Juana Torres Cierpe

Precarity among Tertiary Educated Civil Servants

The Case of Chilean Honorarios
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INTRODUCTION

The present research is part of a current effort to understand the issue of identity in the world of labour. For this purpose, I chose to analyse a group of employees within the Chilean public sector known as Honorarios. I aim to search for common identity factors among these employees based on the experience of non-recognition. However, beforehand there are some previous academic antecedents that I consider necessary to mention.

During my career as a researcher, I always approached labour movements from preconceived notions of identity. Whether as a social class or as a movement, such a preconceived concept limited my research to a search for factors that should previously be present in the groups I analysed. The investigation thus seemed like a list where every item on it I had to check. Before my doctorate, my research background consisted of various analyses of workers' movements relevant to Chilean society. My focus was on copper and forestry workers, who constituted significant social movements over the last decade. As I conducted my studies, I observed that the pre-constituted notion of identity restricted the knowledge about forming such social movements.

In the course of my investigations, another analytical question arose. Suppose social movements in the world of work have a pre-determined identity that mobilises them to transform themselves into movements. How is it possible to think about the constitution of social movements in groups that do not have a pre-determined identity? The groups I have studied so far have a great trade union tradition in Chile. Therefore, it was easy to find elements of a pre-determined identity such as similar material conditions, class consciousness, the principle of opposition, the common enemy, recognition as workers, and consideration of work as the centre of life. Thus, I began to observe groups of workers in even more precarious conditions than the workers I had studied: in situations of informality, without unions, without minimum labour rights. I started to note that it was impossible to find preconditions for identity in all workers' groups.
Another antecedent that marks my reflection process is the study about the changes in the world of labour. I began to understand that work did not play the same role that was supposed played in a preconceived identity concept. To better understand this issue, I even studied authors who declared the death of labour as a constitutive centre of society. Although I understood that the world of work had undergone essential transformations, it did not seem possible to sustain that it no longer played any role in people’s lives. The discussion regarding the current importance of work in contemporary societies is the topic I addressed in my master’s thesis. From my essay, I learned that work still plays an essential role in the world, but not the same as in the preconceived notion of identity that I had previously employed.

The issue that initially mobilised my doctoral research conjugates all these reflections. My question focused on how to rescue the notion of identity in work in a non-predetermined way while assuming that labour plays a role in people’s lives but necessarily central for them. To this reflective process is added a personal experience in my professional career. Before starting my PhD, I worked as an Honorarios employee. Although I had always performed under the Honorarios statute in my professional career, in 2013, several factors came together. Together with a group of friends of similar ages (young people) and various professions, we discovered that we were all under the same Honorarios statute. With them, we began a process of reflection about Honorarios. The result was the creation of a union, called ATHONO (Association of Honorarios Workers). Thanks to my participation in this union, I observed, analysed, and lived precariousness as a complex phenomenon.

My participation in this union allowed me to address several questions about my reflective process. One of the most important was related to what role I could play as a researcher in forming a union or labour movement. A first approach to the response was the creation of a think-tank within the union. In Chile, there is no such advanced research culture within the unions. However, this question about the researcher’s role in the world of work relates to my previous reflections on identity and work. So, I arrived at the first conclusion. If identity in the world of work has no prior existence, then my quest must reverse identity analysis.
From this first conclusion, I realised that the answer is not to discard the concept itself even if there is no prior working identity. My interest and persistence in not abandoning this idea relate to workers' need to defend their rights. Whether as a union or a labour movement, workers require to fight for fairer working conditions. Thus, I concluded that identity, having no previous existence, could be understood as a state in the making.

My task as a researcher had to be, therefore, a contribution to the workers' struggle. To this end, I had to understand identity as a final objective and not as a previous antecedent. My first approach to achieving this goal was to think that I could look for the factors among workers that had the potential for identity. I came to the outcoming that I could study the subjectivities of the workers in an exploratory way. These subjectivities may have points in common, but each has its particularity. In this sense, my research could allow uncovering those commonalities previously unknown. From this form of reflection, I realised how the analysis of identity could reverse. In this context, I became interested in the subject Honorarios employees of the public sector, a topic that I introduce below.

