NEOLIBERALISM AS A PRODUCER OF PRECARIOUSNESS AND THE SCENARIO OF DOMESTIC WORKERS IN MANAUS

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ABSTRACT

Objective: To investigate the influences of neoliberalism as an economic and social model in the material conditions and subjectivity of domestic workers in the metropolitan region of Manaus.

Theoretical benchmark: domestic work is a historically racialized and precarious profession in Brazil, and this precariousness is intensified by the neoliberal scenario of the global economy of subjectivation.

Method: qualitative research of inductive model was conducted with semi-structured interviews and submitted to content analysis for study.

Results and conclusion: in the analysis were found factors indicative of the effects of neoliberalism both in the material reality of work and in the subjectivity of domestic workers

Implications of research: the research offers new scientific contributions to the theme of domestic work, offering theoretical bases for interventions and public policies that impact this class of workers.

Originality/value: the theme of the research demonstrates high social relevance for a greater political understanding of the socioeconomic scenario around domestic workers and their apprehension for future scientific and public policy works.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Precariousness, Domestic Workers, Subjectivity.

RESUMO

Objetivo: Investigar as influências do neoliberalismo como modelo econômico e social nas condições materiais e subjetividade das trabalhadoras domésticas na região metropolitana de Manaus.

Referencial teórico: o trabalho doméstico é uma profissão historicamente racializada e precarizada no Brasil, sendo essa precarização intensificada pelo cenário neoliberal da economia global de subjetivação.

Método: foi realizada uma pesquisa qualitativa de modelo indutivo com entrevistas semiestruturadas e submetidas à análise de conteúdo para estudo.

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Resultados e conclusão: na análise foram encontrados fatores indicativos de efeitos do neoliberalismo tanto na realidade material do trabalho e na subjetividade das trabalhadoras domésticas

Implicações da pesquisa: a pesquisa oferece novas contribuições científicas para o tema do trabalho doméstico, oferecendo bases teóricas para intervenções e políticas públicas que impactem essa classe de trabalhadoras.

Originalidade/valor: o tema da pesquisa demonstra alta relevância social para uma maior compreensão política do cenário socioeconômico em torno das trabalhadoras domésticas e sua apreensão para futuros trabalhos científicos e políticas públicas.

Palavras-chave: Neoliberalismo, Precariedade, Trabalhadoras Domésticas, Subjetividade.

1 INTRODUCTION

From the political and subjective panoramas, neoliberalism, as explained by da Rosa (2019), would be an expansion of rationality used in markets and governments, marked by a business prism to everyday and existential domains. According to Franco, de Castro, Manzi, Safatle and Ashfar (2020), a relationship that elevates individuals to autonomous agents, who assume the role of "entrepreneurs of themselves", take all individuals as "human capital". This dynamic submits these agents to the logic of capital, going on to place themselves within the same sphere of insecurity in which the companies are inserted into the market.

The material and subjective conditions created by neoliberalism and its objective vulnerability lead to the precarious subjectivity of workers. This phenomenon can be defined as a constant feeling of isolation and instability in their working relationship (Linhart, 2014). It is driven by the perception of workers about the low support of their hierarchical superiors, as well as their co-workers, creating permanent insecurity, which is the feeling of not being protected from a sudden job loss. In this way, subjective precariousness is added to the objective precariousness experienced by workers under neoliberalism.

Vasquez and Falcão (2019) critically addresses the impacts of neoliberalism on working women, highlighting how this ideology produces precariousness and inequality when compared to male colleagues. The authors address how policies of disaccountability of the State and the glorification of inequality as a positive value are central characteristics of neoliberalism, which seeks to maintain a strong State in its capacity to break with the power of trade unions in financial management, but which shows itself to be miserly in social spending and economic interventions. Such actions result in direct impacts on working women, who are most affected by job insecurity and lack of investment in social services. Vasquez and Falcão (2019) highlight the importance of fighting the precariousness of women's work in the sphere of care and of recognizing the importance of reproductive work for the economy and society as a whole. There is therefore strong criticism of neoliberalism and its consequences for working women, pointing to the need for a radical change in economic and social policies to ensure a decent life for all people.

