

ARTICLE

**TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP AND THE DRAMA OF TEACHERS’
PSYCHIATRIZATION: A STUDY BASED ON GOIÂNIA MUNICIPALITY DATA**

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ABSTRACT: This paper reports an investigation on the drama of teachers’ psychiatrization in the teacher-student relationship in the municipal educational system of Goiânia, Brazil, which is linked to the Project “Medicalization in Goiás: critical investigations in the history and contemporaneity of biopsychosocial practices and discourses”. The sick leave of elementary education teachers for medical reasons under code F index of the ICD-10 shows a framework of precariousness and alienation of work in capitalism, with impacts on the social relationship between teachers and students. We discuss the characteristics pointed out in this interaction that reveals the dialectical complexity of the drama of psychiatric illness and the material conditions of work experience. This result was based on a qualitative data analysis entered in summary cards, based on medical sick leave records made available by the Municipal Medical Board. Our reference was the Cultural-Historical Psychology as interpreted by Yves Clot’s Clinic of Activity. We considered 35 cards – out of 109 summary cards reviewed that refer to the teacher-student relationship during the process of teacher’s psychiatrization. Subsequently, we set categories, labeled complaints and developments, which reveal common processes in the suffering of those teachers. We observed that the presence of occupational psychopathologies is associated with the workers’ activity precariousness and expropriation of reality. We consider that this disease is a socially constituted process at the heart of a dialectical social-historical framework, and we conclude our investigation with emphasis on collective intervention as a resource to face psychiatrization, as well as offering support for public policies that aim to face precariousness.

Keywords: teacher-student interaction, cultural-historical psychology, medicalization.

RELAÇÃO PROFESSOR-ALUNO E O DRAMA DA PSIQUIATRIZAÇÃO DOCENTE: UM ESTUDO A PARTIR DE DADOS DO MUNICÍPIO DE GOIÂNIA

RESUMO: Vinculada ao Projeto “Medicalização em Goiás: investigações críticas na história e contemporaneidade de práticas e discursos biopsicossociais”, o presente artigo relata pesquisa referente ao drama da psiquiatrização docente na relação professor-aluno da rede municipal de Goiânia. O absentismo-doença de professores da educação básica, por razões médicas codificadas com o índice F do CID-10, mostra um contexto de precarização e de alienação do trabalho no capitalismo, com impactos na relação social entre docentes e estudantes. Discutimos as características apontadas dessa (e nessa) interação que desvelam a complexidade dialética do drama do adoecimento psíquico e das condições materiais da vivência laboral, com a análise qualitativa de fichas-síntese elaboradas a partir de prontuários de licenças médicas disponibilizados pela Junta Médica Municipal de Goiânia. Nosso referencial foi a Psicologia Histórico-Cultural tal como interpretada pela Clínica da Atividade de Yves Clot. Consideramos 35 fichas – de 109 analisadas – que se referem à relação professor-aluno no decorrer do processo de psiquiatrização docente. Em seguida, criamos categorias, rotuladas como queixas e desdobramentos, que revelam processos comuns no sofrimento desses docentes. Observamos que a presença de psicopatologias laborais se relaciona à precarização e à desapropriação do real da atividade pelo trabalhador. Consideramos que a doença é um processo socialmente constituído no âmago de um contexto histórico-social dialético, finalizando nossa pesquisa com destaque para a intervenção coletiva como recurso de enfrentamento à psiquiatrização, bem como subsidiando políticas públicas que visem a enfrentar a precarização laboral.

Palavras-chave: interação professor-aluno, psicologia histórico-cultural, medicalização.