Honorarios are a group of workers who perform functions in the public sector known as Trabajadores a Honorarios. To comprehensively approach their situation, I use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology. Between 2015 and 2016, I conducted 60 interviews in Valparaiso and Santiago's cities to know the perceptions of different Honorarios on their situation. In these interviews, I included female and male employees from the central administration and the municipalities. As a complement to the qualitative analysis, I carried out a quantitative reconstruction based on statistics, which, although scarce in Chile, allowed me to deepen the knowledge about the Honorarios situation. And even though there are Honorarios in both the public and private sectors in Chile, I just selected employees from the public sector for reasons that I explain later. A first important aspect about these workers is they are hired both in central administration and municipalities to perform activities as any public employee but without the same recognition. Therefore, to give them the recognition they deserve, my thesis's first statement stipulates they are employees to whom...
and not workers. As a form of homage, I consider it fundamental to credit their work and responsibilities.

To know more about the situation of the Honorarios, it is worth explaining what this statute means in the legal context. According to the Chilean labour office (Dirección del Trabajo), Honorarios is a person who provides services to a second party, whether an institution or a natural person. This modality of work falls in the category of "leasing intangible services", and no labour code (neither public nor private) cover it. The Honorarios statute defines itself as an agreement between two civilians: the person who delivers the service and the person who demands it. On the paper, both decide, on an equal footing, the terms under which the service develops. The civil code regulates the Honorarios agreement, and therefore, it does not classify as an employment contract.

One of these employees' most significant problems is that the public sector has used Honorarios as an essential workforce over the last few decades. Unlike the private sector, the situation of Honorarios is less regulated in the public sector due to a legal vacuum. In the private sector, there is a labour code that applies - called Código Laboral - by which there is a time limit on the hiring of Honorarios. Suppose a worker spends more than three months hired as Honorarios in the private sector. In that case, they can report the situation to the Chilean labour office (Dirección del Trabajo) and claim the existence of contract presumption. The labour code assumes a contract's existence whenever there are dependency and subordination in a labour relationship. Faced with this situation, the Chilean labour courts usually rule in favour of the plaintiff worker. As a result, the number of Honorarios in the private sector is considerably lower than in the public sector.

In the public sector, the situation of Honorarios is quite different: the labour code that governs this sector -the administrative statute (Estatuto Administrativo)- does not contemplate the figure of contract presumption. Because of this legal vacuum, the public sector has hired employees at Honorarios without committing an unlawful act. The absence of this legal contraindication derives from the fact that this labour code does not contemplate a time limit on the Honorarios hiring nor the presumption of a false employment contract. In cases involving Honorarios' lawsuits claiming a presumption of contract, the courts have usually ruled in favour of the state. Besides,
an *Honararios* employee may be subject to unilateral dismissal because the agreement stipulates that it may be a cessation of activities when one party decides. Thus, the party represented by the state may request the end of activities of an *Honararios*, which translates into a unilateral dismissal. Under all these conditions, this type of employee suffers a *labour relationship in disguise*.

This situation has many consequences in terms of labour conditions for them. *Honararios* employees work as any other public employee, performing the same functions without recognising as an employee or the same labour rights. *Honararios* employees are not entitled to vacation, prenatal and postnatal, unionisation, collective bargaining, mandatory social contributions, accident insurance, and so on. They cannot either pursue a career, receive bonuses, training or other benefits applicable to public employees formally hired by the state.

The denial of rights that *Honararios* suffer results in situations of discrimination. Even if public employees do not segregate their *Honararios* fellows, the statute does create such problems. For example, this dissertation's respondents describe a typical case, where they must work side by side with public employees to achieve institutionally mandated goals. By performing these goals, the public employee gets extra bonuses while *Honararios* not. Another illustration described by respondents is the exclusion of parties organised for public employees as Christmas or New Year at which *Honararios* cannot attend.

A further example is the protests organised by public employees to demonstrate injustices within their labour sector. In such demonstrations, respondents declare that they are afraid to participate because of the risk of being fired (even though public employees' demands also concern *Honararios* for being part of this sector). This type of situations leads *Honararios* to perceive an experience of non-recognition: although they are public employees and perform as such, *Honararios* do not receive any recognition, either legally or symbolically speaking.