This subjective precariousness impacts most deeply on professional groups with historically more vulnerable labor conditions, such as domestic workers. These women experience a labor scenario tripled by inequalities intrinsic to the composition of the Brazilian nation, which are gender, race and social class (Alcorn, 2020; Justen, Morais-da-Silva, Takahashi & Segatto, 2020).
According to studies by Gontijo and Matos (2021), misogynistic and racist oppressions present in capitalist society disproportionately affect paid domestic workers. This is because these women are often undervalued and undervalued because of their gender and race, which results in low wages, lack of labor and social protection, and poor working conditions. Moreover, the dominant ideology imposes on black women a "historical destiny" of working as servants in the contemporary world, which perpetuates racial and classist discrimination. Intersectionality is fundamental to perceiving how classical feminism, in itself, fails to encompass the different forms of oppression experienced by black women.

In addressing the reality of paid domestic workers in Brazil, Gontijo and Matos (2021) highlight the achievements achieved so far, but also pointing out the limitations and challenges faced by these women. Using a feminist and intersectional approach, the authors analyze the misogynistic and racist oppressions present in capitalist society, which disproportionately affect domestic workers. In addition, the study discusses how the COVID-19 pandemic has further aggravated the social vulnerabilities of these women, who are often forced to work in poor conditions and without adequate protection. Thus, we note a critical and necessary analysis on the reality of paid domestic workers in Brazil, highlighting the importance of fighting for more just and egalitarian labor and social rights.

Ribeiro and Heinem (2023), in turn, address the relationship between neoliberalism and the oppression of women, considering the importance of feminist criticism, especially Marxist feminism, to understand the specific impacts on women. As in the study by Gontijo and Matos (2021), here neoliberal political and economic practices burden women in domestic and care tasks, reinforcing a patriarchal structure present at the heart of capitalism. To address this problem, Marxist feminism indicates the socialization of household tasks as a means of highlighting the collective responsibility for the care and well-being of human beings in society, exposing the limits of neoliberal rationality to the emancipation of women.

In addition, Ribeiro and Heinem (2023) notes the common theme with the studies of Gontijo and Matos (2021) and Vasquez and Falcão (2019) that is the approach of how the values and practices of neoliberalism accentuate a structural inequality in society, disproportionately affecting women. Ribeiro and Heinem (2023) show how neoliberalism specifically affects women, burdening them with domestic and caring work and devaluing them in the labor market. Marxist feminist criticism used here as a fundamental tool to understand these impacts and to build a more just and egalitarian society, creates conditions for building policies and actions in which women can have more time and opportunities to engage in other activities of public life.

Given that there are still gaps in studies focusing on the subjective impacts of neoliberalism on the conditions and subjectivities of women working professionally with domestic work, this research was developed. Thus, the general objective is to investigate the effects of neoliberalism on the subjectivity of domestic workers in the metropolitan region of Manaus. To do so, the inductive method of qualitative research was used, by conducting semi-structured interviews that were subsequently submitted to Content Analysis.

This study is justified because of the social and political relevance of the topic addressed, since the category of domestic workers undergoes a historical process of precariousness that goes back to the origin of this professional class. As Brites points out (2013), domestic work itself is a professional inheritance of the former enslaved black women for their descendants, which today is made up of people who occupy the most vulnerable layers of society.

The article is organized in sections consisting of the introduction in which an overview about the study, the objective, the justification and the relevance of the research is set out. The theoretical framework around the historical construction of the category of domestic workers and neoliberalism is then presented, being subdivided into: (1) domestic work in Brazil and (2) neoliberalism as a producer of precariousness. In the third section one can find the
methodological path followed by the researchers for the collection and interpretation of the data. In the section of the results and discussions, there is the information collected from the participants in the survey and it looks towards the process of making paid domestic work more precarious. To this end, this section was divided into three parts: (1) the fragility of legal protections, (2) the insecurity and individualization of care and (3) the acceptance of a flexible working reality. Finally, we bring up the final considerations of the study, identifying, as well, its inquiries and limitations.

