ways of experiencing productive activities, in addition to those identified by the Fordist/Taylorist organizations and modes of production that, historically and socially, designed the labor contexts. A variability of ways of working can be observed, including the various forms of precarization (Antunes, 2011).

This article presents a discussion regarding the problems that are intertwined in the world of contemporary work, from the axes: work, woman and gender, from the perspective of work psychology and sociology. From the outset, research on the world of work was based on the working conditions and the life of the working class in Europe, where women represented a significant contingent – a quarter of the workforce (Holzmann, 2011).

Regarding the relationship between work and gender, studies by Rago (2009) present a discussion regarding the universe of female labor in Brazil in the first decades of the twentieth century. The author states that a large part of the proletariat at that time was made up of women and children. Historically, the insertion of women into the world of work was marked by long working hours, de-

grading conditions and a subordinate function to a male boss, elements pervaded by gender issues and the sexual and social division of the labor (Guiraldelli, 2012; Holzmann, 2011; Rago, 2009). Accordingly, “the mere fact that women work does not lead to a subversion of the relationships of sexual domination [...] in effect, the non-subversion of the relationships of sexual domination in our societies, its transmission from one generation to another, is still enigmatic” (Debout, 2018, p. 91, our translation).

It is important to emphasize that the theme “gender” is something emblematic, being necessary to conceptualize and specify the use of the term. The concept of gender as a grammatical term is often used erroneously since, in terms of gender, traits related to the sexual nature are evoked in a limiting way (Scott, 1995). The concept of gender under discussion is understood as a historical process, independent of the relationships specifically established with sex, which contributes to the understanding of women’s work and gender relations, associated with studies on the sexual division of labor (Holzmann, 2011). Gender does not come from biology, with the differences between men and women in the world of work being part of a social construction (Debout, 2018).

Currently, female employment in Brazil is divided into two poles, one minority side constituted by executives and professionals with higher education, and a majority pole, made up of women in traditionally female activities in the sectors of health, education, domestic employment and office work, with a trend towards outsourcing (Hirata, 2016).

Despite the global economic crisis and the Brazilian recession, women have been able to maintain and even increase their participation in the labor market. Working rates have grown; however, the jobs created are considered to be vulnerable and precarious, with the expansion of informal work (Hirata, 2016). The need to reconcile domestic work and paid work often leads women to “choose” work activities more compatible with family demands (Sorj & Fontes, 2009), and in this sense, informal work tends to be more flexible and accessible to female workers.

Just like women, young people under 25 and black people make up a section of the population that is most exposed to informal and precarious jobs. Regarding the trend of precarization, Hirata (2011) presented a study about this phenomenon in Brazil, France and Japan, and emphasized that the precarization of the work and the precarization of the family are strongly associated, above all, with women.

Precarious work is defined by the author as a type of work that induces the worker to an intensification of the workday, with difficult and arduous conditions. For Kalleberg (2009), precarious work can be understood as uncertain, unpredictable and risky, from the worker's point of view, and in less developed or developing countries it is usually tied to informal labor activities.

With the increase in the insertion of women into the labor market and the growing discussion about gender issues in the work environment (Antunes, 2011; Hirata, 2016; Rago, 2009), several studies have been carried out with the aim of comprehending, from the most varied perspectives, how these transformations have been taking place and shaping our society. This is especially the case with regard to the question of the social and sexual division of labor, the elements of which reinforce an asymmetry that commonly determines that productive work is appropriate for men and reproductive work for women.

Given this plurality, the conflicts and the increase in the insertion of women into the labor market, the following question arises:

- under what conditions have women gained space in the work?

Therefore, the aim of this study was to identify, describe and analyze the conditions of women's work in the last ten years (2006–2016), using the Brazilian scientific literature as the basis.

2. Methods

The integrative systematic review of the literature is a research method that seeks to integrate and organize research results on a given topic, allowing a panorama of the scientific production to be outlined for the purpose of obtaining a deeper understanding (Botelho, Cunha, & Macedo, 2011; Mendes, Silveira, & Galvão, 2008).