Considering these conditions, I define that the *Honararios* are under a situation of precarious employment. Their particularities have led me to choose this group of employees as my study subject. *Honararios* employees' case reveals an inherent and widespread problem of today's world of work: the lack of recognition at the legal and
symbolic level as a common characteristic of precarious jobs. **Precariousness understood as a lack of recognition implies a negation of labour rights and an absence of worker recognition.**

From this case, it is possible to observe that precariousness is not only concerned with low-wage non-professional workers. Indeed, *Honorarios* is a group of employees made up of people with a high level of education and salaries above the minimum wage. Therefore, labour precariousness is a situation that affects workers in a transversal way. The example of *Honorarios* employees allows me to understand and analyse labour precariousness as a complex phenomenon linked to an essential concept in this thesis: recognition.

According to my theoretical grounds, the lack of recognition, legal or symbolic, is the phenomenon that defines labour precariousness; it crosses the entire division of labour, affects all positions and makes workers equally vulnerable. Thus, **precariousness results in a homogenising phenomenon. The lack of recognition and the injustices linked to this experience is the factor that can be common to workers living under precariousness.**

In this context, it is worth addressing the role of labour in today's societies, which I hold in this thesis is essential. I start from the premise that labour plays a critical role in society due to its integration function. Most of the population depends on work and is the gateway to social rights such as social protection or right to housing. Therefore, when labour becomes a space of vulnerability, it translates into a social problem- hence the claim of its role.

Another critical aspect to consider within the problem of *Honorarios* concerns their employer- the state. The precariousness that these workers suffer comes from the action of the state. However, this is where the central contradiction occurs. It is a function of the state to ensure its citizens' integration and the provision of rights. In this case, the state makes a double denial of *Honorarios*: it denies them as citizens and workers.

As I initially indicated, I analyse the *Honorarios* employees' situation under the notion of **collective identity**. Why do I use this concept? First, I recognise that
collective identity's theoretical choice constitutes a risk because different disciplines use it because of its various meanings. Despite the above, I consider collective identity has an explanatory potential due to its role in the history of social sciences, especially in sociology.

Various scholars have used collective identity to understand social classes and movements, becoming a powerful tool to explain a social actor's constitution in the political arena. However, it must be recognised that there has been an effort to remove the possible collective character of identity- and its potential political meaning- and understand it only as an individual attribute in recent decades.

As I analyse in the theoretical framework, one explanation describing the turn that the notion of collective identity has undergone in the last years is related to the recent changes in the world of labour. These modifications characterise by two phenomena: the emergence of labour precariousness and the introduction of a new flexible production model. Without denying those transformations, one can argue that some scholars have misinterpreted them. One of these misinterpretations comes from the assertion that labour does not play a relevant role in today's societies anymore. From this argument, one assumes that collective identities cannot emerge from the world of work.

One of the academics who has represented this argument line is Zygmunt Bauman (Bauman, 1992, 1998, 200, 2001). He points out that the consumption sphere has replaced labour sphere. Therefore, human beings' self-fulfilment comes from the space of consumption: people do realise themselves anymore by working. From this analysis, the author concludes that currently, it is only possible to develop individual identities. However, while I consider that transformations in labour are a fact, I recognise this cannot negate the essential role of the world of work. Therefore, assuming the impossibility of labour identities constitution can be a conservative and early conclusion. If social movements cannot arise from work, it is impossible to improve workers' conditions or labour and social rights.

I expose specific arguments that reaffirm the relevance of the world of labour in today's societies. By accepting changes in the world of work and the production modes, the question that must arise is understanding them and its consequences. A
first introductory statement for reading these issues is work is still the primary source of access to social protection and social rights. Therefore, work can be a space of social struggles for the achievement of social rights. For example, one of the characteristics of today's precarious employment is the lack of social protection. The denial of this protection can become the potential for collective identity.

However, as a theoretical construct, one can not deny that collective identity is currently a diffuse area, especially thinking of a social actor constitution with political sense. To take over this debate, I begin by approaching collective identity as a tool to understand the potential construction of a social actor. I start by rescuing elements of the most classical theory to propose new ones. The common feature of social classes and movements in yesteryear's views is understanding them as social actors playing in the political arena. The political character comes from their capacity to promote societal changes, in the attainment of social rights, social protection, inclusion and participation. In a comprehensive summary, both movements and social classes have been understood based on their constitutive capacity to build a political actor- what it implies to conjugate a series of common factors within certain social groups. The political achievement would then be a collective quest for a certain level of social equality.