2 THEORETICAL FRAME

To support the analyzes carried out to respond to the objectives of this study, a theoretical framework was constructed composed of basic concepts for the investigation of the theme.

2.1 Domestic Work in Brazil

A domestic worker is, according to Supplementary Law No. 150 (2015), Chapter I, Article 1, like any worker "(...) who provides services continuously, subordinated, onerous and personal and of non-profit purpose to the person or family, in their residential environment, for more than two (2) days per week" (p.1). However, this definition covers only those that have a guaranteed right, under Brazilian law, to be formally registered, forming an employment relationship with their contractor. In everyday reality, other women make up this professional category.

International bodies such as the United Nations [UN] and the International Labor Organization [ILO] (2020) define these workers as persons who carry out domestic and/or third-party care activities in a remunerated manner, with the residence of other persons as working space. Such activity may be carried out on a full-time or part-time basis and the worker may or may not reside in the home in which she is employed. In this sense, the category of domestic workers encompasses not only those who are formally registered, but also the diaristas, who act in an eventual manner in the domiciles, and the outsourced, that is, who maintain employment relationship with companies, but their working environment are the private residences (Pena & Saraiva, 2017; Gomes-Souza, Vieira & Souza, 2022). It is this broader conception that converges with the reality of Brazilian domestic workers that will be used in this study.

Domestic work in Brazil is not disconnected from the history that formed the Brazilian population, since it is understood as a social consequence inherited directly from the colonial and slave-owning period of the country (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada [IPEA], 2019; de Moura, Zeferino & Nascimento, 2020). Thus, it is found that the paid domestic work in the country is carried out, in its vast majority, by black women, economically vulnerable and with little schooling (IPEA, 2020). It is clear, therefore, that these women workers are subject to various layers of discrimination in the social and, consequently, employment spheres, which are derived from the issues of gender, race and social class.

Such a historically constructed condition leads to the exclusion of this layer of workers from recognition as a formal work. The absence of paid domestic work as an employment activity provided for and protected by law in the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT), in 1943, explaining the marginalization of these workers since they already comprised about 5.9 million domestic workers (Saraiva, Bello & Renaux, 2018). The definition of domestic worker was only recognized in the year 1973 by the decree law 71.885/73 (Rodrigues, 2019; Mello, 2020). But it was only in 1988, with the promulgation of the last Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil (1988), that these workers conquered the fundamental rights of every professional, even if these were not yet equal to the other formal workers. In this regard, it is
worth highlighting the role of the Proposal for Constitutional Amendment (PEC) 72 of 2013, popularly called PEC das Domésticas, in guaranteeing workers' basic rights, such as unemployment insurance, Guarantee Fund for Length of Service (FGTS) and remuneration of night work higher than day, as provided for in Constitutional Amendment No. 72 (2013).

The inequality in rights to which domestic workers are submitted is only one of the obstacles that the category faces in its professional performance. There are particular conditions of the power relationship between the workers and their employers that increase the distinction between these two actors, highlighting two points that exemplify such relationship. The first refers to the inherent contradiction in the relationship between the boss and the worker, since the domination of the worker over this is present both in the affective associations that are built, as with the children and the elderly whom the workers give care, and in the very architecture of the domestic space, which brings rooms like the maid's room and the service bathroom (Moura et al., 2020).

The second point is understood by the relationship of the domestic worker with her work extends beyond a simple exercise in employment, determining the social identity of the workers themselves, which marks a place of inferiority. Such a position is linked to the experience of resentment and humiliation resulting from the devaluation of the work of these women (Moura et al., 2020). Thus, as Silva, Araújo, Moreira and Barros point out (2017), this work experience has a negative impact on the construction and maintenance of the identity of the workers, which ends up being mixed with the condition of gender, socioeconomic and professional of these women.