RELACIONES DOCENTE-ALUMNO Y EL DRAMA DE LA PSIQUIATRIZACIÓN DOCENTE: UN ESTUDIO BASADO EN DATOS DEL MUNICIPIO DE GOIÂNIA

RESUMEN: Vinculada al Proyecto “Medicalización en Goiás: investigaciones críticas en la historia y contemporaneidad de las prácticas y discursos biopsicosociales”, esta investigación de Iniciación Científica se refiere al análisis del drama de la psiquiatrización docente en la relación docente-alumno en la red municipal de Goiânia. El absentismo de docentes de la educación básica por motivos médicos codificados con el índice F de la CIE-10 muestra un contexto de precariedad del trabajo en el capitalismo, con impactos en la relación social entre docentes y alumnos. Discutimos las características señaladas en esta interacción que revelan la complejidad dialéctica del drama de la enfermedad psíquica y las condiciones materiales de el trabajo, con el análisis cualitativo de fichas de síntesis, elaboradas a partir de actas de licencias médicas puestas a disposición por el Consejo Médico Municipal. Nuestra perspectiva fue la Psicología Histórico-Cultural según la interpretación de la Clínica de la Actividad de Yves Clot. Se consideraron 35 fichas que se refieren a la relación docente-alumno. Creamos categorías, divididas entre quejas y sus desarrollos, que revelan procesos comunes en el sufrimiento de estos docentes. Nuestras conclusiones notan que la presencia de psicopatologías ocupacionales está relacionada con la precariedad y expropiación de lo real de la actividad de los trabajadores. Concluimos nuestra investigación con énfasis en la intervención del colectivo como recurso para enfrentar la psiquiatrización, así como subsidiar políticas públicas que apunten a enfrentar la precariedad del trabajo como un proceso socialmente constituído en el seno de un contexto dialéctico histórico-social.

Palabras clave: interacción profesor-alumno, psicología histórico-cultural, medicalización.

INTRODUCTION

The animation *Inside Out* (named in Brazil *Divertida Mente*) (2015) sensitizes us with the feelings of a teacher in the classroom setting. The teacher asks a question and there is no sign that the students are about to answer. The disinterest in the worker's activity finds its maximum manifestation in a child who sleeps while the teacher teaches. This fictitious example draws attention to a socially shared perspective regarding the teaching professional genre: the recipient of the activity, that is, to whom the objective of the work is directed, does not seem receptive and interested in the activity performed. The activity, both practical and psychic (and these are not separated in the teaching work), implies the production of a context in order to exist (CLOT, 2010). When the worker acts without feeling active in his/her job, he/she makes the very effectiveness of his/her action questionable, in addition to causing occupational psychopathologies. In this connection, the teacher of this animation voids her mind from the activity, which does not represent a context of existence for him/her.

Nevertheless, each job and profession contains its own social genre, that is, "[...] an implied part of the activity, which is known and observed, by the workers in a given environment and expected and recognized, appreciated or feared" (CLOT, 2010, pp. 121-122). We always ought to consider that work is, from the Marxist theoretical-methodological perspective, what grounds the formation of humankind (MARX, 1844/2010). So that the "[...] work process is considered an activity, and that this must always respond to some need of the subject and be directed to the object capable of satisfying that need" (URT et al., 2020, p. 258). Therefore, we have work in perspective, based on the activity as a fundamental category of psychic constitution. In addition, each social work genre has certain attributes that reveal part of its dialectical logic, among aspirations, goals and fears.

The issue of psychiatric illness for psychology, in occupational settings, should be evaluated as a process. Clot also points out that the activity becomes unbearable as the workers' experimentation is inhibited, preventing the workers' inter and intrapersonal acknowledgment of their work. This process affects their health through a negative judgment "[...] in relation to what they would like to have done, what they actually performed compared to what they could have done, what they ended up doing compared to what they thought they had done" (CLOT, 2010, p. 300). When pondering the psychic involvement of teachers, Duarte (2020) considers that there is an intersection of objective and subjective factors. We should detail these factors always referring to a dialectical constitution that keeps the whole human being in perspective; that is, considering that, in many cases, the social constitution of illness restrains the possibility of this process becoming a form to go through new experiences. Objectivity (real experience condition) needs to be closely associated with subjectivity (expressed by the power to act), considering precariousness as a condition of contemporaneity that affects everyday school life, causing low appreciation of the teacher, both symbolic and economic (HASHIZUME, 2020).

A historical and dialectical materialist understanding considers that subjects build their own history, although "[...] they do not make it of their own free will; because they are not the ones who choose the circumstances under which it is made, but these were transmitted to them as they are" (MARX, 1852/2021, p. 25). Thus, the teaching illness is evidenced in a context of possibilities and impossibilities, that is, of the actual activity that considers both the activity performed and the one that could have been performed (CLOT, 2010). In this connection, the pedagogical activity, instead of developing the teaching potential, makes the teacher experience "[...] objective working conditions, such as alienation from work and precariousness, which impact their activity in a concrete and punctual way, in which professionals fail to develop teaching practices in the ideal way" (NÜSSLE, 2021, p. 91).