Nevertheless, the most problematic point of these approaches is the identity constitution process itself: there is either an overemphasis on the collective or the individual. The separation between the two elements can be detrimental to the contemporary analysis of social actors. For example, the Marxist theory analysed collective identity as something pre-determined to understand social classes. Individuality appeared determined by the social, and collective identity as a product of the historical path. Under this view, the economic structure determined the subjects' consciousness, meaning that similar material conditions delimit the individuals' identities participating in the collective (the social class). Although under this theory, there is individuals' participation, their identity is determined by the structure (an overemphasis on the collective), conceiving the individuals as passive agents.

On the other side of the road, with the advent of social movements, individuality acquires an essential role over the collective, highlighting cultural demands and individual freedom. Under this conception, the view of work as a space of collective
identity constitution becomes old-fashioned. During the 1970s and 1980s, the contempt for the labour movement as a political actor starts losing value for analysts in the face of the new modes of production of the XXI century begins.

In this context, I consider it essential to find a form of identity that combines both the collective and individual level, encompassing these two critical elements on the identity debate. I propose a series of analytical elements that can help search for a new understanding of collective identity. First, I believe that the world of labour is not the only space where collective identities can emerge. This constitution process is much more complex since various identity sources can overlap and express themselves at a given time and place. However, the world of labour is undoubtedly one of those spaces, due to its relevance in current societies. Second, elements of individuality appear in the collective identity and vice versa. The collective does not deny the individual. Finally, in this search for the concept of collective identity, I believe in the possibility of a social actor emergence with political influence.

It is crucial to unveil the political concept in this dissertation, which I define in a modern sense, as the will for historical change and future construction. Following Machiavelli, politics is born in modernity as a critique of predestination ideas, considering that since then what is essential in politics is will. I understand politics then as the reflective form of change and the choice for historical transformation. Politics is the self-awareness of the existence of a society, of living and acting on it. It is a space that allows achieving common objectives with a vision of the future (Baño, 1990, p. 5).

I define identity as a not pre-determined process where subjects willingness plays an essential role in its development. Although I discuss the concept of collective identity in the theoretical chapter, it is convenient to know some of my initial assumptions that guide this thesis's analysis. Identity is a process where people are the primary agents of its production. It is a process that goes from the individual to the collective, so subjects play a unique and leading role in its construction. And although it is a process that emerges from the individual, it is always socially constructed. Therefore, it is a process that depends on present and specific circumstances. This way of identity construction operates for both collective and individual identity because both are reciprocally determined.
Although this thesis aims to analyse a specific case in Chile, it constitutes a modest theoretical reflection about the notion of collective identity. In this context, I do not intend to develop a new academic proposal but address a subject that may be essential today: the question of the constitution of social actors in labour given the existing conditions of precariousness. For this reason, it is not possible to abandon research on the improvement of the situation of workers. As social scientists, we must ask ourselves how to play a role in improving workers' conditions. The social scientists cannot abandon their commitment to social change, nor can neglect the goals of achieving decent work in the context of labour studies.

This research is an analytical exercise based on a specific case of employees in Chile, which implicitly addresses a theoretical question. The concrete problem aims to know the common factors of identity that honorarios employees to understand their potential construction as social actors. The implicit theoretical question seeks to unveil the capacity of the concept of collective identity.

Considering these antecedents, I propose the following methodology to approach the problem of Honorarios employees.

**Methodology**

The methodology for carrying out my research is multifaceted, as it includes different stages, moments and the deployment of various analytical tools to address the object of study. I began to address Honorarios employees' problem in the public sector in 2013 when I participated in a union called ATHONO (association of Honorarios workers). This union never became a formal association; however, it marked the beginning of my research, since my first reflections on the subject started. Based on this experience, I decided to systematically analyse the problem of Honorarios employees in the public sector, which is why I applied for a doctorate in ICDD at the University of Kassel.