As far as gender is concerned, data about the occupations of Brazilians show that domestic work is primarily carried out by women, in which they occupy 92% of the posts (IPEA, 2019). These figures go back to the sociosexual division of labor that, from a sociohistorical construction and culture, the work related to home and care is related to women (Kergoat, 2009; Nogueira, Pestana & Rodrigues, 2021). Soon, the public and productive space for the economy on a large scale would belong to the masculine gender, leaving women a domestic role based on a kind of feminine nature of maternal care and reproduction (Monteiro, Araújo & Moreira, 2018). Thus, there is a historical attribution of work together with the home and care of people to women, being perceived as a natural and essential role of the female gender. Thus, domestic workers live with a paid activity, but perceived historically, culturally and socially as a work devalued and invisibilised.

Socio-economic and racial issues also affect the composition of the domestic labor force, since, when looking at domestic workers, it can be seen that they are, in their great majority, black women, with a low educational level and in lower economic classes (IPEA, 2020). It is found, in this way, that women of higher economic classes and whites within the domestic environment usually devote themselves to administrative tasks, such as looking after the finances of the house. While manual labor is in charge of domestic workers, who are paid to perform this service (Monteiro et al., 2018), which, on many occasions, reproduces its origins in the slave labor of the country.

2.2 Neoliberalism as a Producer of Precariousness

Domestic work, like all other work activities, is circumscribed by the neoliberal model and suffers from the perverse consequences of this model. In order to understand the implications of neoliberalism on the work and subjectivity of domestic workers, it is necessary to remember that the neoliberal political-economic project consists, in the scenario of public policies, in the reduction of the role of the State, defending private property and individuals. In its conception, it is assumed that self-regulation of the market will result in equality. However, in practice, within the social context, one of the products of this model is the concentration of
capital and the precarization of labor and consumption relations, affecting society and individuals in various ways, negatively impacting the achievements and labor and social rights, historically won by the working class movements and even acting as a producer of subjectivities (Reishoffer & Bicalho, 2009).

Subjectivity, in this study, is understood as a constitution formed by the historical emergence of countless social and cultural processes, which constitute the uniqueness of the subjects in their different interactions and scenarios, in their ways of thinking, feeling and acting. These processes articulate around a real game, as exposed by Foucault (2004), experienced by the subjects, generating a relationship between the individual and his own subjective composition. The interface between the macropolitical implications of neoliberalism and the production of the subjectivity of individuals occurs through its transformation from political rationality to principles of reality. This logic governs not only economic and political orientations, but all spheres of human existence, generating a subjectivity based on improvement and competition (Brown, 2019).

Among the effects of neoliberalism are the destruction of labor and social rights, which end up generating the instability of labor relations worldwide (Brown, 2019). Franco, Druck and Seligmann-Silva (2010) conceive the precarious employment relationships, previously evidenced, as a phenomenon composed of several facets in which workers have both their rights denied, systematically, and their due recognition. It is thus clear that precariousness goes beyond objective relationships and affects the subjectivity and identity of workers. As Lhuilier brings (2013), from work activity people are driven to develop their creativity, manifesting their uniqueness in the collective and seeking recognition of the other. According to Dejours (2012), this recognition provided by others enables the worker to overcome obstacles experienced in real work and develop his identity, thus affecting the subjectivity and mental health of workers.

In this sense, it is important to note that neoliberalism promotes a particular anti-collectivist ethic that overburdens women, who are mainly responsible for domestic care and activities and devalued in productive work. Therefore, neoliberalism tends to weaken the idea of collective responsibility for the care and well-being of human beings in society. And this implies negative impacts for women, with the weight of the greater individualization of the idea of care, increasingly attributed to the family and less to the State, without guarantee of equal opportunities in the public policy space or at work (Ribeiro & Heinem, 2023).

The more the neoliberal ideology of state disaccountability solidifies in the political culture of a society, the more vulnerable the perspective of the life of the most precarious working class becomes, especially for women, who are the victims of multiple working days. It is also noted that historical misogyny, which dates back to before the neoliberal economic concept was adopted in the Brazilian patriarchal society, is still present, conditioning women to participate in the provision of education, health, trade and domestic services, in which they often receive a lower remuneration than male workers. A scenario of precarious economy is observed in which workers, due to social and ethnic-racial class conditions, are already vulnerable and experience exploitation maximized by neoliberal capital, which exploits precarious work and considers the devaluation of the feminine (Vasquez & Falcão, 2019).

