

# Not a Virtual Education

## The Entanglement of the Private and Public Spheres in the Lives of Women Teachers During the Pandemic in Iran

ROUHOLLAH AGHASALEH

*California State Polytechnic University Humboldt*

ZARI AGHAJANI

*Azad Islamic University Tehran*

It matters what stories tell stories.

It matters what thoughts think thought.

It matters what worlds world worlds.

Stengers & Despret (2015), attributing the spirit of the quote to Virginia Woolf

THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC BROUGHT NOT ONLY A PUBLIC HEALTH CRISIS but also a moral, economic, and political reckoning—one that exposed and intensified existing inequalities across class, race, gender, and geography. In Iran, as in many parts of the world, women disproportionately bore the burdens of this crisis, particularly in the realm of education. As schools shifted to virtual platforms, the domestic space of the home was transformed into a site of professional labor, often without sufficient institutional support or acknowledgment. This study asks: *How did the move to virtual teaching during the pandemic entangle professional responsibilities with domestic expectations in the lives of Iranian women educators?*

The pandemic made visible what feminist theorists have long argued: the personal is political (Hanisch, 1969). In Iran, this entanglement manifested through intensified caregiving responsibilities, disrupted work schedules, increased emotional labor, and heightened vulnerability to gender-based violence. At the same time, teachers were expected to perform uninterrupted professional duties as if nothing had changed. These paradoxes lie at the heart of this study.

Grounded in feminist standpoint epistemology (Harding, 1991; Haraway, 1991), the project uses a feminist case study methodology to explore the lived experiences of ten women secondary school teachers in East Tehran. All participants were married with children and belonged to Iran's socio-economic middle class. Through informal yet focused conversations, the

study captures the complexity of their teaching lives during lockdown, not as isolated anecdotes but as politically charged narratives. The narratives presented here engage with storytelling as a method of environmental and ethical pedagogy, recognizing the interdependence of human and nonhuman agencies (Aghasaleh, Bishop, & Atsumi, 2020).

Nancy Fraser's (2017; 2019) concept of progressive neoliberalism offers a critical framework for understanding how the ideologies of empowerment and inclusion can mask deeper patterns of dispossession. This theoretical lens helps interpret how the language of responsibility, flexibility, and digital innovation in education often functions to privatize structural crises, placing the burden on women in ways that reinforce both patriarchal and neoliberal logics.

This paper proceeds with a literature review and theoretical framing, followed by a detailed description of the methodology and participants. Findings are presented in three thematic sections, with participant voices foregrounded to illuminate the emotional and material costs of virtual teaching. The conclusion argues that the crisis is not just logistical but moral, and that any educational reform that ignores the private-public entanglement in women's lives remains ethically insufficient.

Although the study centers on data collected in 2021, its findings remain profoundly relevant in 2025. The structural conditions that surfaced during the pandemic—particularly the fusion of domestic and professional responsibilities for women educators—have not disappeared. These narratives offer enduring insights into how gendered labor remains vulnerable under ongoing neoliberal pressures.

### Theoretical Framework and Background of Research

This study is grounded in feminist standpoint epistemology and draws on the work of Nancy Fraser (2017) to understand how power structures shape the experiences of women educators during the pandemic. Feminist standpoint theory (Harding, 1993; Hartsock, 1998) posits that knowledge is situated and partial, and that those positioned at the margins—such as women navigating both public and private demands—offer critical insights into oppressive systems.

The feminist slogan “the personal is political” (Hanisch, 1969) critiques the artificial separation of public and private spheres, a dichotomy historically used to devalue domestic labor and women's experiences (Arendt, 1958/2013; Weedon, 1987). Feminist theorists argued that caregiving, housework, and emotional labor—typically assigned to women—are not apolitical or incidental, but are central to how power operates in both households and institutions (Grumet, 1988; Walkerdine, 2003).

Nancy Fraser's (2017, 2019) concept of *progressive neoliberalism* further elucidates how neoliberal logics co-opt justice-based discourses to sustain inequality. She argues that neoliberal capitalism often aligns with the symbolic goals of social movements (e.g., empowerment, inclusion) while undermining their material foundations. This can be seen in education's push for digital innovation and teacher adaptability, which often shifts structural burdens, like infrastructure costs, time demands, and emotional labor, onto individual teachers, particularly women.

