



DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22483/2177-5796.2025v30id29457032>

PRECARIZATION OF TEACHING WORK IN HIGHER EDUCATION: AN APPROACH BASED ON THE 2023 HIGHER EDUCATION CENSUS

Precarização do trabalho docente na educação superior: uma abordagem a partir do censo da educação superior 2023

Precarización del trabajo docente en la educación superior: un enfoque a partir del Censo de Educación Superior 2023

Marlon Sandro Lesnieski¹

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0783-1021>

E-mail: marlon.lesnieski@prof.sc.senac.br

Marcio Giusti Trevisol²

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6127-1750>

E-mail: marcio.trevisol@unoesc.edu.br

Natália Pozzebon Oleinick³

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8533-7857>

E-mail: nataliaoleinick@gmail.com

Abstract: The article addresses teaching work in higher education, focusing on its precarization. The research problem arises from the following question: to what extent do the data from the 2023 Higher Education Census indicate elements that demonstrate the precarization of teaching work? The objective is to analyze the precarization of teaching work based on the data presented in the 2023 Higher Education Census. This is qualitative, bibliographic research with an exploratory objective and documentary data collection. The conclusions indicate that higher education, by adopting management practices typical of neoliberalism, has intensified the precarization of teaching work through an increase in the number of students per teacher, flexibilization of employment contracts, expansion of the distance learning model, and platformization of the sector. This phenomenon is more evident in private higher education institutions.

Keywords: higher education; precarization of teaching work; higher education census.

¹ Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial. Joaçaba, SC, Brasil.

² Universidade do Oeste de Santa Catarina (Unoesc). Joaçaba, SC, Brasil.

³ Universidade do Oeste de Santa Catarina (Unoesc). Joaçaba, SC, Brasil

Resumo: O artigo trata sobre trabalho docente na educação superior com enfoque na sua precarização. O problema investigativo emerge da seguinte pergunta: em que medida os dados do Censo da Educação Superior 2023 apontam elementos que evidenciam a precarização do trabalho docente? O objetivo é analisar a precarização do trabalho docente a partir dos dados apresentados no Censo de Educação Superior 2023. Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa, bibliográfica, de objetivo exploratório e com coleta de dados documentais. As conclusões apontam que a educação superior, ao adotar práticas de gestão típicas do neoliberalismo, tem ampliado a precarização do trabalho docente por meio do aumento de estudantes por professor, flexibilização dos contratos de trabalho, expansão do modelo de ensino à distância e plataformização do setor, sendo esse fenômeno mais perceptível nas instituições de educação superior privadas.

Palavras-chave: educação superior; precarização do trabalho docente; censo da educação superior.

Resumen: El artículo aborda el trabajo docente en la educación superior, enfocándose en su precarización. El problema de investigación surge de la siguiente pregunta: ¿en qué medida los datos del Censo de Educación Superior 2023 evidencian elementos que demuestran la precarización del trabajo docente? El objetivo es analizar la precarización del trabajo docente a partir de los datos presentados en el Censo de Educación Superior 2023. Se trata de una investigación cualitativa, bibliográfica, con un objetivo exploratorio y recolección de datos documentales. Las conclusiones indican que la educación superior, al adoptar prácticas de gestión típicas del neoliberalismo, ha aumentado la precarización del trabajo docente mediante un mayor número de estudiantes por profesor, la flexibilización de los contratos laborales, la expansión del modelo de enseñanza a distancia y la plataformización del sector. Este fenómeno es más perceptible en las instituciones de educación superior privadas.

Palabras clave: educación superior; precarización del trabajo docente; censo de educación superior.

1 INTRODUCTION

Work is a fundamental category for understanding material conditions of existence (Marx, 2017a; Frigotto, 2009). In this context, Antunes (2020) examines the historical changes in work by analyzing the shift from the Fordist to the Toyotist production model. These transformations remain centered on the capitalist production model, in which job insecurity is intensifying, particularly due to neoliberal reforms. Antunes's concept of the "freeze-dried company" illustrates the nature of work in Industry 4.0, which is characterized by extreme flexibility, including undefined working hours, an absence of a fixed physical workplace, variable remuneration, and reduced union activity. These elements constitute a new labor dynamic that intensifies precariousness and reinforces the volatile and exploitative nature of labor relations in the contemporary context.

This becomes a new form of people management that develops techniques for internalizing work, making the worker responsible for self-control of his production, according to Antunes (2020). This strong subjectivization of productivist rationality accentuates job insecurity processes, such as the reduction of labor rights, streamlined production processes, work overload, and the flexibilization of activities. These are some examples of the Toyotist production model. According to Lesniewski, Trevisol, and Bechi (2023), this organizational form is based on managerialism and performativity. Managerialism offers a people-centered organizational model that normalizes performativity as a condition for success and efficiency in public and private institutions. Thus, managerialism assumes control and regulation measured by professional and individual performance as its main characteristics.

In Brazil, the precarious nature of teaching jobs gained momentum in the 1990s when the state adopted neoliberal policies such as labor market deregulation and reduced government oversight. The situation worsened in the 2000s with the rapid expansion of private higher education. This uneven expansion brought new pressures on professors, reflected in fragile contracts, overload, and professional devaluation. Unsurprisingly, this topic has become central to academic production. Gemelli and Closs (2022) point out that research on teaching work has focused on training and evaluating university teaching, pedagogical knowledge and practices, and, above all, precarious conditions.

When presenting data on the expansion of higher education, researchers Bianchetti and Sguissardi (2017) denounce the fact that the supremacy of neoliberal rationality has contributed to the precariousness of educational quality and teaching work. This corroborates studies by Trevisol, Fávero, and Mikolaiczik (2025), who note that higher education expansion has not been accompanied by democratization. Public policies have intensified in two ways: the internalization of higher education (Trevisol, Balsanello; Bastiani, 2022) and the democratization and expansion of access to higher education as an essential condition for social justice and overcoming historical social inequalities (Almeida Filho, 2016; Bianchetti & Sguissardi, 2017; Dias Sobrinho, 2018; Sguissardi, 2015).

Under neoliberalism, the expansion, and internalization of higher education, reflected in increased enrollment, courses, and modalities, did not translate into democratization. On the contrary, they were accompanied by a decline in academic quality and greater precariousness of teaching work. As Trevisol, Fávero, and Mikolaiczik (2025) and Sguissardi (2015) observe, simple growth in places leads to massification but does not guarantee democratic access.

The advance of neoliberal rationality, analyzed by Dardot and Laval (2016) as well as Lesnieski, Trevisol, and Bechi (2023) more recently, has accelerated the massification of higher education. Sguissardi (2015), in turn, describes this massification as a typical neoliberal practice: attracting "customers" and maximizing profits for private groups while relegating academic quality to a secondary level. Bianchetti and Sguissardi (2017) demonstrate how large publicly traded corporations convert education into a commodity sold to generate dividends, sometimes at the expense of educational quality. Precarization extends beyond pedagogy to teaching conditions, which are characterized by instability, overload, and devaluation.

Agostini's (2024) research reinforces this idea, showing that the expansion of remote and hybrid education after the pandemic has worsened the precariousness of teaching. According to the author, reforms maintained after the health crisis resulted in reductions in personnel, infrastructure, and maintenance expenses, as well as changes in professional statutes that restricted labor rights and social guarantees. These reforms also led to institutional policies that limited the union activities of teachers and students, and strengthened mechanisms for censoring or neutralizing progressive pedagogical approaches. The popularization of distance learning and digital platforms has intensified labor flexibility and control over teaching activities by imposing permanent availability and task overload.