For this study, the steps used were: selection of the theme and descriptors, definition of the databases for the search; establishment of the sample selection criteria; identification of the overall panorama of the search results; elaboration of a table with the data of the articles selected for analysis; and the construction of an integrative review of the literature on the conditions of women's work in the Brazilian scenario.

Firstly, a bibliographic survey was carried out in January of 2017, in the databases SciELO and PePSIC, using the descriptors: a) trabalho feminino (female work), b) trabalho AND gênero (work AND gender). The descriptor “condição de trabalho” (working conditions) was not included, since the authors identified that this inclusion would restrict the search results, which would omit articles relevant to the study. However, working conditions were considered essential for the articles to be analyzed. In addition, the following inclusion criteria were used: articles presenting results of empirical research with primary data, productions developed in the Brazilian context, and publications in the Portuguese language, between 2006 and 2016.

A total of 238 articles were retrieved from the two databases. After applying the inclusion criteria and removing duplicates, 73 potentially relevant articles remained. Next, in order to select only the productions that presented the theme of working condition of women in Brazil, the abstracts of the 73 articles were read and, when necessary, the articles were read in full. In order to avoid biases, the selection process was carried out independently by two reviewers and, in the case of differences, a consensus was reached. At the end of this preliminary analysis, 51 articles were excluded from the review because they did not explicitly present information on women’s working conditions. A total of 22 articles were included in the review.

Figure 2.1 shows the detailed flowchart of the results obtained, from the search in the databases, with the respective descriptors, up to the selection of the articles used for the analysis of this research.

Thematic content analysis developed by Bardin (2011) was chosen for the analysis of the data. After successive readings of the selected articles, it was possible to divide the information about the “working conditions of women” into three thematic categories: 1) Gender relations and conflicts in the work environment; 2) Work and family; and 3) Precarization of the work. The categories were created by addressing the themes that emerged most during the analysis of the articles. However, they in no way exhausted the diversity of information found.

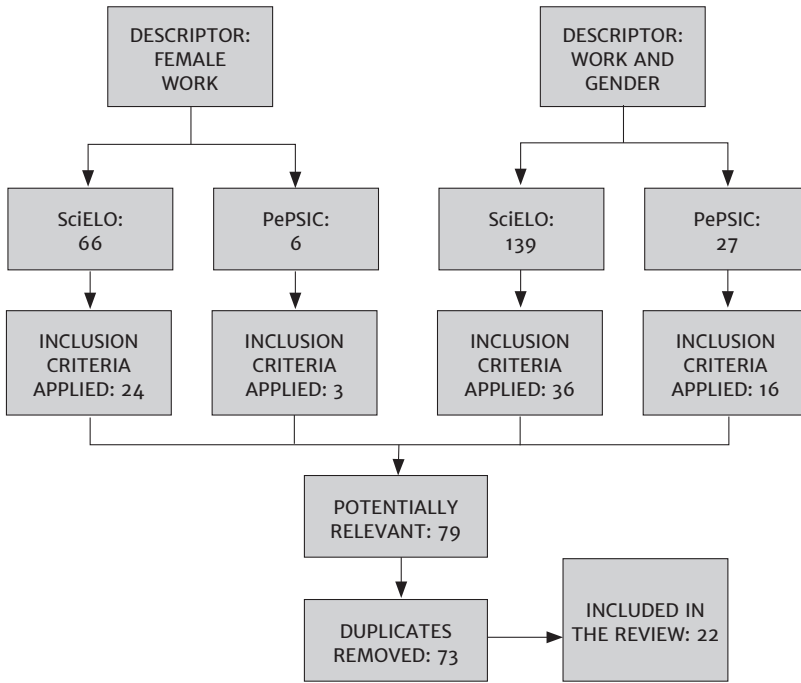


Figure 2.1. Flowchart of the selection process of the articles for the integrative review

3. Results

3.1 Characterization of the studies reviewed

The study universe consisted of 238 articles that included the descriptors, of which 22 were selected due to fulfilling the inclusion criteria. Among them, attention is drawn to the predominance of studies carried out in the Southern and Southeastern regions of the country: 77% of the total (17/22). With three studies carried out in Paraíba, representing the Northeastern region. Only one study was performed in the Northern region, in Rondônia, and one study at the national level. These data reflect the disparities of the Brazilian scientific field, with the concentration of research in certain regions and a lack of studies that cover the geographic diversity of the country.