In this sense, one can see that the day to day work of domestic workers generates conditions of precariousness of concrete work and of their subjectivity, in spite of the legal conquests of the category over the years, with an emphasis on the PEC of domestic women. While taking into account the benefits brought by this legislation, Silva, Araújo, Moreira and Barros (2017) point out that the working relationships were not automatically modified in the day-to-day, as well as the social representation of domestic workers and the attitude of employers. In other words, these women still face a situation of institutionalized humiliation, such as the use of differentiated uniforms and a service elevator, limited spaces inside the residences.
These working conditions lead to an experience of resentment and helplessness on the part of the workers, bringing harm to their mental health and identity (Silva, Araújo, Moreira & Barros, 2017). This statement is in line with the findings of Matos and Gontijo (2001), which reveal the detriment of labor and social rights because of the value of flexibility. It can also be seen that the rights earned by domestic workers are still insufficient to guarantee the full exercise of labor rights, which highlights the precariousness of paid domestic work in the neoliberal context that contributes to illness. There is, in this manner, a process of making subjectivity of these women less secure. The process of precarious subjectivity, according to Linhart (2014), is related to the experience of insecurity at work, the possibility of losing the post at any time, because the labor bond is fragile and the activity is devalued. In this process, the worker experiences the feeling of isolation, it is only her against someone hierarchically superior, generating a stoppage, with repercussions on her self-esteem and her safety.

3 METHOD

For the design of this study, the inductive method of descriptive research with qualitative approach was used. In its development, it uses the resources of interviews and observations to describe individuals and social groups by engaging in common and organic events in natural environments (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister & Zechmeister, 2012). Before contact with the participants, the project was submitted to and approved by the Research Ethics Committee (CEP), and the Certificate of Presentation of Ethical Appreciation (CAAE) was generated, protocol number 34180920.3.0000.5020. The carrying out of this investigation was able to count upon assistance from a development agency.

The data collection took place by means of the messaging application, Whatsapp, with semi-structured interviews done at a distance. The research interviews were based according to the concept presented by Manzini (2004), in which a main subject to be the scope of the interview is chosen. Around the theme, a script is constructed with thematic questions, which can be complemented by questions coming from the momentary circumstances of the interview. This model of information collection has as its characteristic basic questions, which are supported in theories and hypotheses related to the theme of research, and lead to new hypotheses arising from the answers of the participants.

Content Analysis (CA) was used to analyze the information. According to Bardin (1977), CA can be defined as a set of methodological instruments that have as common factor a controlled interpretation, based on inference. This format of analysis, has as its main objective to understand by means of systematic inferences knowledge in relation to the reception and production of messages.

The concept of theoretical saturation was used to delimit the number of participants for the study. This is defined as the suspension of the inclusion of new participants when the data obtained leave, in the researcher's assessment, to show a certain redundancy, repetition or when it is no longer relevant to persist in the collection of data. That is, the researcher understands that the information that could be obtained by new participants would not go into depth or add anything to the reasoning and theoretical foundation of the research (Fontanella, Ricas & Turato, 2008).

The procedure for recruiting participants for the study was snowball. The choice of this model is justified by the fact that the issues relevant to the study are sensitive or private, and the help of the participants is needed to locate new people to participate in the study. This method begins by selecting the first informants, called "seed" (Vinuto, 2014). They are people who are within the desired profile for the study. After their participation, they are asked to indicate other people and so on, until no new people are found or when the new participants do
not bring new information relevant to the study or, even, until the content brought by the participating subjects is saturated (Bardin, 1977).

The sample was given for convenience. To do so, the contact network of the research team responsible was investigated and, once the researcher found a person who was within the criteria for inclusion of the research and who agreed to participate in the study from the signing of the consent form, according to resolution 466/12, the participant was asked to indicate other domestic workers of his network. The workers were contacted and informed about the purpose and source of the contact. At the time, the explanations were passed on about the research and the invitation was made for the worker contacted to participate in the study. When the invitations were accepted, the contact of other possible participants was requested, and so on.