In this context, it is essential to critically analyze documents expressing the results of public education policies. These policies are conceived as a field of dispute between social actors with divergent interests. The Higher Education Census, produced by the INEP, Anísio Teixeira National Institute for Educational Studies and Research, remains a valuable source because it provides microdata that reveal the structure of the Brazilian university system. Though their methodologies differ, the research of Fagundes, Alves, and Gonzales Calvo (2025), Schlesener, and Fernandes de Lima (2020) converge on theme and analytical perspective. This corroborates the relevance of examining teaching working conditions through this approach.

In this context, the research aims to answer the fundamental question: To what extent do the 2023 Higher Education Census data point to elements that evidence the precariousness of teaching work? The objective is to analyze the precariousness of teaching work based on the 2023 Higher Education Census data, using the goals of the National Education Plan (2014–2024) related to higher education as an analytical basis, namely goals 12, 13, and 14. This is a qualitative, exploratory study with documentary data collection. The study population consists of data published in 2024 by Inep on CenSup 2023.

2 WORK IN MARXIAN THOUGHT: FROM THE PRODUCTION OF USE VALUES TO ALIENATION IN CAPITALISM

In Marxian thought, the work process is understood as a teleological activity, or one oriented toward a previously idealized end. Marx contrasts animal production, which is limited by biological necessity and aimed exclusively at survival, with human work. Human work occurs in freedom from nature and is characterized by the ability to produce beyond immediate needs. While animals only modify nature to meet their biological requirements, humans transform nature universally and consciously. They freely confront their products. According to Marx (2017a, p. 327), "[...] what distinguishes the worst architect from the best bee from the outset is the fact that the former has the hive in his mind before he builds it with wax. At the end of the work process, a result is achieved that was present in the worker's mind at the beginning [...]".

In addition to the teleological dimension, Marx and Engels argue that work has an ontological dimension as well. Through work, the social being produces and reproduces the objective and subjective material conditions of its existence.

The first historical fact is therefore the production of the means that enable needs to be satisfied, the production of material life itself; this is a historical fact, a fundamental condition of all history, which is necessary, both today and thousands of years ago, to carry out day by day, hour by hour, to keep people alive (Marx; Engels, 2022, p. 31).

Essentially, work aims to satisfy not only individual needs but also those of the community. As an ontologically fundamental social activity, work's centrality lies in producing use values, not exchange values. Thus, according to Marx (2017a), work reappears in commodities only when it is employed in use values—that is, in things that satisfy human needs.

The transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist societies brought about a fundamental transformation in the conception and organization of work. In pre-capitalist societies, work focused primarily on producing use values, or satisfying the immediate needs of the community and the individual. With the advent of capitalism, however, this dynamic changed radically. Work began to be organized around producing commodities to generate exchange value. Goods were produced not to directly meet the needs of the worker or community but to be sold on the market and generate profit for capitalists.

As the capitalist mode of production became established, a distortion occurred in labor relations, which Marx called alienation. Workers find themselves alienated from the product of their labor, the activity of work itself, their human essence, and other human beings. Therefore, capitalist production dehumanizes the work process, transforming it into a sacrifice where workers do not recognize themselves in what they produce (Marx, 2017a).

In a capitalist system, human life is produced through the market because individuals must buy and sell goods to survive. Everyone becomes both a producer and a consumer, selling products or labor to acquire the means to subsist. There are two main

groups: owners of the means of production who sell goods and workers who sell their labor. In capitalist production relations, labor is exploited to generate surplus value, which is accumulated by the capitalist, creating a continuous cycle of capital appreciation. In non-capitalist production relations, such as family-owned businesses, cooperatives, and state-owned enterprises, labor is not purchased. Therefore, no surplus value is generated, and no capital is accumulated (Tumolo, 2018).

Thus, non-capitalist producers face competition from capitalist companies. By developing the productive forces of labor through technological and organizational innovations, these companies reduce the value of non-capitalist producers' goods, making it difficult for them to survive in the market. Capitalist companies tend to dominate and progressively eliminate production outside the capitalist system. Competition also intensifies among capitalist companies, resulting in disputes between producers and workers, who suffer from increased productivity and precarious working conditions.

Another labor-related factor addressed by Marx (2017b) is the Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall. This law explains a fundamental contradiction of capitalism: while capitalists increase productivity and adopt technological advances to raise their profits, these strategies tend to decrease the rate of profit over time.

To understand this dynamic, it is important to consider how Marx defines the rate of profit. The rate of profit is the relationship between surplus value—the extra value generated by the exploitation of labor—and the total capital invested. Total capital is composed of constant capital, which includes machines, raw materials, and technologies, and variable capital, which includes the wages paid to workers. As capitalism develops, capitalists tend to invest more in constant capital to increase productive efficiency. This type of investment increases the organic composition of capital because constant capital grows proportionally to variable capital, or human labor (Marx, 2017a).

However, precisely human labor generates surplus value because only the workforce can produce value beyond its cost. As the proportion of workers decreases in relation to total capital, the amount of surplus value generated also decreases proportionally. Thus, although capitalists increase productivity through machines and technology, the real source of value generation, human labor, is proportionally reduced. Consequently, the rate of profit tends to fall as constant capital increases, but surplus value does not keep pace with this growth (Marx, 2017b).

This contradiction represents the logic of capitalism. In their quest for greater efficiency and competitiveness, capitalists invest in technological innovations and more advanced forms of production organization. In the short term, these investments can increase profits. However, since these investments do not directly increase the amount of surplus value generated by the workforce, the tendency for the rate of profit to fall remains in the medium and long term. Marx considered this phenomenon to be one of the internal contradictions that make capitalism unstable and subject to cyclical crises.

While the law establishes a trend, Marx (2017b) acknowledges factors that can temporarily impede or reverse this decline. One such factor is the increased exploitation of the workforce, through either extending the workday or intensifying the pace of

production. However, these counter-tendencies do not eliminate the downward trend in the rate of profit; they only temporarily delay it.

As capitalism develops, these strategies become insufficient to completely curb the pressure on profits. When the rate of profit falls to a critical point, capitalists have difficulty maintaining their profits and must take drastic measures, such as cutting costs, reducing wages, and discontinuing certain investments. The 1929 crash is an example of this.

The 1929 Crash is an example of this movement. According to Behring and Boschetti (2016), it is a manifestation of the law of value and marks a transition in the process of capitalist accumulation. They argue that crises should be understood within long cycles of expansion and depression. During these cycles, factors such as an increase in the organic composition of capital and a fall in the rate of surplus value create obstacles. The 1929–1932 crisis intensified competition and generated stagnation and unemployment due to an overabundance of capital and reduced profits. Responses included state intervention, increased consumption, and a war economy.

Beginning in the 1960s, the welfare state, which was implemented as a capitalist strategy in response to the 1929 crisis, began to show signs of exhaustion. It ceased to serve the interests of the ruling class and became an obstacle to the new phase of capitalist accumulation. In this context, state intervention in the economy was considered stifling the productive cycle and impeding economic development, particularly in a scenario of globalization and the worldwide integration of economies, which required deregulation and market flexibility. The 1973 crisis marked a definitive break with the Keynesian welfare model, highlighting the need for a new accumulation model that would allow companies to increase profits and weaken trade union power. Neoliberalism then emerged as the dominant current and consolidated itself in the last decades of the 20th century (Almeida & Damasceno, 2015).

The neoliberal perspective is a set of policies and programs implemented in various areas in response to the capital crisis that began in the 1970s. The goal was to restore bourgeois hegemony in the global capitalist landscape. Neoliberal principles advocate for minimal state intervention in the regulation of trade and financial markets. They also promote fiscal balance through budget cuts, restrictions on social policy spending, tax reforms, and maintaining a natural rate of unemployment. These guidelines gained prominence when adopted by the governments of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom, Ronald Reagan in the United States, and Helmut Kohl in Germany (Behring & Boschetti, 2016; Gentili, 2000).