Thus, delving deeper into the apprehension of teacher illness directly reflects the need to also relate to the work object, considering that the social meaning of school is "[...] to teach students scientific knowledge, causing them to develop higher psychological functions,

such as memory, concentrated attention, abstraction, creativity, among other functions” (FACCI; URT, 2018, p. 286); the teacher’s role is that of a mediator between the student (or child, in the case of children education) and knowledge. Its purpose is “[...] to lead the individual to appropriate historically and collectively produced cultural elements, necessary for the individual development of the human being” (NÜSSLE, 2021, p. 90). The objective of the teacher’s work, i.e. the recipient, towards which the meaning of the teacher’s activity is directed, is another human, involved in the very object of the teacher’s work.

According to Clot, in the professional activities in which the object of the activity is constituted by other subjects, a “[...] *site of a collision between activities or, at least, of an exchange*” (2010, p. 22, emphasis added) is configured. Let us add: one of the specificities of teaching in basic education is dealing with subjects of different development and socio-cultural backgrounds levels, which makes teaching an even more challenging process for mental health, with multiple possibilities for job satisfaction and success – but also of frustration and failure.

In addition, the Vygotskian drama category configures, for us, a strong theoretical resource for the analysis of the teaching experience, first considering “[...] human development as a transformation over time, of a whole set of social relations and the system of interfunctional relations that is correlated to them – comparable to the unfolding of a 'plot' staged in several 'acts'” (DELARI JR., 2011, p. 185). Depending on the social function (role) that the person performs, there will be a conflict between roles that can be antagonistic regarding the evolution (decision making). There is a possible hierarchy of roles in different spheres of social life; and the clash between them sets up the drama. “Thus, saying that 'personality dynamics is drama' goes beyond the image of a 'play in several acts'” (idem, p. 185). We consider it fundamental for the reasoning process to understand this dramatic nature of personality development that “[...] as a 'dramatic' process, it is full of important vital decisions whose gains and losses *are not easily deleted from memory*” (NÜSSLE, 2021, p. 48, emphasis added). In this connection, we see Clot's valuable distinction between the realized activity (*activité réelle*) – which is done within the limits imposed by reality – and the real extent of activity (*réel de l'activité*), which is also encompassed “what one does not do, what one tries to do without being successful – the drama of failures [...] what one would want or could have done and what one thinks one is capable of doing elsewhere” (CLOT, 2010, p. 103). Intended activities end up acquiring a sickening energy. The real extent of activity also involves the psychic plane of the undermined desires of an individual contrast with the crude limitations of the work that he/she is urged to carry out. We had several indications of these phenomena, in our dive into the medical records indicative of teacher psychiatrization. As Delari Jr. (2011) also observes, what was given up will continue to hover in the life of the subject who made a given choice.

The classroom is the main setting for the drama of the teacher's illness, where the interactive plot takes place with the student who will (or will not) give meaning to the activity of this professional genre. Thus, the restriction of the power to act in the face of precarious working conditions causes or contributes to psychological illness. It is in this connection that, in this work, we aim to delve into the relationship between teaching and the (human) object of its work, that is, the teacher-student relationship and its consequences in the process of teaching psychiatrization in the municipality of Goiânia, deepening in an analysis of the dramatic characteristics of illness stories documented in medical records.

METHODOLOGY

In previous stages of our academic advisor's research project, summary forms¹ were prepared based on teachers’ sick leave records filed at the *Junta Médica Municipal de Goiânia* (JMM, Municipal Medical Board of Goiânia). For this purpose, medical records of teachers of early childhood education, elementary school (cycle I and II) and Youth and Adult Education

¹We leave in the APPENDIX the model of summary form.

(YAE) who were granted leave(s) of absence for psychiatric reasons (chapter F of ICD-10) were selected between the years 2015-2017; the illness should be based on the medical records that showed a relationship with the teaching work. Subsequently, the data were entered into the webQDA platform², which provided the elaboration of qualitative works, also with simple analyses using descriptive statistics. Thus, the data we reviewed refer to the teachers' psychiatrization dramas involving versions of the subject and third parties about such process – such as family members and immediate supervisors –, addressed to the JMM team, such as experts and social workers. We detail these aspects, as it is necessary to bear in mind the address of the discourse that we will be using in our analysis, as well as the objectives underlying the description of the illness³.