The semi-structured interviews were individual, with an average duration of between thirty minutes and one hour. For recording purposes, the audio of the interviews was from a smartphone and then heard and transcribed for proper analysis and category construction. To ensure anonymity, mythological names from Greek goddesses were used to identify each of the participants.

The Informed Consent Form (TCLE) was sent through the Whatsapp application and digitally signed by the participant and researcher responsible for the interview. Also, another copy/via was sent, with an electronic signature from the researcher.

Due to the nature, method and profile of the research and the participants of interest of this study, no agreement term was attached, since the ETS already guides on risks, minimization of risks, compensation, benefits and contemplates the protection of participants, meeting resolutions 466/12 and 510/16, the objectives and criteria of inclusion of the research.

The questions contained in the interview script were as follows:

- Which gender do you identify with: male, female, or other?
- How old are you?
- Which city was you born in?
- How do you declare your race?
- In which neighborhood do you reside?
- What's your marital status?
- Do you have children? If so, how many?
- How long have you been working as a domestic worker (diarista) in Manaus?
- What is the nature of your employment relationship?
- How many times a week do you work? And how many hours a day do you work?
- How do you characterize the day-to-day of your work?
- What are the main difficulties with your work?
- Why do you think you suffer from these difficulties?
- If you feel comfortable reporting, what was the worst experience you've ever had at work and why?
- What are your main sources of pleasure in your work?
- If you feel comfortable reporting, what was the best experience you ever had at work and why?
- In your opinion, what do people think about domestic workers?
- And for you: what does it mean to be a domestic worker?

In the study, 5 female domestic workers participated, aged between 39 and 51 years, being the group composed racially, by self-declaration, of 3 black women, 1 indigenous woman and 1 white woman.

The inclusion criteria selected were: be female, from 18 years, have formal or informal domestic work and report at least 3 years of experience in the profession, work at least 3 days a week in your workplace and reside in the metropolitan area of Manaus. The exclusion criteria
chosen were: presenting cognitive and/or affective difficulty that compromises the conduct of the interview, being drunk and/or under the effect of some psychotropic.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This research sought to identify how neoliberalism permeates and affects the life and work of domestic workers of the city of Manaus. Based on the analysis of the interviews, the following categories were highlighted: (1) insecurity in the face of the fragility of legal protections and basic labor rights of domestic workers, (2) insecurity and individualization of care, and (3) acceptance of a flexible labor reality.

4.1 The fragility of legal safeguards

The fragility of legal protections is promoted by the predominant informality of the labor links between this category of workers, demonstrated by the small number of domestic workers who have formalized labor relations. According to the mapping of IPEA (2015), only 30.4% of the class of these workers has a formal record of the employment relationship. Mello (2020) states that the symbolic space occupied by domestic workers is between family properties, alluding to the slavery period, and a near-work reflecting the invisibility and devaluation of domestic and care activities. The demarcation of this place may result in the non-compliance with the laws that guide the work of domestic workers.

In the speech of the interviewees, one finds the violation of the rights of the workers as a commonplace factor in the day to day domestic work. The following is a collected example.

Athena: I wake up six in the morning and go to sleep after the soap opera which is "about" ten hours, then I don't know how to calculate this time. Six to ten.
Researcher: Do you work from the moment you wake up to the moment you go to bed?
Athena: Yes, it is." (Excerpt from a dialog between an interviewer and Athena, 45, mixed-race)

In the above speech, it is possible to apprehend non-compliance with the legal paid working hours. However, this situation is not an isolated fact, an unusual event in domestic work, since it was also found in the speech of several other participants in the research. It adds to the non-respect of the legal working hours, the lack of remuneration of the overtime worked and the absence of an agreement between the participants and their employers for the compensation of this additional working time, leading to a great financial loss for the workers.

Speeches such as Athena's explain in practice the precariousness within neoliberalism underlined by Franco, Druck and Seligmann-Silva (2010). By failing to respect workers' rights, they are exposed to job insecurity, which ends up becoming an intrinsic part of work, and it is difficult to distinguish precarious material conditions from domestic work itself.