The adoption of neoliberal policies has had consequences for the world of work, intensifying exploitation and precarious working conditions. The flexibilization of markets and reduced state intervention have weakened the power of trade unions, resulting in less protection for workers' rights and greater ease of dismissal, outsourcing, and temporary hiring. Cuts to social spending directly affect the working class by reducing investment in public services such as health, education, and social security, which increases workers' vulnerability. Additionally, the relentless pursuit of competitiveness

and increased productivity has led to longer work hours and lower wages, further alienating workers from the production process.

3 THE PRECARIOUS NATURE OF TEACHING WORK IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND NEOLIBERAL RATIONALITY

As previously discussed, job insecurity has always been a part of the capitalist system. A prime example is the wave of changes targeting the working class that began in the 1970s with the implementation of neoliberal policies. These policies expanded in the 1990s and brought about the personification of labor as the embodiment of capital, embedding it deeply in the subjectivity of workers. In the Taylorist/Fordist production model, workers were restricted to a small part of the production process. They only mastered the specifics of a particular sector and were trained to perform a specific task. This made them easily replaceable. However, with the transition to the Toyotist model, which was adopted in response to the crisis of capital accumulation, this limited worker qualification was deemed insufficient. A new worker profile was sought: one that was multifunctional, versatile, and emotionally intelligent; one capable of performing different functions; and one more adapted to the flexible accumulation model (Holanda, Freres, & Gonçalves, 2009).

In the context of higher education, these transformations have particular characteristics. Maués (2010) notes that recommendations from international organizations, such as the World Bank and the OECD, have emphasized adapting educational systems, particularly higher education, to market demands. This places universities at the service of companies. In this logic of linking education to the market, the role and function of universities are being questioned, prompting new proposals to guide reforms at this level of education. In this context, teaching work is also changing, and professionals are undergoing a transformation that distances them from their traditional responsibilities.

Additionally, Antunes (2020) describes this process as "freeze-dried flexibility," incorporating the concepts of continuity and discontinuity from the Taylorist/Fordist model. In the Toyota Production System, workers are integrated into corporate objectives and goals, becoming part of the company. Through this process, the company incorporates more work by embodying digital information machinery, thereby reducing costs and increasing productivity and profit rates.

The just-in-time model (Antunes, 2020) prevents overspending by demonstrating that efficient resource organization is necessary for production, as it avoids waste and reduces surplus. Over time, qualification has become a requirement for workers. According to Antunes (2020, p. 135), "The combination of more technologically advanced production standards, the search for a better-qualified workforce, and the practice of intensifying the exploitation of the workforce has become characteristic of capitalism in Brazil," imposing new forms of exploitation and precariousness. Thus, Toyotism focuses on strengthening the company's competitiveness through its employees' human capital

and a management style known as New Management. This establishes a relationship between professions, jobs, and continuing education based on skills (Del Rey, 2012).

It is in this context that new forms of people management are implemented, according to Antunes (2020, p. 113), since “[...] freeze-dried flexibility seeks to involve the personifications of work in a more internalized way, seeking to voluntarily convert employees into a kind of self-controllers of their production, into despots of themselves.” With the emergence of entrepreneurs of oneself, of success and personal responsibility, in the midst of the computerization of work, a process of informalization of work arises, based on a strong change in the subjectivity of these workers.

Antunes' (2020) notes refer to an interconnection (albeit with differences) with Dardot and Laval's (2016) theory of neoliberal rationality. The global advancement of technology, accompanied by a hopeful discourse in which the development of new work techniques would help promote the growth of societies, is allied with a neoliberal way of life that produces in individuals the feeling that to become human, one must first become a worker. The prefix “neo” reveals differences from what was already proposed in classical liberalism. According to the authors, classical liberalism failed to incorporate the needs of management, organization, legal forms, or concentration of resources, or to generate basic competition for the modern company format (Dardot; Laval, 2016).

Therefore, modern humans need to develop themselves to receive individual recognition. In this sense, development is continuous, from childhood until the end of one's life, and is validated throughout. According to Dardot and Laval (2016), an ethos of self-valorization has emerged, in which the individual, acting as a self-managed enterprise, rationalizes desire. This desire is based on the notion of becoming a “worthy citizen” in the capitalist era, where success is derived from work. A group's moral disposition, values, social organization, and individual character are closely associated with ethos because the latter influences behavior, personal experiences, culture, religion, education, and models of societal construction. Ethos is the practical expression of accepted values.

The neoliberal ethos is inseparable from the average 21st-century worker. The neo-subject must be specialized, flexible, docile, and receptive to presented needs (Dardot & Laval, 2016). As long as the material order is capitalist, there is no other way to experience life, since goods purchased with money earned from work are the means of emancipating the individual. A person's power is determined by how much money they have. Money means success.

One example of the incorporation of neoliberal rationality in Brazil is the labor and social security reforms. Despite being announced as a solution to unemployment and the social security deficit, these reforms contributed to increased unemployment and precarious labor relations. Regarding this issue, Krein, Oliveira, and Filgueiras (2019) note that the labor reform in Brazil worsened the economic crisis by weakening the domestic consumer market, which accounts for 87% of economic activity, contrary to its promises. Reducing labor costs to gain external competitiveness affected domestic demand and contributed to economic stagnation since 2015. Additionally, the promise of increased investment and job creation has not materialized. The authors note that half of the jobs

created after the reform were in sectors that oppose the reform's logic, such as road freight transport, the public sector through competitive exams, and support services, which have been largely outsourced for decades.

Advancements in the digital world, innovations, and information and communication technologies have paved the way for a new proletariat weakened by the flexibilization of labor and the myth of the self-entrepreneur. The notion that a person could secure a job at a good company after completing their education and remain there for years has become virtually unfeasible (Antunes, 2020). In this scenario, entrepreneurship is promoted as a virtue; however, this new concept of work exposes the fragility of living conditions.

For example, almost 70% of active companies in Brazil were Individual Micro entrepreneurs (MEIs) in June 2022 (Máximo, 2022). However, according to IBGE data from August 2024, only 28.4% of Brazil's 14.6 million MEIs were registered in the Single Registry, highlighting the economic vulnerability of this group. Additionally, 2.1 million MEIs received *Auxílio Brasil*, a program for people living impoverished. A survey revealed that over 4 million micro entrepreneurs had a family income of no more than half the minimum wage per person, indicating the financial vulnerability of MEIs even with an established business. Additional data showed that 18.8% of CLT employees in Brazil were also MEIs, working as entrepreneurs in a second occupation. Only 133,800 of these employees had a formally registered worker, accounting for less than 1% of companies in this category (Cunha, 2024).

In this context of job insecurity, it is urgent to discuss the impact of these changes on teaching conditions in higher education. The flexibilization of labor relations, marked by informality, lack of stability, and growing demands for multi functionality, directly affects professors. Like other professions, teaching has been permeated by neoliberal logic that demands high qualifications and constant adaptation to new requirements, often without guarantees of basic labor rights.

In the field of higher education specifically, teaching work has changed as higher education has undergone structural transformations, especially since the late 1990s, as Maués (2010) observes. The issue takes on specific contours when it comes to the work of higher education professors, given the role this level of education plays in a country's growth and the production of knowledge, science, and technology—fundamental elements for social and economic development. Analyzing teaching work in higher education is an important challenge because ongoing reforms have altered the purpose of education, which has repercussions for the activities of these professionals.