This framework allows us to read the pandemic not only as a logistical disruption but as a political moment in which the privatization of responsibility—and the entanglement of domestic and professional spheres—became glaringly visible. It positions women teachers as key informants on the gendered moral crisis of “virtual” education.

## Feminist Theorizations of the Political

Paolo Freire (1970) argued that “education is entirely political” and “never neutral” (p. 19). This foundational idea resonates strongly with feminist frameworks that locate power not only in public institutions but also in personal, domestic, and intimate life. Feminist theorists (Federici, 2012; hooks, 1984; Rich, 1976) have long insisted that the home, the family, and even the body are political sites, shaped by social norms, power relations, and systemic inequalities. In this context, the shift to virtual teaching during the pandemic did not depoliticize education—it intensified the presence of politics in everyday domestic routines. Schools and curricula play an essential role in curbing or making meaningful changes. That implies that teachers and policymakers should consider participating in the power structure.

In the public/private dichotomy, the political is defined as opposed to the personal. The position of politics is outside the home, and in the patriarchal axiology is typically considered masculine. Therefore, the equivalence of the personal and the political by Hanisch (1969) is regarded as a substantial deconstruction. The main message of this feminist critique and a major theory of the second wave of feminism is to interrogate the public and private spheres (Kelly, 2017). Many of those who fought for women's suffrage and liberation from legal oppression in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were aware of the connection between the personal and political domination of the patriarchal system over women. However, before the 1960s, a small number of feminist activists questioned the unique role of women in the family. When feminists fought for equal suffrage or access to education, many considered the prevailing assumption that the woman being in charge of the family's care was natural and inevitable (Crow, 2000).

The second-wave feminist movement demonstrated that what had previously been regarded as apolitical was, in fact, deeply political. Just as public authorities—through formal laws and the unwritten values of a patriarchal society—shape relationships, roles, and even intimate obligations within the home, feminist critique sought to expose and challenge these dynamics. Recognizing the political nature of the so-called “private” sphere of gender, housework, childcare, and family life revealed that what was once treated as natural is actually situational, socially constructed, and therefore open to critique. Across disciplines and perspectives, feminist scholars have examined how women's personal lives intersect with workplace inequality and with both the physical and psychological dimensions of subjugation (Hughes-Decatur, 2011; Pittard, 2015). Decades later, it is widely acknowledged that the connections between the private and public aspects of life are profound and pervasive.

## The Life of Women Teachers

In the field of education, many women have historically entered educational institutions as labor to escape domestic violence. This participation was welcomed because the patriarchal social structure continued to dominate the bodies and minds of women. Grumet (1988) asserted that although female teachers serve patriarchal values in schooling, they are still part of the workforce that can feel liberated by relieving themselves of personal responsibilities and gaining economic independence.

Walkerline (2003) analyzed the role of women teachers within neoliberal systems and showed that their survival and advancement require serving patriarchal and class values—not only to succeed but simply to sustain their careers. Similarly, Pittard (2015) demonstrated that

patriarchal discourses place women teachers in perpetual competition with themselves, a contest that can never be won. The rules of this competition are constructed so that women are never “good enough”—never brilliant enough, beautiful enough, artistic enough, capable enough, housewifely enough, or child-loving enough—and thus are positioned to blame themselves and one another, both explicitly and implicitly. Some of these idealized traits are so contradictory that fulfilling them simultaneously is nearly impossible (Salazar-Parreñas, 2001).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women were caught at once in two patriarchal systems, often within the same physical space. On the one hand, they bore the disproportionate burden of domestic labor within the private sphere; on the other, they were responsible for the care of others’ children in the public sphere. At the same time, epidemic patients required care, older people required care, and children displaced from schools required care. This essential but unpaid work of “care” has historically fallen to women because of entrenched social structures. For single mothers, these overlapping demands translated into even more difficult choices and pressures.