It was noticed, during the elaboration of the summary cards, the teacher-student relationship as a main or ancillary determination of the psychological illness process, which was confirmed through the text search in the webQDA from the terms: “stud*”, “student*”, “child*” and “adolescent*.” Through the webQDA, we selected 62 forms among the 109 summary forms elaborated. After initial analysis, 35 forms remained that linked the teacher-student interaction to the illness process. We carefully read the selected forms, highlighting all points associated with the relationship investigated, culminating in the creation of two categories (*complaints*⁴ and *developments*⁵) that focus on the teacher-student relationship and work in general, presented below. To better express our findings, we built the following tables that identify the categories created and their frequency:

Table 1 – Teachers' complaints indicating their psychological illness (Goiânia municipality)

CATEGORY	FREQUENCY
Trauma (dramatic event)	13
Aggression/Violence suffered or experienced	10
Family problems	10
Stress	6
Indiscipline	6
Health (with no occupational relationship)	5
Work overload	4
Impossibilities in the inclusion of students with disabilities	3
Difficulties in student-knowledge mediation	3
Prejudice suffered	2
Noise	2

Source: Prepared by the authors based on research data.

²webQDA is a software to support the analysis of qualitative data in a collaborative environment, in which it is possible to analyze non-numerical and unstructured data - text, image, video, audio (WEBQDA, 2017).

³ The summary forms consisted of summaries of the civil servant drama whose trajectory was documented in each selected medical record, synthesized in the source organization stage. They contained information about the functional insertion of the civil servant, the relationship between illness and work, medications, complaints and reasons self-declared/declared by third parties about the illness, among other aspects, ending with a narrative description of the process of psychiatric illness.

⁴We consider as complaints all the experiences, sufferings and demands that the forms point out as decisive conditions in the illness process.

⁵We consider as developments all behaviors, behavior, emotions, feelings and other manifestations that teachers report as being consequent to the illness process.

Table 2 – Developments of the psychic illness of teachers for the teacher-student relationship

CATEGORY	FREQUENCY
Student aversion	13
Fear of the classroom	12
Problems in early childhood education	6
Aggression/lack of control with student	6
Pedagogical difficulties/problems	5
Low self-esteem towards professional activity	4
Inappropriate teacher behavior	2

Source: Prepared by the authors based on research data.

Although we show the number of times each category is noted, our interest was to evaluate the interaction of all in a dialectical totality. Therefore, our discussion goes on scrutinizing details of this categorization, keeping in mind that each summary form integrates a long, complex and contradictory singular process of suffering. In our discussion, we assigned fictitious names to the teachers and reported excerpts from the summary forms.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The dramatic dynamics of personality constitution crosses all complaints and developments in a context of job precariousness and alienation. To explain it, we started the discussion by specifying that the categories *Dramatic event, Stress, Overload, Prejudice Suffered, Difficulty/pedagogical problems, Family problems and Health (with no occupational relationship)* will be worked on, not separately, but instead in a dialogue with the other categories.

We first chose to deal with the *Dramatic event* category, that is, as already pointed out by Nüssle (2021), events/experiences that insistently affect the memory and which are turning points, marking the before and the after in the subjective relationship with work/activity. In this category, we include excerpts from the summary forms in which teachers on sick leave say they are *traumatized* by a situation in the school setting. Out of the thirteen times this was mentioned, twelve are associated with situations of aggression (suffered or committed) and violence in the school environment. We then treat, together with the trauma, the breakdown of *aggression/lack of control with the student and the complaint of aggression/violence suffered or experienced*.

Here, the singularity of the data and the dramatic contradictions of the teaching work are manifested, since, in many moments, we have precise reports of violent and aggressive behavior committed by teachers. The respondent Lírio reports according to his summary card that “Panic and anxiety in the handling of class is the most frequent feature, in addition to stress and work overload After attacking the girl, he started to be afraid to keep in touch with children” (Excerpt from Lírio’s summary card)⁶. It resembles Lily the drama of Amelia:

The civil servant reports that, since starting to work in the municipality, she has been heavily pressured for her activities, generating stress and anxiety, which, later on, were exacerbated by family events that contributed to the worsening of her emotional condition, which ended up by her committing aggressions towards students (Excerpt from Amélia's summary form).