Two dimensions of precariousness are present in the construct of teaching work, even though they originate from the same problem and are intertwined. The first dimension relates to labor rights, such as employment contracts, working hours, social security, and career plans. Notably, nation-states and federal units, such as Brazil, that adopt neoliberal management principles have implemented policies that dilute historically acquired labor rights. The goal is to implement a set of reforms that shift responsibility to the workers themselves, as Dardot and Laval (2016) describe. The second dimension relates to teaching activities involving flexibilization, inadequate training,

accountability for the work environment, increased student-to-professor ratios, intensified performance goals, decreased autonomy, intensified control and regulatory processes, implementation of pedagogical technicalities, and dependence on platforms that compromise educational quality.

Similarly, Antunes's (2020) concept of voluntary servitude adequately explains the current precarious, Uberized, and platformized labor relations that impose the same servitude on higher education workers as was experienced in pre-capitalist times. There is a belief that, in times of crisis, having a job is a privilege, even if it means giving up labor rights or taking on working hours that compromise family life or leisure time. As Pryjma, Bridi, and Stremel (2023) point out, the new morphology of teaching work consists of a process of forced individualization. This process causes professors to abandon collective practices such as dialogue, planning, knowledge exchange, and union struggle. These practices aim to demand better working conditions and job and salary plans linked to teaching careers. Since professors are taught to take individual responsibility for their training and social advancement, the collective perspective fades in favor of the model.

It is worth remembering the concept of the entrepreneurialization of education, coined by Freitas (2018), which has introduced elements of precariousness to the teaching profession. According to the author, we are experiencing an educational neo technicism that expropriates professors from their intellectual work. Online learning platforms, adaptive technologies, and artificial intelligence have led to a process that transforms the essence of teaching into technical, bureaucratic, and repetitive tasks within manuals and digital platforms. In the context of corporate education reform, teachers are considered workers in a competitive free market. In this scenario, salaries depend on results, and there is no right to stability or social security.

In the field of higher education, we agree with Leher (2022) that a process of dismantling teaching work is underway through a capital-driven technological complex. According to the author, this dismantling is evident in the proliferation of teaching systems containing scripted, workbook-based lessons; competency-based assessments; work platforms that intensify work activities; online services; daily work schedules; intermittent work; and reduced labor rights. Aligned with the expansion of the privatization of higher education, Uberization and platformization have systematized forms of teaching work dependent on digital technologies and their databased, financialized, algorithmic logic. These changes involve the intensification of labor relations and contracts' flexibilization under the aegis of neoliberal rationality (Dardot & Laval, 2016) and lean enterprise (Antunes, 2020).

Researcher Agostini (2024) shows that the pandemic accentuated the precariousness of teaching work in higher education. Technologization processes, presented as innovation or adaptation to neoliberal productive logic, redefine the nature of teaching professionalism. The intensification of remote work, videoconferencing, emails, and social networks has increased the workload and eliminated rest and leisure time. At the same time, the hybridization of teaching increases the number of students per class and compromises pedagogical monitoring. Facin et al. (2024) argue that platformization, made possible by digital information and communication technologies

(DICT), coupled with the flexibilization of distance education, commodifies teaching and erodes teaching autonomy.

According to Agostini (2024), teachers' workloads have increased while working from home has blurred the boundaries between private and professional life, multiplying the number of bureaucratic tasks transferred to the online environment. Borssoi (2020) adds that professors today are required to record classes, produce digital materials, plan learning paths, apply active methodologies, and be accountable for student performance on large-scale exams. This set of requirements, coupled with a metrics-driven bureaucratic control system, makes teaching precarious and negatively influences professors' mental health. The microdata below, from the 2023 Higher Education Census (INEP, 2024b), show how these dynamics manifest in everyday university life and highlight the extent of teaching's precariousness.

4 THE DATA FROM CENSUP 2023 AND THE PRECARIOUS NATURE OF TEACHING WORK IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Higher Education Census, conducted annually by INEP, is an important tool for understanding the challenges and gaps in Brazilian higher education. Using data from 2023 released in October 2024, this study analyzes goals 12, 13, and 14 of the 2014–2024 National Education Plan (PNE) (INEP, 2014b) based on information regarding infrastructure, enrollment, new students, and faculty.

Chart 1 – Set of PNE 2014–2024 targets used as an analytical reference

Goals	Description
12	Raise the gross enrollment rate in higher education to 50% (fifty percent) and the net rate to 33% (thirty-three percent) of the population aged 18 (eighteen) to 24 years of age, ensuring the quality of provision and expansion to at least 40% (forty percent) of new enrollments in the public sector.
13	Raise the quality of higher education and increase the proportion of master's and doctoral degree holders among active faculty members in the higher education system as a whole to 75% (seventy-five percent), with at least 35% (thirty-five percent) of the total holding doctoral degrees.
14	Gradually increase the number of postgraduate enrollments to reach an annual total of 60,000 (sixty thousand) master's degrees and 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) doctorates.

Source: adapted from Law No. 13,005/2014 (Brazil, 2014).

It is important to note that choosing data from the 2023 Census limits the analysis to a specific period. Although this allows for an up-to-date analysis of teaching conditions, it has significant analytical limitations. Analyzing a single year does not capture long-term historical trends or cyclical variations that could enrich our understanding of precariousness processes. However, this limitation is justified by the need to examine recent configurations of teaching work, especially given the sector's rapid transformations recently, including the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic, the

expansion of distance learning, and changes in hiring modalities. Future research could benefit from longitudinal analyses that incorporate more extensive historical data and triangulate with other sources, such as surveys of teaching conditions and reports from teachers' unions.

The correlation between the 2023 Census's empirical data and the goals of the 2014-2024 National Education Plan reveals significant discrepancies between normative objectives and observed reality. For example, Goal 12 advocates for expanding quality access and prioritizing the public sector. However, the data indicate the absolute predominance of private institutions in providing places and enrollments. This discrepancy is not merely quantitative; it signals a model of expansion that favors massification over effective democratization, with direct implications for teaching conditions. Although Goal 13 is important for raising academic standards by establishing teacher qualification standards, it may inadvertently reinforce the logic of individual accountability and competitiveness among teachers, which are central characteristics of neoliberal rationality. Similarly, Goal 14, which focuses on expanding graduate studies, should be analyzed not only in terms of quantitative aspects but also in terms of the conditions under which this expansion occurs and its impact on the careers and working conditions of future teachers.

As Minto (2018) pointed out, the 2014–2024 PNE underwent changes related to the deliberations of the 2010 National Education Conference (Conae). This resulted in a document with a privatist bias that consolidates trends in educational policies of recent decades. Despite the relative consensus on the advances proposed by Conae, the final PNE project did not fully reflect these deliberations and lacked a diagnosis of the educational reality and the previous plan. This gap favored the reorganization of private-sector interests and the appropriation of public funds while neutralizing characteristics essential to substantial progress in public higher education.

Furthermore, according to the author, the PNE reveals conflicts of interest by ignoring historical trends, such as the differentiation and diversification of institutions and teaching methods, in favor of the private sector. Disqualifying the principle of the inseparability of teaching and research as inappropriate for the economic model of private higher education institutions (HEIs) reinforces this bias. Additionally, the PNE overlooks the role of "support foundations" in public HEIs that direct public funds toward private activities associated with innovation and internationalization. The quantitative logic of evaluation and financing perpetuates inequalities by serving private interests at the expense of the public sector (Minto, 2018).

A comparison of the National Education Plan's (PNE) goals with microdata from the 2023 Higher Education Census reveals the ambiguity of official indicators. Stated in supposedly neutral terms, these goals can serve different purposes depending on the implementation context. The Census reveals the predominance of the private sector, which is not a simple statistical deviation but rather the materialization of a political-economic project that legitimizes the commodification of higher education under the normative cover of the PNE. Morais (2022) shows that this expansion is associated with job insecurity, including growth in temporary contracts, an increase in the student-to-

teacher ratio, a decline in full-time positions, and the eventual replacement of teachers by administrative staff. This evidence confirms that the flexibilization of teaching work is a structural component of the neoliberal paradigm in universities. Thus, the national expansion project, colonized by business logic, weakens working conditions and jeopardizes academic quality (Trevisol, Fávero, & Mikolaiczik, 2025).