In addition to Fraser’s critique of progressive neoliberalism, it is important to situate this study within the broader body of research on the gendered effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. Globally, scholars have documented the ways in which the crisis intensified structural inequalities, especially for women. Peterman et al. (2020) found that pandemic conditions increased women’s exposure to violence and domestic instability, particularly when stay-at-home orders restricted mobility and isolated victims. These pressures were often invisible but deeply impactful, especially for women working from home.

Aldossari and Chaudhry (2020) emphasized that burnout among women intensified as the boundaries between caregiving, domestic responsibilities and professional work collapsed. Their findings mirror the emotional fatigue and self-surveillance described by participants in this study, who often felt compelled to uphold perfection in both their home and teaching lives without structural support.

Studies from other national contexts affirm this trend. Allen, Jerrim, and Simms (2020) reported significant declines in teacher well-being during the early stages of the pandemic, driven by uncertainty, lack of digital infrastructure, and increased pressure to adapt. Although their research is situated in the United Kingdom, the parallels with the Iranian context are clear. Across regions, educators—especially women—were rendered simultaneously essential and unsupported.

As Lewis (2020) put it, “The coronavirus is a disaster for feminism,” not because it created entirely new inequalities, but because it stripped away the fragile scaffolding that had previously concealed them. This crisis revealed the enduring reliance on women’s unpaid and under-recognized labor, both in education and the domestic sphere. The testimonies offered by the teachers in this study not only echo these global concerns but also contribute culturally and politically specific perspectives that deepen our understanding of feminist vulnerability under conditions of progressive neoliberalism.

## **Research Methodology**

This research employed a feminist case study methodology, grounded in feminist standpoint epistemology. Feminist case study approaches center the lived experiences of women within specific socio-cultural contexts and foreground issues of power, voice, and reflexivity (Bloom, 1998; Hesse-Biber, 2007; Reinharz, 1992). This methodological orientation resists the neutrality of traditional case study methods and instead emphasizes positionality, emotion, and

ethical relationality in knowledge production. It is particularly appropriate for examining the entangled personal and political dimensions of women's labor during the pandemic.

Thematic analysis was conducted through inductive coding, a process by which patterns and themes are derived directly from the data rather than imposed in advance (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014). Initial open codes were clustered into categories that reflected recurring metaphors, tensions, and contradictions. These themes were then reviewed and refined. Member-checking involved sharing thematic summaries and selected transcript excerpts with four participants to verify the credibility of interpretations. This occurred after the initial round of coding but before final theme development. This study also aligns with post-qualitative and relational approaches to inquiry that resist rigid methodological formulas in favor of situated, ethical, and responsive research practices (Aghasaleh & St. Pierre, 2014; Aghasaleh, 2019).

### Participants and Site

Ten secondary school teachers were selected from East Tehran. All participants were women, married, had children, and self-identified as middle-class. This shared demographic allowed for a focused exploration of how gender, class, and caregiving roles intersected during the pandemic. Pseudonyms are used throughout to protect participant confidentiality.

### Data Collection

Data were collected through informal, open-ended conversations conducted virtually in Fall 2021. While not framed as formal interviews, these conversations followed a flexible guide rooted in feminist qualitative approaches that prioritize relationality, trust, and contextual relevance (Reinharz, 1992). The prompts were designed to explore participants' experiences at the intersection of professional and domestic life.

Sample prompts included:

**Table 1**  
**Interview Questions**

No.	Question
1	How has the breakdown of boundaries between home and work impacted your teaching hours and responsibilities?
2	What effect has your physical presence at home and remote teaching had on your relationships with family members (children, spouse)?
3	During instructional hours, how do family members support (or expect) you to perform your professional duties?
4	How have the expectations of being at home influenced your emotional well-being?
5	Can you describe the number and age of your children, your marital status, any eldercare responsibilities, and how domestic labor is divided (e.g., childcare, cleaning, cooking)?

These open-ended questions were asked by both authors in Farsi, the participants' native language. The questions were tailored to each participant's comfort and context, encouraging storytelling, reflection, and emotional expression.