The majority of the studies were qualitative (19/22) and, regarding the data collection methods, it was observed that individual interviews were used in 69% of

the articles (15/22), followed by discussion groups (focal group, group interview, and extended research communities), at 30% (7/22). In 12 articles, more than one method was used for the collection of empirical data.

In relation to the work activities investigated, the health area (4/22), including physicians, nursing professionals and community health agents, and early childhood and fundamental education teachers (3/22) stand out. A small number of studies were found that investigated work activities that require higher education (6/22), and a large number of studies with work activities that do not require academic training (12/22), including collectors of recyclable materials, community health agents, prostitutes, construction painters, homemakers, security guards, servants, and factory workers in general. It can be seen that, for the most part, the labor activities encountered relate to the sphere of productive work, the market and formal employment. Exceptions were collectors of recyclable materials, prostitutes, homemakers and construction painters. Of the 22 articles analyzed, 77.3% (17/22) investigated formal work, while 22.7% (5/22) addressed informal work.

Table 3.1 provides a detailed view of the characteristics of the studies reviewed according to authorship, year, location of the study, type of study and occupation investigated.

Table 3.1. Characterization of the reviewed studies

Author / Year	Location	Nature of the study	Occupation
Elias and Navarro (2006)	Uberlândia, MG	Qualitative	Nursing assistants, nursing technicians and nurses
Neves and Silva (2006)	João Pessoa, PB	Qualitative	Elementary education teachers
Carlo and Bulgacov (2007)	Curitiba, PR	Qualitative	Factory floor workers
Diogo and Maheirie (2007)	Florianópolis, SC	Qualitative	Staff responsible for cleaning and maintenance in a company – servants
Maciel et al. (2007)	Brazil	Quantitative	Bank workers

(continue)

Table 3.1. Caracterização dos estudos revisados (*conclusion*)

Author / Year	Location	Nature of the study	Occupation
Diogo and Maheirie (2008)	Florianópolis, SC	Qualitative	Staff responsible for cleaning and maintenance in a company – servants (explores domestic work)
Almeida, Neves, and Santos (2010)	João Pessoa, PB	Qualitative	Elementary education teachers
Amato et al. (2010)	Juiz de Fora, MG	Quanti-quali	Firefighters
Bazzarelli and Amorim (2010)	Estado de São Paulo	Qualitative	Physicians and nurses
Cappelle and Melo (2010)	Belo Horizonte, MG	Qualitative	Police officers
Zibetti and Pereira (2010)	Municípios do interior de Rondônia	Qualitative	Early childhood education teachers
Prazeres and Navarro (2011)	Franca, SP	Qualitative	Employees of a shoe factory – sewing machine operators
Barbosa et al. (2012)	Rio de Janeiro, RJ	Qualitative	Community Health Agents – CHAs
Ribeiro, Nardi, and Machado (2012)	Porto Alegre, RS	Qualitative	Collectors of recyclable materials
Bezerra, Minayo, and Constantino (2013)	Rio de Janeiro, RJ	Qualitative	Police officers
Arreal and López (2014)	Porto Alegre, RS	Qualitative	Night workers in the metal-mechanical sector
D'Ávila Neto and Jardim (2015)	Soledade, PB	Qualitative	Workers of the semiarid region (homemakers)
Landerdahl et al. (2015)	Santa Maria, RS	Qualitative	Construction painters

(continue)

Table 3.1. Caracterização dos estudos revisados (*conclusion*)

Author / Year	Location	Nature of the study	Occupation
Silva and Cappelle (2015)	Municípios do interior de Minas Gerais	Qualitative	Prostitutes
Barbosa and Alvarez (2016)	Bacia de Campos, RJ	Qualitative	Offshore oil workers
Coelho et al. (2016)	Município do interior do RS	Qualitative	Collectors of recyclable materials
Durão and Menezes (2016)	Rio de Janeiro, RJ	Quanti-quali	Community Health Agents – CHAs

3.2 Gender Relations and Conflicts in the Work Environment

Currently, the world of work is undergoing diverse transformations that directly influence the working conditions and the psychic health of workers. When analyzing the 22 articles, contexts demarcated by conflicting relationships between peers were highlighted, with marked aspects of inequalities between men and women in the work environment, starting with the devaluation and invisibility of women's work.