Through Censup 2023 (INEP, 2024b), based on the goals defined in the PNE (2014-2024), it is possible to observe an outline of what is being planned for Brazilian higher education. The data presented by the survey, referring to the number of higher education institutions and places offered—systematized in Table 1—show the predominance of private institutions.

Table 1 – Higher Education Institutions, by Academic Organization and Administrative Category—2023

Year	Total	University		Academic Center		College		IF e Cefet	
		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
2023	2.580	116	89	9	384	150	1.791	41	n.a.

Source: (INEP, 2024b, p. 19).

The data in Table 1 reveal an institutional configuration that contradicts Goal 12 of the PNE. This goal recommends that at least 40% of new enrollments occur in the public sector. The overwhelming presence of private institutions (2,264 compared to 316 public institutions) demonstrates not only the failure to achieve this goal but also signals an expansion model that prioritizes commercial logic over the public nature of higher education. This configuration directly affects teaching work since private institutions tend to adopt management practices that intensify precarious working conditions due to their profit-driven logic.

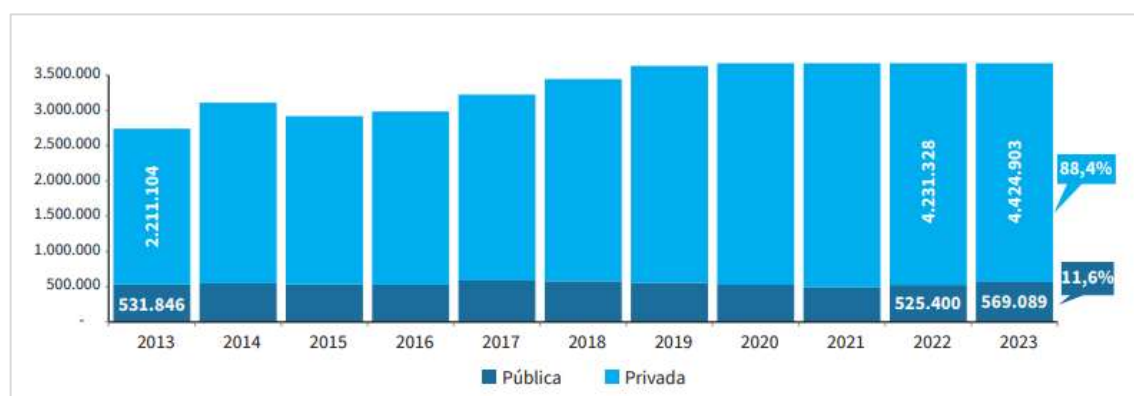
At the heart of the capitalist system, Laval (2019) observes that higher education is permeated by a neoliberal logic operating on two fronts. First, higher education consolidates itself as an ideology of employability, offering short, pragmatic courses tailored to the immediate needs of the productive sector. Second, it transforms into an expanding market where the massive supply of institutions and places aims to maximize profits. When the public network is in the minority, most students must pay for their education or rely on state funding. Education then becomes a service purchased by the "neoliberal subject," who is constantly pressured to continuously improve to maintain their value in the market. The numbers of places and enrollments presented in Table 2 and Figure 1 confirm this perspective, illustrating the private dominance and commodification underlying the system.

Table 2 – Number of graduate course places, by type of place and administrative category – 2023

Administrative Category	Total Number of Vacancies	New Positions Offered	Special Program Vacancies	Remaining Vacancies
Public	1.005.094	702.640	56.694	245.760
Private	23.681.606	17.610.297	51.371	6.019.938
Total	24.686.700	18.312.937	108.065	6.267.698

Source: (INEP, 2024b, p. 20).

Figure 1 – Number of admissions to graduate courses, by administrative category – 2013–2023



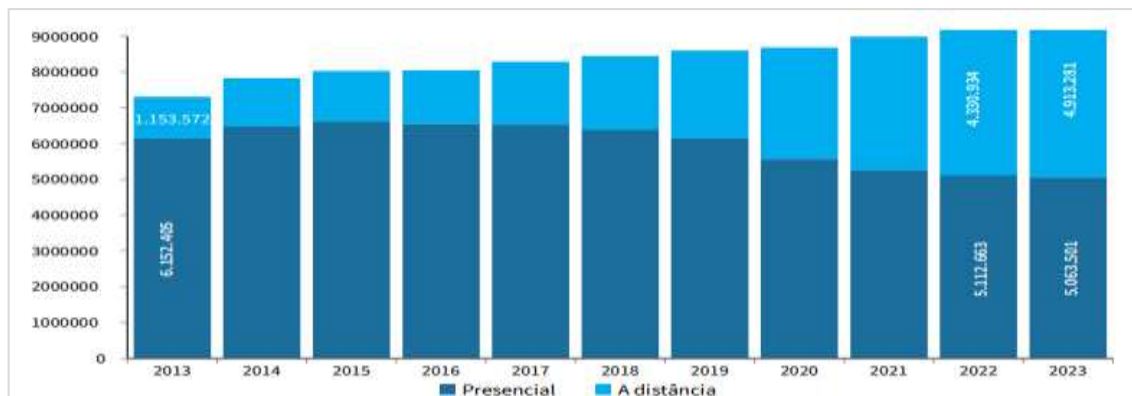
Source: INEP (2024b, p. 15).

An analysis of Table 2 and goal 12 of the PNE reveals a structural contradiction. While the plan prioritizes expanding the public segment, private institutions offer more than 23 times the number of spots available in public institutions. This disproportion compromises the fulfillment of the goal and reveals that quantitative expansion predominantly occurred through a model that subordinates education to commercial logic. For teaching staff, this configuration implies different working conditions, with private institutions often adopting management practices that prioritize cost reduction at the expense of quality.

As Sguissardi (2015) warns, growth in the number of places and enrollments does not necessarily mean the democratization of access to higher education. It is important not to confuse democratization with massification. Democratization, beyond simply increasing the number of places or enrollments, concerns educational quality, social inclusion, justice, and integrating these young people into the workplace. Massification, on the other hand, focuses only on offering places without concern for quality; its sole objective is to attract customers and increase profits for private companies operating in higher education. As Bianchetti and Sguissardi (2017) point out, these publicly traded companies treat education as a commodity — a product to be marketed and consumed — with the aim of generating profit, even if it results in the devaluation of university

education. The chronic expansion of enrollment in distance learning programs (Figure 2) illustrates this scenario.

Figure 2 – Number of enrollments in graduate courses, by teaching modality – 2013–2023



Source: INEP (2024b, p. 21).

Figure 2 shows the disproportionate expansion of distance learning. This phenomenon should be analyzed as both a pedagogical innovation and a cost-cutting strategy with direct implications for teaching work. While the PNE does not set specific goals for teaching methods, the prevalence of distance learning in the private sector reveals that the pursuit of economic efficiency can compromise educational quality and professors' working conditions. When guided exclusively by commercial logic, distance learning tends to intensify precariousness through content standardization, increased student-to-professor ratios, and extreme contractual flexibility.

In line with neoliberal rationality, this growth in distance learning expresses a form of commodification of education. According to Laval (2004, p. 132), "the economic advantages of such a formula are evident: no walls to build, flexible use, and globalization of supply and demand." Opening up to private initiative without defining academic criteria makes higher education a private good governed by neoliberal dictates of production, profit, and management (Laval, 2004; Lesniewski, Trevisol, & Bechi, 2023). Additionally, information and communication technologies have led to the platformization of education (Hypolito, 2012), treating professors as mediators in the teaching-learning process and favoring precariousness.