⁶We point out that the summary forms were prepared for the period 2020-2021 by Karinny Gonçalves da Silva, Pablíny Marques de Aquino, Virginia Maria Ferreira Beltrão and Gisele Toassa (SILVA et al., 2021).

We also have Agapanto's report, mentioning that "[...] he was afraid of attacking the students; he already had two lawsuits against him filed by students for verbal and physical aggression (pushing)" (excerpt from Agapanto's summary card). We perceive, through these excerpts – representative of the drama of these and other teachers, a dialectic crossing of *stress*, *overload*, *family problems* and other factors that constitute the teacher-student relationship, even if indirectly.

We end the category of aggression committed by teachers with a detailed description: "The violence he committed occurred when a female student repeatedly sought him out during class to just show him a watch. In an apparent outburst, he threw the object against the classroom wall, yelling" (excerpt from Anthurium's summary card). The teacher's outburst in the classroom with the student, who at that moment was showing him an object, sustains the recurrent teacher's perception of the classroom as a determiningly stressful space, as can be generally observed in the references (with emphasis on FACCI; URT, 2020; FERREIRA, 2016; APEOESPE, 2012).

We notice (especially in Lírio's drama) the marking of the before and the after of the dramatic event, which also occurs when aggression or violence is suffered by the teacher. Gérbera, an EJA teacher, reports that "In 2015, she was the victim of a robbery in the school setting, which spurred a psychological illness, with symptoms of anxiety, panic syndrome, and malaise in relation to the school and the students" (Excerpt from Gerbera summary card). Margarida "[...] reports being threatened with death by a student, having mood swings, insomnia, anhedonia and apragmatism" (excerpt from Margarida's summary card). Rosa, on the other hand, states "Anxious affective bipolar disorder, acutely manifested after being assaulted by a student during work activities" (excerpt from Rosa's summary card).

First of all, violence is present in society and invades the school space, as an effect of the class struggle in capitalist society, "[...] that man suffers from his inability to achieve and, (sic) how he cannot feel safe, he reacts to situations as impulses in the form of anger against the other" (FACCI, 2019, p. 134). Clot considers that in "[...] pathology, there is, in fact, a subjective creation" (CLOT, 2010, p. 100). That is, the experience with aggression and violence in the occupational context configures a subjective re-creation that restricts the possibility of development. "The subject prevents himself by appealing to protections established in the past, in the course of similar situations. Individuals defend themselves against fear by using fear" (CLOT, 2010, p. 108). The traumatic mark that violence provides to the teachers' illness drama relates aggressive actions as a subjective limit that, when exceeded, exposes the unbearability of the conditions imposed on their job. In this connection, we move on to the classroom as the main scenario of the teacher-student relationship, featured by *Fear/aversion* of teachers in the process of becoming ill. There is a generalization process of fear that we can consider as an affective formation (VIGOTSKI, 1933-1934/1996) that transcends, therefore, the very situation in which it was generated, becoming a real aversion to the main space in which work should actually be performed with rewarding emotions and socially relevant purposes.⁷

We consider the *Stress*, *Indiscipline and Noise* categories indicative of the classroom environment. Teacher Teobaldo "[...] reports having 'classroom panic', various phobias, paroxysmal anxiety, and medication use [...] reports still not supporting the 'stressor effect' of the classroom" (excerpt from Teobaldo's summary form). Teacher Torênia mentions the socioeconomic condition of the school where she works, considering that her illness increased when she was transferred to a "[...] school on the outskirts that had many problems with student indiscipline" (excerpt from Torênia's form). Tulipa complains about the "[...] indiscipline of the students and that she suffers prejudice due to her motor disability and asks for better conditions for her work" (excerpt from Tulipa's summary form). On the other hand, the

⁷ Here, we believe it is useful to point out the existence of an "affective formation" that transcends the punctual emotional experiences of teachers, generalizing them.

teacher's principal indicates that the students complain about the teacher's irritation and lack of respect for them, as well as her didactics.