It was possible to identify power relations and gender inequality established in the work environments, regardless of the type of occupation, with even extreme cases of violence at work, as highlighted in the studies with police officers (Bezerira, Minayo, & Constantino, 2013; Cappelle & Melo, 2010), physicians (men and women) and nurses (Bazzarelli & Amarin, 2010), bank workers (men and women) (Maciel et al., 2007) and prostitutes (Silva & Cappelle, 2015).

Various forms of workplace violence have been highlighted in recent years, among them bullying, often veiled and masked by naturalized actions in the workplace. According to Leal et al. (2017), this is a complex and, at the same time, subtle phenomenon characterized by repetition of actions and masked perversity, and it is often "difficult to speak of, identify, name, and consequently make explicit" the moral harassment (p. 412).

In the articles analyzed, violence is perceived as a form of moral harassment, as well as sexual and even physical actions. In sexual terms, it was presented as the

duty of the woman to assume “a position” in relation to the men in the work environment (Carlo & Bulgacov, 2007), with the presence of harassment being a component of various reports (Bezerra, Minayo, & Constantino, 2013; Cappelle & Melo, 2010; Maciel et al. 2007).

The fact of being a woman appeared to be an additional risk for harassment to occur, which was often carried out by her superior, as one of the articles indicates (Maciel et al., 2007). It was observed that the voice of the man carries more weight in the discussions than the woman’s voice and that the men have higher wages and more chances of promotion (Prazeres & Navarro, 2011). Relationships involving subordination and subjection by women were also observed, as shown by studies with police officers (Bezerra, Minayo, & Constantino, 2013) and with prostitutes (Silva & Cappelle 2015).

Violence was present in the reports regardless of the type of occupation. In the case of prostitutes (Silva & Cappelle 2015), coupled with sexual and moral violence, there is also physical violence, with extreme cases of murder by clients.

In the majority of the studies, a differentiation of the traditional functions of the man and the woman in the work was evidenced. In addition, several reports were presented on the non-acceptance by men of women in certain occupations, such as in the case of civil construction (Landerdahl et al., 2015) and police officers (Cappelle & Melo, 2010).

3.3 Work and family

In all the articles analyzed, the maintenance of a double or triple working day by the women was evidenced. It was possible to identify the continuity of the patriarchal family model, in which women are responsible for the domestic chores. An example of this is the case of the study with cleaning workers (Diogo & Maheirie, 2008), in which the domestic work appeared as an exclusively female function.

In the studies with teachers (Neves & Silva, 2006; Zibetti & Pereira, 2010), with employees of a shoe factory (Prazeres & Navarro, 2007) and Community Health Agents – CHAs (Durão & Menezes, 2016), situations were reported where women were forced to work close to home to reconcile work with childcare, overloading them and interfering with their personal lives. Domestic work appears to be intended for the woman, since she “is already born knowing” (Diogo & Maheirie, 2007) and the tasks of “caring” are her responsibility (Durão & Menezes, 2016). In

addition, pregnancy was regarded as synonymous with disorder in the organization of work (Carlo & Bulgacov, 2007).

This fact generates, on one hand, a tension in the workers due to the accumulation of tasks and, on the other hand, a feeling of guilt when they cannot reconcile work and the family (Neves & Silva, 2006).

3.4 Precarization of the work

Several elements present in the articles showed the precarization of the women's working conditions. Inadequate and unhealthy work environments, lack of materials, lack of staff, prescribed work different to the real work, rigid routine, and accumulation of functions were some of the recurring complaints in the studies analyzed.

In relation to payment, discontent with the low rate of remuneration appeared in the studies with employees responsible for the cleaning and maintenance of a company (Diogo & Maheirie, 2007), firefighters (Amato et al., 2010), nursing technicians and assistants (Elias & Navarro, 2006), and teachers (Almeida, Neves, & Santos, 2010; Neves & Silva, 2006; Zibetti & Pereira, 2010). In the case of the latter, the low remuneration led them to work in more than one school, indicating the need to supplement the income and the consequent heavy work burden.