According to Antunes (2020), the introduction of distance learning in the workplace has reflected the characteristics of the Toyotist model, including an increase in temporary contracts that pay for services rendered. This labor structure is characterized by flexible, precarious contracts that offer few rights or career advantages. It exacerbates several concerning situations: (1) professors working outside their field of training, (2) inadequate or incomplete training, concurrent work with teaching, and high workloads, (3) lack of unionization and limited political participation, and (4) normalization of insecurity and uncertainty about the professional future, resulting in instability, job turnover, and professional and social devaluation.

Another relevant fact relates to the profile of the institutions. Although colleges represent the largest number of higher education institutions (HEIs) (75%), they account for only 11.38% of enrollments (INEP, 2024b). Universities represent 7.94% of institutions and account for 53% of enrollments. University centers represent 15.23% of institutions and account for 33.11% of enrollments (INEP, 2024b). In other words, a larger administrative category does not necessarily result in better working conditions for professors or greater access for students. After the pandemic, the number of professors working in the private network decreased, even though it has the largest student population. In 2023, 177,599 professors were employed by the public network, compared to 150,367 employed by private HEIs (INEP, 2024b, p. 62). However, private and nonprofit institutions represent 2,264 institutions, while public institutions, divided into federal, state, and municipal, represent only 316.

This movement has consequences for the number of students assigned to each professor. On average, there were 11.9 students per professor in public schools and 51.9 students per professor in private schools. However, the difference is even greater when looking at the numbers by type of course. For in-person courses at public higher education institutions, the ratio is 10.8 students per professor compared to 22.5 in the private system. For distance learning courses, there are 33.2 students per professor in the public system and 168.3 students per active professor in the private system (INEP, 2024b, p. 63). These conditions directly influence professors and the quality of teaching, signaling a sense of precariousness.

The Higher Education Census (INEP, 2024b) reveals contrasting trends in the public and private sectors. Over the past decade, the public system has increased its full-time teaching staff by 33.7%. In contrast, the private system, which accounts for the majority of enrollments and courses, reduced hourly contracts by 13.6%, part-time contracts by 3.2%, and full-time contracts by 1.7%. Today, unstable employment relationships predominate: 42.8% of professors work part-time, 30% are hourly employees, and only 25% are full-time employees. These figures represent the insecure working conditions associated with business management models. While the private sector maintains the minimum percentage of full-time, master's and doctoral degree holders required by Decree 9.235/2017, it also has the highest student-to-teacher ratio, particularly in distance learning. This modality is widely offered by private institutions (Trevisol, Fávero, & Mikolaiczik, 2025), which intensifies pressures on academic quality and teaching work.

The precarious nature of teaching jobs is evident through flexible contracts, which are made possible by labor reforms within the neoliberal production model. Adverse social conditions and low salaries exacerbate this dynamic, forcing professors to accept teaching positions in various subjects. In this scenario, although relevant to professional qualification, Goal 13 of the PNE (2014-2024) ends up reinforcing the logic of lifelong learning and normalizing competition. Dardot and Laval (2016) explain that subjective processes of standardization based on disciplinary techniques operate as devices of effectiveness. These devices are indispensable because without them, adherence to market logic would not occur spontaneously. Thus, professors internalize competitiveness

and the relentless pursuit of qualifications, perpetuating the cycle of precariousness and exploitation.

No matter how well intentioned the goals of training and qualifying professors in higher education are, the precariousness of the profession ends up emptying it of meaning if improvements in objective working conditions are not made. No academic title can guarantee the quality of teaching by itself. It is crucial to consider regional challenges because each state has its own specificities. The Brazilian educational landscape, especially higher education, reflects striking heterogeneity, requiring contextualized approaches sensitive to each region's particularities.

Following the pandemic, the number of professors working in private higher education institutions (HEIs) decreased, indicating challenges in the profession, including contractual instability and reduced working hours. Distance learning also became more popular during the pandemic, and teaching methods became more flexible. Regarding the work profile of professors in 2023, INEP's (2024a) BI statistical data panel shows that 63% of hires for face-to-face courses are full-time, while 47% are for distance learning. Of the total number of professors this year, 122,967 were full-time with exclusive dedication. The data points to 67,305 full-time professors without exclusive dedication, 79,497 part-time professors, and 55,237 hourly workers.

In the context of face-to-face courses, most hires still occur on a full-time basis. This type of contract offers a solid foundation and promotes stability for professionals. However, the proportion of full-time hires for distance learning is about 49.6%, indicating different demands between modalities and suggesting that the expansion of distance learning has been accompanied by a flexibilization of contractual relationships. Segmenting professors by their work arrangements reveals diverse contractual conditions representing different institutional strategies for managing teaching work with direct implications for professional stability and teaching quality.

Finally, although goals 12, 13, and 14 of the PNE (2014-2024) aim to expand access, teacher training, and innovation in higher education, they reveal contradictions when implemented in a context of prevailing neoliberal and privatization bias. Goal 12 focuses on increasing enrollment, prioritizing the public sector. However, the 2023 Census data reveals the absolute predominance of the private sector, contrasting sharply with this goal. This discrepancy is not only a quantitative deviation but also the manifestation of a project that prioritizes massification over effective democratization, ignoring fundamental issues of quality and social inclusion. Goal 13 highlights continuing training as a strategy to improve quality and may reinforce the logic of lifelong learning and normalize competitiveness among teachers. These central characteristics of neoliberal rationality intensify individual accountability and teacher overload. Although important for scientific and technological development, Goal 14, which focuses on expanding graduate studies, must be analyzed not only in terms of quantitative aspects but also in terms of the conditions under which this expansion occurs and its impact on the careers and working conditions of future teachers, especially given the increasing precariousness of labor relations in higher education.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article's analysis, based on the intersection of Marxian theory of work, literature on teaching work in higher education, and 2023 Higher Education Census data, reveals evidence confirming the research's central hypothesis: the 2023 Census data indicates the precariousness of teaching work in Brazilian higher education.

In a neoliberal society, working conditions impose a mantra of adaptability and acceptance of the given circumstances. This logic expands and colonizes all workspaces, including higher education. In the case of professors specifically, the naturalization and adoption of the ideologies of adaptability and self-entrepreneurship lead to their spontaneous acceptance of working conditions. This neoliberal meritocratic ideology divides modern humans into two categories: citizens with inalienable rights and economic individuals guided by their interests.

The neoliberal concept of lifelong learning is expressed in the PNE (2014-2024), which provides for professors' qualification up to the doctoral level in higher education institutions. However, the analysis of 2023 Census data indicates that this goal is not supported by a comprehensive social development project but rather by a logic that subordinates education to market imperatives. The 2023 Census data indicates this, showing the concentration of places in distance learning courses centered in private, for-profit institutions and a ratio of over 100 students per professor in this modality. This demonstrates how the production of this subject generates a type of professional that makes the profession precarious beyond contracts and remuneration, which potentially compromises the quality of teaching.

Even if the qualification targets set by the National Education Plan (PNE) are met, that definition proves problematic when detached from the objective conditions of work. Having 75% of faculty with a master's or doctoral degree does not prevent gaps in the knowledge transmitted to students if structural conditions do not allow the full exercise of those competencies. Teaching requires proximity between instructor and student and an understanding of individual particularities and needs. Physical distance, the number of faculty per program, the student-faculty ratio, and the need to alter the class format hinder personalized attention and limit knowledge transmission to the mechanical passing on of information.