## Findings

The analysis of the conversations with ten secondary school teachers in East Tehran revealed three interrelated areas of tension that shaped their experiences of virtual teaching during the COVID-19 pandemic. These themes illustrate how professional obligations, domestic responsibilities, and social expectations intersect, intensifying the emotional and physical demands on women educators.

### The Collapse of Work–Home Boundaries: Restructured Time, Relationships, and Emotional Balance

The shift to online teaching dissolved the spatial and temporal boundaries between professional and domestic life, fundamentally altering teachers' rhythms, relationships, and emotional well-being. The physical convergence of workplace and home led to rising expectations from family members, disrupted schedules, and intensified internal pressure to perform optimally in both spheres.

Participants shared that seemingly minor domestic issues, once manageable or overlooked, became amplified in the new work-from-home arrangement. Sarah, a math teacher, expressed the emotional strain of trying to meet household responsibilities while teaching remotely:

*I feel sad and guilty that I have time to teach online and I cannot give breakfast to my little child, or sometimes I am so busy teaching that I do not have time to prepare lunch for my family.*

These heightened expectations, compounded by the internalization of responsibility for maintaining household harmony, undermined participants' self-esteem. Teachers were often grateful to be physically present at home but simultaneously felt burdened by the pressure to meet traditional gendered roles. Huriya, a geology teacher, illustrated this tension:

*I am thrilled to be at home and physically present, but both online teaching and housekeeping have been difficult for me.*

The desire to be perfect in every role became a pervasive theme. Teachers internalized societal and self-imposed expectations to function flawlessly as mothers, wives, and professionals. Hosna, a biology teacher, confessed:

*In the spirit of perfectionism, I try to take care of everything promptly.*

Although being at home was assumed to support work–life balance, many participants described emotional disconnection from their families, especially their children and spouses. Mehri, for instance, lamented how the intensity of remote teaching affected her relationships:

*Teaching for hours and sitting in a separate room, as well as being constantly busy answering students' questions, has robbed me of opportunities to be with my family, and I cannot help but answer my students, and I feel so far away from my family.*

This sense of distance was intensified by the collapse of boundaries between work hours and personal time. Teachers became continuously accessible to students, with no defined off-hours or opportunity to decompress. Samaneh, a Persian language arts teacher, observed:

*[In the past] I had a set time and a specific workday, a specific schedule, I could make time for my children, my partner, my home and get some rest, but now, although we are not physically present at school, we are available to students all day, and we do not have a regular schedule anymore.*

Manijeh, an Arabic foreign language teacher, echoed this experience:

*My work schedule and timing are disrupted. With our access to phones and cyberspace, school officials and students expect teachers to be always online and available to answer questions, reducing the level of tolerance and patience for students and administrators. They expect their request to be answered immediately. Working hours used to be more orderly in person.*

She continued:

*The working hours in the online class have increased for me because I answer children's questions in private chats. In addition, a large number of children send homework or questions every day and every hour, even at one o'clock after midnight, and expect prompt answers.*

Even within the home, disruptions and unmet expectations made it difficult to maintain a professional teaching environment or meet family needs without conflict. Mastaneh, a physics teacher, shared a particularly telling moment of frustration:

*During my class, I get furious at the noise that my little five-year-old daughter makes; I have to argue with her, and I make my child and family members upset all the time.*

These accounts reflect how the collapse of the boundary between work and home created not only logistical challenges but also emotional conflict, leading to a daily negotiation of role strain, identity dissonance, and exhaustion.

Beyond the blurring of boundaries, these women also navigated persistent and often internalized gender roles that reinforced inequitable domestic labor expectations.

## Internalized Gender Roles and Cultural Expectations: Sustained Inequities in Domestic Labor

While many participants acknowledged receiving some support from their families, most emphasized that responsibility for domestic tasks remained largely their own. These dynamics reveal how patriarchal gender norms remained deeply embedded, shaping how participants interpreted their roles at home.