Besides the fragility of ensuring their own rights provided for in laws, domestic workers also find themselves in a scenario in which there is several times the deviation of their function and an overload of work, as the signaled in the following speech:

The experience I had in the housework was doing the things I didn't do before, understood?! ...of painting. Of painting, all that stuff. Screw it, all this I learned there, understand?! I just did things normal, then she called ‘to’ help. Then I'll learn. Laying pottery, things I didn't do, now I'm doing. It's like a SENAI. You get in there, you pass, you pass. It's a guinea pig there, you understand? (Hestia, 47 years old, black)

In the speech in the spotlight, it is possible to grasp the deviation from the function that is commonly presented in the routine of domestic workers, mainly for being a work area without a previously defined prescription, with informal bonds and with scant government supervision. This type of accumulation of activities outside of typical domestic work can generate an
overload of work, causing various health problems for domestic workers. These losses were listed by Tamanini (2000), who highlighted the most common feelings experienced by domestic workers resulting from precarious working conditions and the awareness of prejudice that affects them. They are: physical and mental exhaustion, feeling of insecurity, resentment, demotivation, guilt, feeling of isolation and sadness.

4.2 Insecurity and Individualization of Care

Due to the fragility of the legal provisions, which should legally protect domestic workers, and the neoliberal subjectivation produced by the scenario in which they find themselves, many of them perceive themselves without support or support, in the face of the unforeseen inherent of the exercise of paid domestic work and their own personal domestic work.

For me, a domestic worker is almost like a worker like other jobs. You leave home, you leave your children, you leave home, and you go out to work. It leaves seven, six o’clock in the morning... And it only returns six hours in the afternoon and seven hours, it's something you're a worker like the others. You have your appointment outside when you arrive, clean your house, take care of your children, help you do your homework. (Hera, 35, indigenous)

[...] we spend a lot of time outside the house and our children stay. Often when they are small and stay at home, there is no daycare, yet our government still lacks to look after us, for our children. (Athena, 45 years old, brown)

In the previous speeches, it is possible to learn directly the effects of neoliberalism on the routine of these women by demonstrating, as explained by da Rosa (2019), the precarious working and personal relationships, since it intensifies the domestic workload historically directed to the female gender, as exposed by Monteiro, Araújo and Moreira (2018), by gaps left by the state power, since under neoliberalism rationality is of individual responsibility of the worker for the effective of their rights.

Socialization of household tasks can act as an important factor in highlighting the collective responsibility for the care and well-being of human beings in society, exposing the limits of neoliberal rationality to the emancipation of women. This means that by sharing less asymmetric household tasks between men and women, one can question the idea that care is an individual and private responsibility, and show that it is a collective and public co-responsibility. In this way, the socialization of household tasks can contribute to the construction of a relationship of equity, in which women are not burdened with domestic work and care, and can enjoy other activities, scenarios and configurations of life (Ribeiro & Heinem, 2023).

The structure of neoliberalism unfolds in burdens on women, mainly in household and care tasks, reinforcing a patriarchal structure at the heart of capitalism. This workload produces precariousness in women's lives, limiting their opportunities to participate in public life and the labor market (Ribeiro & Heinem, 2023). In this sense, domestic workers are threatened by informality, lack of labor and social protection, exposure to contagion and domestic violence, which are aggravated by the neoliberal context that is based on the basis of unpaid female domestic work and multiple working days, a situation especially striking in the case of domestic workers - who assume, besides the care of their own home, the role of "covering" one of the days of employers (Matos & Gontijo, 2021). In order to combat the precarious nature of women's work in the care sector, it is necessary to invest in public policies guaranteeing universal access to quality services, such as crèches, schools, hospitals and social care services. It is also important to recognize reproductive work as a socially necessary work and to value it as such, through remuneration and social protection policies that are often unknown to the population (Vasques & Falcão, 2019).
In the meantime, domestic workers are not alienated from this scenario, since the State is given the task of safeguarding basic rights so that it can be possible to reduce the workload of these workers.