The lack of recognition of their work was cited by nursing professionals (Elias & Navarro, 2006), teachers (Neves & Silva, 2006), cleaners (Diogo & Maheirie, 2007) and sewing machine operators (Prazeres & Navarro, 2011). In the case of the CHAs (Barbosa et al., 2012; Durão & Menezes, 2016) and firefighters (Amato, et al., 2010), the lack of recognition of their work by the institution was cited, despite the existence of recognition by the population.

The precarization of working conditions was also reflected in physical and psychological problems. Headaches and pain in various parts of the body, workplace accidents, exposure to unhealthy environments, and sleep disorders were some of the problems reported several times in the studies. The intense physical demand, coupled with an inadequate work structure, intensified the precariousness of women's work in the occupations analyzed, and consequently impaired their health.

In the case of prostitutes, the risks to which they are exposed were even more severe, with situations of attempted murder, physical violence, proximity to

drugs, prejudice, withdrawal from close people and humiliation. Insecurity regarding their physical integrity, coupled with the banalization of violence against prostitutes resulting from discrimination, caused the fear to be constant (Silva & Capelle, 2015).

It was seen that, in addition to physical problems due to poor working conditions, psychological problems also affected the daily lives of the women. The pressure to achieve goals, the threat of violence (of various orders) and the accumulation of working hours appeared as characteristics of the women's working conditions. As a result, psychic suffering was seen to be a triggering factor for complaints such as fatigue, frustration, depression, and feelings of going mad, among others.

In order to combat stereotypes of fragility, of "work unfit for women," and not to be perceived as incapable of occupying certain positions, many women reported having performed excessive work hours that included overtime and weekend work without any recognition or remuneration. Complaints related to the exhausting and intense work routines were frequent, with no time for rest or leisure, working days of more than 8 hours, and some cases with a time to start activities, but no time to complete them. These aspects contribute to intensify the precarization of the work, with these women often submitting to these routines for fear of losing their job or in order to secure an income.

4. Discussion

Corroborating findings from other studies (Guiraldelli, 2012; Holzmann, 2011; Hirata, 2010; 2016), it was perceived that the entry of women into the world of work is traversed by conditions that involve precariousness, power relations, and sexual and social divisions. The predominance of negative aspects when analyzing women's working conditions is noteworthy.

In general, the studies showed a certain naturalization of the sexual division of labor, with intense working hours, a strong relationship of superiority of men over women, power relations and differentiated earnings. In agreement with Debout (2018), it can be perceived that the divisions of labor between men and women are not only different but are also constituted around a notion of domination of one over the other, in a negative relationship. The sexual division of labor (Hirata, 2015; Kergoat, 2009) is perceived and naturalized in different working contexts,

whether productive or reproductive; professional or domestic, paid or unpaid, formal or informal. This division in the social and labor field contributes to a segregation and hierarchy between the sexes.

It was possible to observe that a binary view remains in the work relationships, i.e., there is a determination of what is proper for men and what is proper for women, with the separation of functions and distribution of activities according to the sexes. Stereotypes of what it is to be a “man” and to be a “woman” legitimize gender inequality in work contexts, and the discriminatory notion remains strongly rooted to women (Holzmann, 2011, Hirata, 2015, 2016).

Female work is linked to reproductive aspects, while male work is linked to productive aspects, contributing to reinforce occupational segregation and wage discrimination, which have remained practically the same in the last ten years, naturalizing the social places assumed. Even though women have achieved higher levels of education than men in almost all industrialized countries, their inferiority situation in the world of work remains, in diverse occupational categories (Bruschini, 1998; Bruschini & Ricoldi, 2009; Guiraldelli, 2012; Hirata, 2015; 2016).

It was noted that, although the participation of women in the labor market has increased, it is still marked by a large difference in relation to the participation of men, confirming aspects of the sexual division of labor. Women continue to find themselves in scenarios considered to be devalued, referring to the thinking of Bruschini (1998), when she analyzed the work of women in Brazil in the period of 1985–1995 and showed changes and permanence related to gender inequalities in the labor context.