Despite contributing economically and professionally, women teachers often viewed housework and caregiving as inherently their duties. Husbands, when involved, were typically described as reluctantly or minimally supportive. Nastaran, an English foreign language teacher, commented on this imbalance:

*Usually, we do things together at my request; I just wish it could be done without an argument and dispute.*

The participants' social and professional roles created a dual identity: while their labor granted them a degree of emancipation, it also introduced new layers of guilt, fatigue, and emotional fragmentation. Hamta, a teacher of Religion and Life, highlighted this tension:

*I became a teacher to have social relations outside the house; being with students and interacting with my colleagues gave me much energy. Now I feel tired and isolated.*

Some participants expressed satisfaction with staying home and fulfilling traditional roles, reflecting a degree of acceptance—or even embrace—of dominant cultural norms. Khadijeh, a writing teacher, stated:

*I am pleased with the new situation and being at home because I can take care of my house, my children, and my spouse and not worry about traffic and arriving late.*

Others described the psychological toll of performing domestic labor alongside professional responsibilities, even while being physically present in the home. Nastaran remarked:

*It is difficult to accept that family members are not available while at home and that the present is indeed absent.*

These narratives illustrate how internalized patriarchal values shaped not only behavior but also emotional responses. The women were not only expected to fulfill multiple roles but were also conditioned to view these roles as natural and non-negotiable. Their social presence in the labor market did not diminish household expectations but rather added a new burden, layered with invisible emotional labor.

In parallel with the persistence of gendered domestic roles, participants also described the devaluation of their profession as an extension of feminized labor.

## The Devaluation of Teaching as Feminized Labor: Amplified Feelings of Isolation, Insecurity, and Stress

The undervaluation of teaching as a profession was a recurring concern among participants, particularly in how it intersected with their identities as women. Many expressed that teaching was perceived by others—including their families and communities—as easy, underpaid, or nonessential work, compounding their sense of invisibility and undervaluation.

Huriyah, a geology teacher, captured this sentiment:

*Unfortunately, a teacher is understood only by a teacher, and our family members and spouses do not understand us. I feel lonely.*

In addition to social devaluation, teachers faced practical financial burdens related to online instruction. Participants reported covering expenses for laptops, phones, and internet packages themselves—costs that were not reimbursed by employers. This led to additional stress and tension within families. Huriyah explained:

*Providing equipment for virtual classes such as laptops, cell phones, and Internet packages is all the responsibility of the teacher, and this is an additional expense for the family. This in itself causes concern and anxiety, the consequences of which are transmitted to students during teaching, and it goes back to the family.*

The constant digital exposure required by remote teaching created anxiety over privacy, home appearance, and interpersonal dynamics. Many teachers feared the long-term implications of students having access to their domestic environments. Tahereh, a math teacher, reflected:

*My partner is a retired and very hard-working veteran and has a second job, mostly having phone calls with a thunderous voice which sometimes sounds harsh for people around him. Unfortunately, this tone of voice has affected our sons as well. Of course, I do my best to respect and keep a distance, but well, I am constantly under the stress of leaking noise into my class.*

Leila, too, expressed concern about background noise and disruptions caused by young children:

*Most of the time, my problem with the noise around me is from my little boy; he cannot understand and cannot be silent for several hours until I finish teaching.*

Teachers described the need to mask their stress, fears, and fatigue during online sessions to preserve authority and classroom rapport. This performance of professionalism while managing household chaos led to a state of emotional dissonance. The tension between appearance and reality—between teacher and woman, worker and caregiver—was persistent and destabilizing.

Taken together, these themes show that what appeared as a temporary shift to online teaching in response to crisis actually exposed—and exacerbated—deep, ongoing structural inequities. The convergence of domestic and professional spaces under progressive neoliberalism and patriarchal expectations magnified women teachers' vulnerability while obscuring the magnitude of their labor.

## Conclusion

These narratives, though situated in the early years of the pandemic, continue to resonate in 2025. Their temporal specificity is precisely what gives them critical force. By capturing women's voices at the moment when the boundary between the public and private spheres was abruptly erased, these narratives document not only a crisis but also a rupture in everyday life. That rupture made visible the gendered architecture of labor, responsibility, and institutional neglect that long preceded the pandemic and persists in its aftermath. Listening to these stories now is not about looking back with nostalgia or closure. It is about recognizing that crises illuminate what is always already there. The lived realities of these women remain essential to ongoing conversations about care, labor, and justice in education (Acker, 1995; Blackmore, 1999).