The principal of a school reports, on teacher William's illness, that “[...] students take advantage of the teacher's weakened emotional condition, being undisciplined” (excerpt from William's summary form). Nemésia says she can't stand the noise “[...] from the students and gets very distressed” (excerpt from Nemésia's summary form). Gardênia, on the other hand, tells the expert that the readaptation “[...] helped to improve the situation, as the noise of the students and the level of cognitive demand used to trigger anxiety attacks” (excerpt from Gardênia's summary form). Cordélia enters a “[...] state of fear, panic, after watching the exchange of gunfire between teenage students at the school where she teaches. She is traumatized with fear [...]; she just cries continuously” (from Cordelia's summary form). Viola points out health and family problems along with the “[...] fear of working with the Institute's students, as it is an Education course for adolescents, young people and adults – EJA. Some are difficult, have problems with drugs and the constant fear has not let her work” (excerpt from Viola's summary form).

These brief excerpts are endowed with contents indicative of school dynamics: a *stressful* place, where *noise and indiscipline* prevail in the face of work that, under precarious conditions, led teacher Cravo to have “[...] as a 'hypothesis that the classroom may have been the primary factor for the difficulties presented” (excerpt from Cravo's summary form). According to Borges, teaching is “[...] marked by an intense process of violence, both verbal and physical, disrespect, indiscipline and lack of interest in learning” (2014, p. 175). In this connection, we can consider this process an objective and material impediment in the activity of mediation, since, far from being an inert work, the teacher reflects broader characteristics of the historical context. In this same research, Borges (2014) points out that the tensions most considered by teachers are indiscipline/lack of support from students' families, as well as crowded classrooms. That is, again, the classroom as an unhealthy field of action is already given as a common fear of the professional teaching gender.

Azaleia also indicates that “She has a 'panic' in the classroom and gets irritated with everyday stressors, turning into a 'wild beast' if things are not done her way” (excerpt from Azaleia's summary card). Teacher Gardênia reports: “[...] thinking about the possibility of returning to the classroom 'causes panic and extreme suffering” (excerpt from Gardênia's summary card). This fear of the classroom is directly linked to the nature of the teacher-student relationship, as it is in this scenario that the pedagogical activity – in general – takes place.

We will now deal with some categories that characterize this interaction, first with regard to *Difficulties in student mediation -knowledge*, then *Impossibilities in the inclusion of students with disabilities* and *Problems in early childhood education*.

As we have already considered, supported by other works, the professional teaching genre consists of the mediation between a subject-object (student or child) and the sharing of historically accumulated knowledge. In this connection, some teachers have particular suffering associated with the role of mediation, leading Íris to complain “[...] about the difficulties faced in the classroom, and especially about the attitude of the students who each year becomes more complex” (excerpt from the Iris summary card). We regret that, at the time of the expert's interview, the teacher was not asked what she considered to be “complex”.

The difficulty in understanding the role of mediator (in addition to objective conditions that prevent mediation), also unfolds into *Inappropriate teacher behavior* in the classroom framework, leading to various forms of idiosyncratic behavior. As in Teobaldo's drama, in which the school principal mentions that the teacher: “[...] uses dirty talk, takes off his shirt, shoes, puts his feet on the table, lies down on the floor asking a student to come up on his back to massage it, claiming to feel pain” (excerpt from Teobaldo's summary card). We now consider that “The renunciation of professional gender, for whatever reason one can imagine, is always the beginning of an individual action disorder. It therefore performs an irreplaceable

psychological function” (CLOT, 2010, p. 125). This is exactly what we noticed in the teaching illness process: the renunciation of functions and activities of the professional genre configures a disordered process of action, thus leading to behaviors considered inappropriate by the social understanding of the genre.

Another example of this same category of unfolding is in Catarina's drama, about which the principal reports “[...] that she has pedagogical difficulties and problems in dealing with her parents. Several people consider her not suitable for EI because she does not respect the rules imposed at school” (Excerpt from Catarina's summary card). For *Early Childhood Education* (ECE), we consider the difference between student and child, in which the latter requires a close bond in caring and educating⁸, in addition to a close cooperation relationship of teacher-student-family⁹. This process requires a bond with the child so that the mediation of socially shared symbols, signs and rules is internalized. In Jasmim's illness process, the particularities of ECE and its potential consequences are evident in a society that, in a sharing of the teaching social gender, does not consider care as part of the education process:

[...]she does not feel happy working with three-year-old children; it is as if she were regressing professionally, and she does not want to be called by nicknames such as 'aunt', nor establish bonds with them. [...] she has been monitored by a psychologist since 2010 and still feels tremors facing aggressive children, nausea when filling out reports, taking a long time to do planning activities [...] markedly reducing her capacity to feel tenderness for children and difficulties in concentrating or to complete work-related tasks, indicating that the aggressions previously suffered by the teacher in her work environment took on impeding proportions in her life. [...] mentions frustration for not having been able to deal with the situation experienced (Excerpt from Jasmim's summary card).