The precarization of academic labor, according to the data analyzed, does not confine itself to a single administrative category, although it appears more acutely in private institutions. Data from Inep indicate that most full-time hires occur in the face-to-face modality, which represents the smallest share of programs, resulting in an imbalanced distribution of contracts. This imbalance also appears in the number of faculty per program across administrative categories, showing that the quantitative expansion of higher education has not been matched by a corresponding adjustment in faculty working conditions.

Precarization has a qualitative dimension as well: work overload and unstable contractual relations compromise the quality of instruction. While public institutions maintain a more balanced average of faculty per program, private institutions often

sacrifice educational quality to reduce costs, thus subordinating education to the logic of capitalist accumulation. This contrast signals not merely differences in institutional management but divergent projects for higher education, one oriented toward the social right to quality education, the other toward the commodification of knowledge.

Neoliberal rationality redefines higher education as a market good, seeking profit maximization at the cost of degrading academic labor. This scenario calls for a critical response that goes beyond denunciation and advances concrete alternatives. Productivist logic undermines educational quality and prevents training from serving as a process of intellectual emancipation, turning it into the mere reproduction of technical competencies aligned with market demand. High rates of temporary appointments and workload concentration, especially in distance education, reveal a practice that privileges financial efficiency over the formative experience and contradicts education's status as a social right.

These issues cast doubt on the sustainability of a model that sets priorities by a productivist neoliberal metric and leaves faculty working conditions at its mercy. Technology can serve as an ally of comprehensive education adapted to the pace of a globalized life, yet the purpose of educating cannot be treated as obsolete or subjected to a logic that weakens and constrains faculty work. Educators who remain unaware of this landscape risk reproducing in the classroom problematic situations from the standpoint of instructional quality, thereby perpetuating, albeit unintentionally, the mechanisms of precarization.

Education must not be subordinated to profit-driven logic or exclusionary political practices. A critical and transformative approach is urgent, one that balances system expansion with the recognition and dignity of the professionals who play a fundamental role in preparing future generations. This commitment implies not only resistance to ongoing processes of precarization but also the construction of alternatives that reaffirm the public and social character of higher education, that ensure decent working conditions for faculty, and that safeguard educational quality for students. Future research should deepen longitudinal analyses of these processes, incorporate additional data sources, and develop concrete proposals to confront the precarization of academic labor in Brazilian higher education.

REFERENCES

AGOSTINI, C. C. **O neoliberalismo e o docente empreendedor**: para onde vai o professor universitário em tempos de pós-pandemia? 2024. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Universidade de Passo Fundo, Passo Fundo, 2024. Disponível em: <http://tede.upf.br/jspui/handle/tede/2784>. Acesso em: 24 set. 2025.

ALMEIDA, A. A. L.; DAMASCENO, M. F. O neoliberalismo e a educação brasileira: a qualidade total em questão. **Revista Educação**, Guarulhos, v. 10, n. 2, p. 40-46, 2015. Disponível em: <https://revistas.ung.br/index.php/educacao/article/view/2160>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

ALMEIDA FILHO, N. A universidade brasileira num contexto globalizado de mercantilização do ensino superior: colleges vs. vikings. **Revista Lusófona de Educação**, Lisboa, n. 32, p. 11-30, 2016. Disponível em: <https://revistas.ulusofona.pt/index.php/rleducacao/article/view/5508>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

ANTUNES, R. **O privilégio da servidão**: o novo proletariado de serviços na era digital. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2020.

BEHRING, E. R.; BOSCHETTI, I. **Política social**: fundamentos e história. São Paulo: Cortez, 2016.

BIANCHETTI, L.; SGUISSARDI, V. **Da universidade à commodity**: ou de como e quando, se a educação/formação é sacrificada no altar do mercado, o futuro da universidade se situaria em algum lugar do passado. Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 2017.

BORSSOI, B. L. Vida humana, trabalho e educação em tempos de Pandemia (Covid-19). In: MORAES, D. R. S.; SUZUKI, J. C.; BORGES, V. (org.). **Análises de uma pandemia**: diálogos políticos e pedagógicos. São Paulo: FFLCH/USP, 2020. p. 194-208. DOI 10.11606/9786587621258.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. **Lei n. 13.005, de 25 de junho de 2014**. Aprova o Plano Nacional de Educação (PNE) e dá outras providências. Brasília: Presidência da República, 2014. Disponível em: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2011-2014/2014/Lei/l13005.htm. Acesso em: 15 nov. 2024.

DIAS SOBRINHO, J. Universidade em tempos de precarização e incertezas. **Avaliação**: Revista da Avaliação da Educação Superior, Campinas, Sorocaba, v. 23, n. 3, p. 736-753, 2018. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/aval/a/Vg74vx8NWmd97r75WF59njH/?lang=pt>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

CUNHA, L. Pesquisa mostra média de renda do MEI e decepciona com valor menor que 1 salário mínimo. **FDR**, Recife, 22 ago. 2024. Disponível em: <https://fdr.com.br/2024/08/22/pesquisa-mostra-media-de-renda-do-mei-e-decepciona-com-valor-menor-que-1-salario-minimo/>. Acesso em: 1 nov. 2024.

DARDOT, P.; LAVAL, C. **A nova razão do mundo**: ensaio sobre a sociedade neoliberal. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2016.

DEL REY, A. Le succès mondial des compétences dans l'éducation: histoire d'un détournement. **Rue Descartes**, Paris, v. 73, n. 1, p. 7-21. 2012. DOI 10.3917/rdes.073.0007. Disponível em: <https://shs.cairn.info/revue-rue-descartes-2012-1-page-7?lang=fr>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

FACIN, F. H. *et al.* Hibridização do ensino na educação superior: experiências pedagógicas em uma universidade comunitária do sul do Brasil. In: FACIN, F. H. *et al.* (org.). **Diálogos e práticas na formação docente**: reflexões e experiências. Curitiba: Editora CRV, 2024. p. 21-56. *E-book*. DOI 10.24824/978652516478.6. Disponível em: <https://loja.editoracrv.com.br/produtos/dialogos-e-praticas-na-formacao-docente-universitariareflexoes-e-experiencias/?variant=1240872403&pf=mc&srsId=AfmBOoox3RUqBnoAcFxJAJeOXjXR5VWWzVSk6tUITODxS4hdagev-ycr>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

FAGUNDES, A. C.; ALVES, A. J. L.; GONZÁLEZ CALVO, G. Precarização do trabalho docente: um mal compartilhado entre Brasil e Espanha. **Educação em Foco**, Belo Horizonte, v. 28, n. 54, p. 1-16, 30 abr. 2025. Disponível em: <https://revista.uemg.br/educacaoemfoco/article/view/8689>. Acesso em: 14 jul. 2025.

FREITAS, L. C. **A reforma empresarial da educação**: nova direita, velhas ideias. São Paulo: Expressão Popular, 2018.

FRIGOTTO, G. A polissemia da categoria trabalho e a batalha das ideias na sociedade de classes. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, São Paulo, v. 14, n. 40, p. 168-194, jan./abr. 2009. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rbedu/a/QFXsLx9gvgFvHTcmfNbQKQL/abstract/?lang=pt>. Acesso em: 5 abr. 2023.

GEMELLI, C. E.; CLOSS, L. Q. Trabalho docente no ensino superior: análise da produção científica publicada no Brasil (2010-2019). **Educação & Sociedade**, Campinas, v. 43, p. 1-20. 2022. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/7nxMVpRSVhk6XDrzpHS8fgy/?format=html&lang=pt>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

GENTILI, P. Adeus à escola pública: a desordem neoliberal, a violência do mercado e o destino da educação das maiorias. In: GENTILI, Pablo (org.). **Pedagogia da exclusão**: crítica ao neoliberalismo em educação. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2000. p. 228-252.