Neoliberalism has reconstructed human experiences at all levels of society in many parts of the world. Although there is considerable variation in the definition and understanding of neoliberalism, there is widespread agreement among scholars that neoliberalism once again has contributed to the enhancement of economic rationality in social life, the inverse redistribution of income and wealth in favor of the rich, and the commodification of almost all things (Brown, 2015; Fraser, 2017; Risager, 2016).

The scope and depth of neoliberalism's influence have been greatly enhanced by the opportunistic and flexible potential to blend in with other powerful social ideas, practices, and movements to advance goals. In particular, Nancy Fraser (2017) argues that progressive neoliberalism has successfully served the powerful currents of social justice movements by redirecting their movements' efforts. This bloc of hegemonic forces, by shifting and rearticulating justice-oriented ideals within a post-capitalist political economy, has come to support liberal goals such as empowerment, inclusion, LGBTQ+ rights, post-racialism, multiculturalism, post-feminism, and environmentalism. This has reduced struggles for equality to the demands of meritocracy, the transformation of emancipation into efficient, personal responsibility and personal participation (Kumashiro, 2012), and the manifestation of environmental care as a support for the carbon trade.

Although the concept of progressive neoliberalism has been debated for analytical and ideological reasons, a series of emerging studies trace Fraser's (2017) concept of progressive neoliberalism in various disciplinary areas, such as media studies, women's studies, and the social sciences. These insights deepen our understanding of the paradoxical, diverse, and potential manifestations of neoliberalism, while at the same time inspiring hopeful spaces for theoretical innovation and social change in feminist struggles and social welfare.

The increasing participation of women in the labor market and the expansion of their employment in the world is an important indicator to assess the extent of women's social presence in today's societies. It is widely said that women's employment in the global labor market has never been more significant than it is today. Although increasing women's employment helps reduce poverty and economic growth, gender discrimination and injustice to their rights in the labor market and many other social areas continue. Thus, the two neoliberal and patriarchal capitalist domination systems intersect and limit women's lives.

The COVID-19 pandemic, as an unprecedented event in the political and economic history of the world and the repulsive interference of the workplace and the home, has made working women even more vulnerable. In this case study, we have conducted conceptual and empirical analyses of women's lives at the professional and personal levels (now co-located).

Finally, while emphasizing the multifaceted nature of the current crisis, we argue that as long as women remain more vulnerable than men, it is unethical to regard the situation as “normal.” In light of these inequities, it is also unjustifiable to celebrate or accelerate the shift to online education without scrutiny. We call on education decision-makers and leaders to create safe environments where women can share their experiences without fear of judgment, in the hope of raising awareness and contributing to meaningful change in the lives of women—and men.

Revisiting the thematic concerns of this study—the entanglement of duties, internalized gender roles, and the devaluation of teaching—we see that these are not just individual struggles but structural manifestations of patriarchal neoliberalism. In this sense, the study contributes to broader conversations about methodological response-ability in times of crisis and disruption (Aghasaleh & St. Pierre, 2014; Aghasaleh, 2019). As Virginia Woolf’s quote reminds us, “It matters what stories tell stories.” These charged narratives not only document the crisis but urge us to rethink how we value care, labor, and pedagogical justice in post-pandemic education.