For the pedagogue, early childhood education activities are professional regressions. It is common “[...] to confuse early childhood education with school education, child with student, activity room with classroom” (MELLO, 2015, p. 3). Until recently, day care centers were nested in the Secretariat of Welfare, and not in the Ministry of Education, dissociating caring from educating. “By thinking this way, we promote two devaluations at the same time: we devalue the role of the professional who cared for (and educated) the child and we devalue the child's ability to learn” (MELLO, 2015, p. 4). The devaluation of the teacher's role in educating young children is evident in Jasmim's statements and is a fundamental part of her psychiatrization process.

We now move on to the specific condition of *Impossibilities in the inclusion of students with disabilities*. Magnólia says “she had ‘psychological problems’ after teaching a child with a mental disability [...]” (excerpt from Magnólia's summary card). Prímula reports “I am afraid of not being able to help after teaching an autistic student; of having already reached his limit” (excerpt from Prímula's summary card). Here, we note again the marking of the before and the after of a dramatic event; in this case, the consequence of the challenge of including students with disabilities, which, in our view, would urgently require a unique reconstruction of the professional genre (or stylization of work, according to CLOT, 2010), since each demand for inclusion is unique.

Once again we highlight Jasmim's complex illness: “[...] she had a class with a disabled child to take care of. This child physically abused her on a routine basis, with no assistant available” (Excerpt from Jasmim's summary card). This teacher demonstrates the precarious conditions that restrict subjective professional genre re-creation through style, which, according to Clot, we can understand that “[...] has the power to expand the possibilities of personal and professional transformation of the subjects, but, to do this it is necessary to go

⁸Early childhood education aims to educate and care in close dialogue and respect for families, allowing them to work together with institutions (BRASIL, 2009).

⁹Early childhood education, in the context of basic education, links education and care as an inseparable process.

beyond the limits imposed by the genre” (PIZZI; MELLO, 2012, p. 142). That is, the modification of the professional genre depends on the resources available for the activity, and the precariousness of work prevents the re-creation of the genre. Continuing in this same illness drama, we report:

At one point in the interview, [...] distressed, she said 'I wasn't like that. I've always been a creative and motivated person in my work'. In this *Centro Municipal de Educação Infantil* (CMEI, Municipal Center for Childhood Education), the teacher states that she no longer wants to establish bonds with the children, nor does she want to be emotionally involved with the institution. (Excerpt from Jasmine's summary card).

The crossings of complaints and developments are evident; in this case, by preventing the stylization of the work due to a material impossibility - the lack of an educational assistant -, drastically modifies the dramatic constitution of the personality, resulting in a *Low self-esteem for their professional activity*. According to Clot (2010; 2021), style is the professional liberation of the genre existing as a mediation between the prescribed activity and the performed activity. Thus, the meaning of a job well done is given not only by the possibility of following and fulfilling the prescribed work. Style would be the way in which the individual appropriates the genre, being able to redefine and resignify the prescribed task, thus creating an original and subjective variant of the profession, which is still socially and historically acceptable, and can become part of the genre (PIZZI; MELLO, 2012). The dramatic constitution of the personality and the restriction of development in pathological conditions lead teachers to a split between the objective of the prescribed activity and the possibilities of stylizing their activity. Clot claims that:

In the course of the activity that begins, the full development of the genre is divided into two moments: the activity of the subject who engages in the presupposition of the activity of another, who then engages, using the genre adapted to the situation. Individual style is, above all, the transformation of genres into the real history of activities when acting according to circumstances (2010, p. 126)

There is a metamorphosis in genre, in the course of the activity, which leads the worker to recognize himself in his work and that constitutes his power to act which is seriously undermined in the situations described. We can then work on the last – and most significant – development: *Aversion to the student*. This condition emerges basically from the restriction of the power to act as a teacher, especially when the work product is the appropriation of knowledge and culture by another human being. In *Aversion to the student* – already evidenced in some excerpts –, we have the expressive drama of teacher Hibiscus who stated:

[...] he feels that he is going to faint when he is stressed in the classroom, he has palpitations and he gets tired easily [...] contact with students worsens his condition. He tried out for a coordinator role, but felt even worse about having to deal with all the students in the school. He also reports having difficulties planning classes, remembering the content taught, the difficulty in maintaining students' discipline, lack of motivation with all kinds of activities and disagreement with the 'current standards'. Finally, the teacher feels unmotivated and limited with readaptation, but fears returning to the classroom and worsening his health condition again (Excerpt from the Hibiscus summary card).

Additionally to the stress of the classroom concerning the role of the mediator of knowledge and a lack of recognition of the social meaning of the school – expressed by the current education standards, the cards report cases of complete aversion to students. In some of them, teachers demonstrate aversion to an age group or cycle, but, in the case of Hibiscus, this extends to all students, even outside the classroom context. Last, we address the drama of Amarilis who, after readapting her role, stated “[...] that now she feels much better without contact with the students and that she would attempt suicide again if she were to have contact with the students again” (excerpt from Amarilis' summary card).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the first place, we ask the question: what is the meaning of the activity for teachers who feel aversion to the student, that is, they cannot stand their work subject-object? We do not have answers to this question so far, but the enquiry remains, in considering the relevance of the understanding of which aspects of the professional teaching genre these teachers recognize and what is the relationship of this aversion with the precarious material and human conditions in which they carry out their work.

The dialectical and dialogical constitution of the illness, crossed by a hierarchy of activities that frequently collide, confuse and oppose each other is actually evident. In this connection, teachers in their different roles feel overwhelmed. Social ills constitute the breeding ground of such situation so that the expression of alienation and suffering – due to violence and professional discredit – crosses the walls of the educational institutions yielding a frightening number of violent and aggressive expressions which are not the subjective responsibility of the teacher or student who commits them, but as a loss of meaning of the teacher's socially shared professional gender.

In short, there is a curtailment of the power to act in the face of the heterogeneity of the human object of teaching work and the various specificities that it assumes – depending on territoriality, age group and specific conditions of inclusion – in precarious contexts. We understand, with Clot (2010), that this ill-condition should be a tool of dramatic personality development, and not a mere end of activity. However, the painful experience annihilates this force; it would however materialize “[...] only if the teacher also finds around him, with his peers, compensation resources in collective social life and in the social plurality of the environments where the teacher is inserted” (2010 p. 115). That is, the work, even conflicting, presents itself as a means of existence within a strengthened collective. Hence, without disregarding the need for treatment of the sick subject, the disease, as a socially constituted process, will actually only be treated collectively. As the structure of interests internalized from social relations interferes with the social regulation of conduct, we can consider that the drama of a specific individual is also the drama concerning these particular relations, which, in turn, are inserted in the more general sphere of the mode of production (e.g., Capitalism). As highlighted by Toassa (2014), the Vygotskian psychology project encompassed general, particular and concrete psychology, thus: “To every (social) ideology corresponds a psychological structure of a defined type – but in the sense of subjective assimilation and bearer of the ideology in the sense of the construction of layers, strata and functions of the personality” (VIGOTSKI, 1929/2000, p. 33). When investigating singular dramas, we also produce knowledge about their constitutive social relations, their work scenarios, in addition to the dilemmas and suffering experienced individually, but of common significance to many people.

The strengthening of the collective will also be a resource for an integrated and concise struggle to face job insecurity. It is necessary, as an example, to strengthen trade union movements and support teachers' mental health public policies' development. In this connection, we reckon that Clot's clinic of activity can be a strong ally if, together with public health instances (such as the JMM itself), it provides collective referrals and not just individualistic ones, such as readaptation, which leads to a split between work and its human object (the student or child). Similar concerns affect other palliative resources – such as the use of psychiatric drugs and sick leaves. In order to actually solve the sources of teacher psychiatrization, we highlight the importance of reflection, deliberation and collective action so that the health-disease process transcends individualistic treatments of social forms of teacher's suffering.

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Author 3 - Data collection, data analysis and final writing review.

Author 4 - Collection and organization of data.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

STATEMENT OF APPROVAL BY THE RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

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