### 4.3 Acceptance of a Flexible Working Environment

The neoliberal model presupposes and encourages the minimum participation of the State in the mediation of social relations, providing for equality between the social actors, that is, self-regulation of the market. However, with the advance of neoliberalism, what is perceived is the dismantling of workers’ rights and protections, resulting in the supply of jobs with more precarious conditions (Araújo, Pinheiro & Dantas, 2022). By understanding that the main rights of domestic workers are recently conquered, the history of recognition of the little value given to the activity carried out by these women and the power relations to which they are submitted, it can be imagined that the work scenario of these women was not positively affected by the neoliberal model.

In the interviews, it is observed that the participants know their labor rights, but, in the daily relationship with their employers, are still submitted to conditions of debasement of their work activity.

 [...] when I got sick from the gall bladder, and I arrived with my mistress and I in a lot of pain and said that I was going badly and she said ‘I already have a lot of trouble, I don’t want to know about your problems, you’re going to do my things that are better.’ And I was in pain and working [...]. (Persephone, 52 years old, black)

So... it's more... because like this, like [my work] is detached, right? So you don't have that right thing. If an accident suddenly happens to me... I suffer [an accident], right?! They [the bosses] won’t take responsibility, because it’s not a signed wallet. So I think it's sadder because since it's separate [work], I don't have any INSS with me or anything. I'll look, thank God, to pay my INSS on the outside. (Hera, 35 years old, indigenous - our griffins)

It should be noted that, in the daily work of these women, the legislations that regulate their professional actions are not complied with by employers, with the maintenance of informal employment relationships. In this logic, workers are penalized with the loss of autonomy, leaving them in a disadvantaged position in labor negotiations with their employers.

In addition to labor legislation, it is noticeable that not only the activity performed by these women is undervalued, but also the workers as a whole. Their health and well-being become elements of negotiation with their employers, in which they must overcome their illnesses in order to maintain their work activities. This situation is reflected in the insecurity they experience, and their job can be done if they cannot perform them due to illness. Even when the working environment is a source of illness, the workers find themselves unprotected, feeling obliged to protect themselves, paying in a particular way for their welfare.

### 5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Within the scenario of macro and micropolitical production by the panorama of rights experienced by domestic workers, the influence of neoliberal logic on the subjectivity of female workers stands out. These repercussions are present in the aspects that concern the feeling of constant collective insecurity, the helplessness and individualism of the subjects in their professional trajectories. In addition, these women deal with a process of individual responsibility for maintaining their jobs, with the constant threat of unemployment as a factor that cuts across their lives. It is therefore necessary to question the perception that women have of the workload they carry out in society.
According to neoliberal rationality, it is the worker’s responsibility to ensure all the factors that support his own livelihood, and he is himself responsible for the unforeseen and obstacles inherent in the work. This logic is made perceptible in the participants’ lines. However, domestic workers do not perceive themselves to be effectively alienated by neoliberal rationality by transferring the burden due to the State of ensuring the proper dignity of their work and life as a citizen.

Feminism and intersectionality are theoretical approaches proposed in the studies of Matos and Gontijo (2021) and Ribeiro and Heinem (2023) that, added to the results and discussions in this article, can help in the reflection and construction of actions to unveil the misogynistic and racist oppressions of capitalist society. Feminism, by highlighting the importance of the fight for women’s rights, can help highlight the gender inequalities present in society, including those affecting paid domestic workers, being an important approach to understanding the specific impacts on women because these theories offer a broader and critical understanding of the political-economic system that governs society. Marxist feminism, for example, understands that the oppression of women is directly related to capitalist exploitation, and that the struggle for female emancipation must be linked to the struggle for the transformation of society.

Intersectionality, on the other hand, by considering the multiple dimensions of oppression, such as gender, race, social class, sexual orientation, among others, creates conditions for reflection on how these oppressions interconnect and reinforce each other, affecting in a disproportionate way black domestic workers, for example. In this way, feminism and intersectionality can contribute to a more critical and comprehensive analysis of the misogynistic and racist oppressions present in the neoliberal context, and to the struggle for fairer and more egalitarian labor and social rights.

The subjectivity of domestic workers then settles into a dispute of awareness of their working condition and resistance to neoliberal rationality. However, other possible ways of improving the concrete and symbolic conditions of these workers escape because of the lack of material alternatives.

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