### References

- Aghasaleh, R. & St.Pierre, E.A. (2014). A reader’s guide to post-qualitative inquiry proposals. <http://goo.gl/3OC5b2>
- Aghasaleh, R. (2019). Introduction. In R. Aghasaleh, (Ed.), *Children and Mother Nature: Storytelling for a Glocalized Environmental Pedagogy* (pp. 1-8). Brill|Sense. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004399822\\_001](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004399822_001)
- Aghasaleh, R., Bishop, J., Atsumi, Y. (2020, December 3). *Banality of evil: Sexism and online teaching during the pandemic*. 2nd Teaching Excellence Symposium. Humboldt State University. Virtual.
- Acker, S. (1995). *Teachers, gender and careers*. Falmer Press.
- Aldossari, M., & Chaudhry, S. (2020). Women and burnout in the context of a pandemic. *Gender, Work & Organization*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12567>
- Allen, R., Jerrim, J., & Simms, S. (2020). How did the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic affect teacher wellbeing?. *Centre for Education Policy and Equalising Opportunities (CEPEO) Working Paper*, 20-15. <https://ideas.repec.org/p/ucl/cepeow/20-15.html>
- Arendt, H. (1958/2013). *The human condition* (2nd ed.). University of Chicago Press.
- Blackmore, J. (1999). *Troubling women: Feminism, leadership and educational change*. Open University Press.
- Bloom, L. R. (1998). *Under the sign of hope: Feminist methodology and narrative interpretation*. SUNY Press.
- Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism’s stealth revolution*. Zone Books.
- Crow, B. A. (2000). *Radical Feminism: A Documentary Reader*. NYU Press.
- Federici, S. (2012). *Revolution at point zero: Housework, reproduction, and feminist struggle*. PM Press.
- Fraser, N. (2023). From progressive neoliberalism to Trump—and beyond. In Léger, M.J. (Ed.). *Identity Trumps Socialism: The Class and Identity Debate after Neoliberalism* (pp 99-113). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003320890>
- Fraser, N. (2019). *The old is dying and the new cannot be born: From progressive neoliberalism to Trump and beyond*. Verso Books.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

- Grumet, M. R. (1988). *Bitter milk: Women and teaching*. University of Massachusetts Press.
- Hanisch, C. (1969). *The personal is political*.  
<http://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PersonalIsPol.pdf>
- Haraway, D. (1991). *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Women*. Free Association Books.
- Harding, S. (1991). *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?* Open University Press.
- Harding, S. (1993). Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: "What Is Strong Objectivity?". In L. Alcoff & E. Potter (Eds.), *Feminist Epistemologies* (pp. 49-82). Routledge.
- Hartsock, N. C. (1998). *The feminist standpoint revisited and other essays*. Routledge.
- Risager, B.S. (2016). Neoliberalism is a political project. *Jacobin Magazine*.  
<https://jacobin.com/2016/07/david-harvey-neoliberalism-capitalism-labor-crisis-resistance/>
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2007). Feminist research: Exploring, interrogating, and transforming the interconnections of epistemology, methodology, and method. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (pp. 1–26). Sage Publications.
- hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. South End Press.
- Hughes-Decatur, H. (2011). Embodied literacies: Learning to first acknowledge and then read the body in education. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, 10(3), 72-89.
- Kelly, C. (2017). The personal is political. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. May 01, 2017.  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/the-personal-is-political>
- Kumashiro, K. K. (2012). *Bad teacher! How blaming teachers distorts the bigger picture*. Teachers College Press.
- Lewis, H. (2020). The coronavirus is a disaster for feminism. *The Atlantic*, 19(03).
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Peterman, A., Potts, A., O'Donnell, M., Thompson, K., Shah, N., Oertelt-Prigione, S., & van Gelder, N. (2020, April 1). Pandemics and violence against women and children. *Center for Global Development Working Paper 528*.  
<https://www.cgdev.org/publication/pandemics-and-violence-against-women-and-children>
- Pittard, E. (2015). Who does critical pedagogy think you are? Investigating how teachers are produced in critical pedagogy scholarship to inform teacher education. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 10(4), 328-348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554480X.2015.1066679>
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. Oxford University Press.
- Rich, A. (1976). *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Salazar-Parrenas, R. (2013). Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work. In C. R. McCann & S. Kim (Eds.) *Feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives* (pp 202-217), (3rd ed). Routledge.
- Stengers, I., & Despret, V. (2015). *Women who make a fuss: The unfaithful daughters of Virginia Woolf*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Walkerdine, V. (2003). Reclassifying upward mobility: Femininity and the neoliberal subject. *Gender and Education*, 15(3), 237–248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250303864>
- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*: Blackwell.