Some aspects that characterized precarious work conditions were recurrent in the articles studied: low remuneration, physical and psychological complaints resulting from the activity performed, lack of recognition and excessive burden. The precarization appeared mainly due to the work environments, which did not offer suitable conditions for the performance of the work, with exposure to health risks in unhealthy environments and the threat of violence. It should be noted that women do not escape the pressure for goals and the accelerated pace imposed by neoliberal productivism. In some cases, the precarization of the work was intensified because it was informal work, without the rights and benefits of the labor legislation. These data corroborate Hirata's (2016) and Holzmann's (2011), when they affirm that women's work is linked to less qualified, more repetitive occupa-

tions, in addition to scarce opportunities to access managerial positions, that is, a predominantly precarious context.

The issue of lack of work and the difficulty of access to the formal market is a central element in the production and reproduction of marginalization and vulnerability in the world of work (Arnold & Bongiovi, 2013). It can be assumed that such difficulties lead women to precarious working conditions as a means of securing a source of income.

The study made it possible to highlight that gender differences permeate the labor context, and are often treated in a naturalized way. The conquest of a space in the world of work by women happened in parallel with the perpetuation of their obligations with the family, a determinant in the culture of patriarchy that consequently resulted in a doubling (or tripling) of women's working hours. This shows that, despite the increase in the insertion of women into the labor market, this change did not mean, in the same proportion, the transfer of activities of the domestic sphere to men. It can be seen that the division of domestic work is strongly linked to gender stereotypes (Sorj & Fontes, 2009).

Although there have been changes in the work of women in recent years, the division of labor and the transformation of the reality into the professional and domestic domains seem to be a slow process. The weight of patriarchal ideology, of the macho culture and of the pre-established models, coupled with the fact that the domestic sphere is something private, make this situation more difficult to modify (Hirata, 2010, 2016).

When analyzing gender issues, it is important to realize that

[...] 'man' and 'woman' are, at the same time, empty and overlapping categories. Empty, because they have no ultimate, transcendent meaning. Overflowing, because, even when they seem to be fixed, they still contain within them alternative, negated, suppressed definitions (Scott, 1995, p.93).

It is known that considering only paid activities is limited, because there is a wide range of workers who do not receive money for the activities performed (Kalleberg, 2009). Although it was not an objective of the article to problematize issues related to productive and reproductive work, it can be highlighted that the search results with the selected descriptors show that it is almost exclusively pro-

ductive work that appears in the literature. Of the 22 articles that composed this review, only one dealt with reproductive work (working homemakers of the semi-arid region). Reproductive work, in the home, has been gaining more and more space due to the structural unemployment that affects the majority of women; however, it is emphasized that this movement still needs to grow, become visible and be recognized.

According to Debout (2018), a great deal of work is done free of charge by women when they dedicate themselves to housework, often recognized as being of a supposedly female nature. For the author, a growing movement has described these activities as the fruit of a social determinism that is not related to biology. In view of this, the recognition of the organization and performance of domestic tasks as work is defended, so that “any analysis of work in the social field implies taking into account its articulation with domestic work” (Debout, 2018, p.83, our translation). As long as the responsibilities for the care of the home and the children are not shared equally with men, women will remain in an overburdened and painful position in the world of work.

The analysis of the material made it possible to go beyond the reports described in the articles and to look with a critical and reflexive view at the working conditions of the woman in the various functions covered by the studies. The concrete reality of the working conditions of women has been an unequal relationship, since the beginning, sustained by the social determination of what it is to be a man and to be a woman. The establishment of precarious conditions continues to be a source of suffering and a social problem that needs to be discussed and combated.

If in 2006–2016 an intensification of precarious working conditions was identified for workers, marked by the social and sexual division of labor, now, due to the Labor Reform in Brazil that came into force in 2017, it is assumed that such conditions will tend to worsen in the face of new recruitment modalities, with serious consequences for women. Thus, it is possible to pose the question: what will the working conditions of women be in the following decades? It is known that the social structures that shape the world of work are neither fixed nor carry irreversible consequences. It is therefore recommended that future studies are carried out to analyze women’s work and to “denaturalize” unequal and precarious conditions, in order to help alleviate disparities and precarious working conditions that persist in resisting.

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