HOLANDA, F. H. O.; FRERES, H. A.; GONÇALVES, L. P. A pedagogia das competências e a formação de professores: breves considerações críticas. **Revista Eletrônica Arma da Crítica**, Fortaleza, v. 1, n. 1, p. 122-135, jan. 2009. Disponível em: <https://repositorio.ufc.br/handle/riufc/23045>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

HYPOLITO, Á. M. Reorganização gerencialista da escola e trabalho docente. **Educação: Teoria e Prática**, Rio Claro, v. 21, n. 38, p. 59-78, jan./jun. 2012. Disponível em: <https://www.periodicos.rc.biblioteca.unesp.br/index.php/educacao/article/view/5265>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

INEP. **Power BI Report**. Brasília: INEP, 2024a. Disponível em:

<https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrljoiMGJiMmNiNTAtOTY1OC00ZjUzLTg2OGUtMjAzYzNiYTA5YjlliliwidCl6jl2ZjczODk3LWM4YWMtNGlxZS05NzhmLWVhNGMwNzc0MzRiZiJ9&pageName=ReportSection4036c90b8a27b5f58f54>. Acesso em: 18 nov. 2024.

INEP. **Resultados do Censo da Educação Superior**. Brasília: INEP, 2024b. Disponível em:

<https://www.gov.br/inep/pt-br/areas-de-atuacao/pesquisas-estatisticas-e-indicadores/censo-da-educacao-superior/resultados>. Acesso em: 30 dez. 2024.

KREIN, J. D.; OLIVEIRA, R. V.; FILGUEIRAS, V. A. (org.). **Reforma trabalhista no Brasil: promessas e realidade**. Campinas: Curt Nimuendajú, 2019.

LAVAL, C. **A escola não é uma empresa: o neo-liberalismo em ataque ao ensino público**. Londrina: Planta, 2004.

LAVAL, C. **A escola não é uma empresa: o neoliberalismo em ataque ao ensino público**. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2019.

LEHER, R. Mercantilização da educação, precarização do trabalho docente e o sentido histórico da pandemia Covid 19. **Revista de Políticas Públicas**, Maranhão, v. 26, n. Especial, p. 78-102, 30 dez. 2022. Disponível em:

<https://periodicoseletronicos.ufma.br/index.php/rppublica/article/view/20262>. Acesso em: 10 ago. 2024.

LESNIESKI, M. S.; TREVISOL, M. G. BECHI, D. Gerencialismo e performatividade na educação superior: apontamentos sobre a incorporação de uma cultura neoliberal.

Revista de Educação Pública, Cuiabá, MT, v. 32, p. 686-705, jan./dez. 2023. DOI

10.29286/rep.v32ijan/dez.14097. Disponível em: <https://periodicoscientificos.ufmt.br/ojs/index.php/educacaopublica/article/view/14097>. Acesso em: 9 jan. 2024.

LESNIESKI, M. S.; OVIEDO, L. E. Z. O discurso do Banco Mundial para a educação na pandemia: neoliberalismo e expansão do ensino remoto como "oportunidades" para a América Latina e o Caribe no cenário de crise. **Série-Estudos**, Campo Grande, v. 28, n. 62, p. 35-58, 2023. DOI: 10.20435/serieestudos.v28i62.1746. Disponível em:

<https://www.serie-estudos.ucdb.br/serie-estudos/article/view/1746>. Acesso em: 4 nov. 2024.

MARX, K. **O capital: crítica da economia política: livro I: o processo de produção do capital**. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2017a.

MARX, K. **O capital: crítica da economia política: livro III: o processo global da produção capitalista**. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2017b.

MARX, K.; ENGELS, F. **A ideologia Alemã: crítica da mais recente filosofia alemã em seus representantes Feuerbach, B. Bauer e Stirner, e do socialismo alemão em seus diferentes profetas**. São Paulo: Montecristo Editora, 2022.

MAUÉS, O. A reconfiguração do trabalho docente na educação superior. **Educar em Revista**, Curitiba, n. especial 1, p. 141-160, 2010. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/er/a/F6k9ckz7BVSX9P6YWKSvmdt/?lang=pt>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

MÁXIMO, W. Quase 70% das empresas ativas no país são MEI, divulga ministério. **Agência Brasil**, Brasília, 6 jun. 2022. Disponível em: <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/economia/noticia/2022-06/quase-70-das-empresas-ativas-no-pais-sao-mei-divulga-ministerio>. Acesso em: 1 nov. 2024.

MINTO, L. W. Educação superior no PNE (2014-2024): apontamentos sobre as relações público-privadas. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 23, páginas, 2018. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rbedu/a/gqC8fgq6CzxBNjwsxQBrhdm/abstract/?lang=pt>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

MORAIS, A. M. Precarização da docência do ensino superior: Flexibilização e intensificação do trabalho docente. **RDS - Revista Desenvolvimento Social**, Montes Claros, MG, v. 28, n. 2, p. 204-225, 2022. DOI 10.46551/issn2179-6807v28n2p204-225. Disponível em: <https://www.periodicos.unimontes.br/index.php/rds/article/view/5507>. Acesso em: 14 jul. 2025.

PRYJMA, M. F.; BRIDI, J. C. A.; STREMEI, S. **Currículo e formação de professores: considerações sobre o desenvolvimento profissional**. Curitiba: EDUTFPR, 2023.

SCHLESENER, A. H.; FERNANDES DE LIMA, M. Reflexões sobre a precarização do trabalho docente no Ensino Superior brasileiro. **Práxis Educativa**, Ponta Grossa, PR, v. 16, p. 1-17, 2020. DOI 10.5212/PraxEduc.v.16.15116.003. Disponível em: <https://revistas.uepg.br/index.php/praxiseducativa/article/view/15116>. Acesso em: 14 jul. 2025.

SGUISSARDI, V. Educação superior no Brasil: democratização ou massificação mercantil? **Educ. Soc.**, Campinas, v. 36, n. 133, p. 867-889, out./dez. 2015. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/mXnvhVs7q5gHBRkDSLrGXr/abstract/?lang=pt>. Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

TREVISOL, M. G.; FÁVERO, A.; MIKOLAICZIK, D. R. Universidade e commodity: quando o mercado coloniza a educação superior: quando o mercado coloniza a educação superior. **Revista Brasileira de Pós-Graduação**, Brasília, v. 19, n. 40, p. 1-22, 2025. DOI 10.21713/rbpg.v19i40.2275. Disponível em: <https://rbpg.capes.gov.br/rbpg/article/view/2275>. Acesso em: 14 jul. 2025.

TREVISOL, J. V.; BALSANELLO, G.; BASTIANI, S. C. As políticas e as dinâmicas da interiorização da pós-graduação em Santa Catarina: um estudo sobre a região oeste.

Revista Internacional de Educação Superior, Campinas, v. 9, p. 1-25, 2022. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/riesup/article/view/8666782/29991>.

Acesso em: 9 set. 2025.

TUMOLO, P. S. **Trabalho e capital na virada do milênio**. Florianópolis: Editoria Em Debate, UFSC, 2018.

Authors' contributions

Marlon Sandro Lesnieski – Research planning, results analysis, writing, and final revision of the text.

Marcio Giusti Trevisol – Research planning and supervision, results analysis, writing, and final revision of the text.

Natália Pozzebon Oleini – Results analysis and writing of the text.

Declaration of conflict of interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest with the article "Precarization of teaching work in higher education: an approach based on the 2023 higher education census."

Data availability

All underlying materials that support this study are included in the manuscript.

Translated by: Silvia Iacovacci – Translation Service

Email: siacovacci@gmail.com