During my PhD, my theoretical and methodological reflections have mutated as research progressed. I made two trips to Chile to gather information about my object of study between 2014 and 2016. Over this period, I discovered how broad the problem of Honorarios employees in the public sector and how little studies exist in this regard. This statement gave my research the first definition: it is an exploratory study. The
word exploratory in the framework of the social sciences may sound vague and poorly defined. However, noting the lack of detailed statistics on *Honorarios* employees and the lack of qualitative studies, I consider that my research addresses a topic sparsely studied in Chile.

Based on statistics and interviews, I seek to describe a social phenomenon that reveals these workers' precarious employment implications. Therefore, my research is descriptive and multifaceted, since it includes several analysis strategies, based on the collection of unpublished data concerning *Honorarios* employees of the public sector. The following is a systematic presentation of the methodological approach that I used throughout my research.

**PROBLEMATISATION AND RESEARCH QUESTION**

*Honorarios* employees' situation in the Chilean public sector characterises by being highly precarious in an atypical sense. They are civil servants who do not have legal recognition as such due to their legal statute. Chapter II addresses the statutory problem in question.

*Honorarios* employees live an atypical precarious situation, due to their characteristics as workforce: highly qualified, salaries above the Chilean average, and a regular part of the public staff. Nevertheless, their legal statute determines that they do not have employment rights and cannot project themselves into a civil servant career. Therefore, the root of the problem I address in this research bases on experiences of non-recognition as a way of (re) discovering identity factors that can potentially become the constitution of a political actor.

The common feature in defining these employees' legal statute is the denial of labour rights- a non-recognition experience. According to what I propose in my research's theoretical framework, such experience is at the basis of any identity constitution (struggles for recognition are struggles for an identity). The concept of identity can be ambiguous because of its varied use in the social sciences. However, by placing it in the experience of recognition (or denial of such recognition), identity acquires a concrete character (see chapter I).
What I am asserting is that Honorarios employees are victims of a labour relationship in disguise. As these workers’ employer, the state does not recognise their status as civil servants and their labour rights. This situation generates an impact on Honorarios employees' subjectivities, which may differ from each other, but have points in common. In this research, I seek such factors in common, based on the experience of non-recognition. The hypothesis behind this approach is that such factors while influencing subjects differently, find common ground have the potential to build a collective identity.

One of the problems I address in this research focuses on a theoretical question about the feasibility of identity as a concept. The problem I am stating is that the experience of non-recognition allows for the construction of identity. And due to common identity does not have a previous existence, it must research it exploratory. Considering all these elements, I propose the following research question.

What are the common identity factors among Honorarios employees of the Chilean public sector based on the experience of non-recognition?

HYPOTHESES

The problematisation I previously raised allows me to develop a series of hypotheses. At a general level, I propose two umbrella theses that lead to a series of subsequent assumptions.

The first hypothesis is epistemological. Based on the experiences of non-recognition, I state that there are common factors of identity among Honorarios employees in the Chilean public sector, influenced by the denial of rights.

The second umbrella hypothesis is theoretical. From the research that I develop based on the case Honorarios, the assumption is that the concept of identity still makes sense in the world of labour. By approaching identity in a non-preconceived way, and instead as a tool to be filled with content, identity makes sense in labour studies. Based on these two hypotheses, I propose a series of theses below.
• The process of dismantling the Chilean state during the military dictatorship explains the decline of the public sector. The reduction of the public sector has resulted in the proliferation of *Honorarios* in public administration in recent decades.

• There is a social division of labour among *Honorarios* employees in the public sector that divides them into categories associated with different precariousness levels.

• The socio-educational background of *Honorarios* employees influences their employment options within the labour market.

• There are elements linked to the socio-educational origin of *Honorarios* employees that make a difference in their perceptions about the labour precariousness associated with their status.

• There are higher precarious conditions for *Honorarios* employees in the municipalities than in the central administration institutions.

• The experience of non-recognition of labour rights affects the subjectivities of *Honorarios* employees.

• The experience of denial of labour rights leads to a negation of *Honorarios* employees in their statute of civil servants.

• The refusal of the status of civil servants impacts on the social esteem of *Honorarios* employees.

• *Honorarios* employees of the public sector develop strategies against precariousness that rest on their family bonds.

• *Honorarios* employees develop strategies against precariousness on a personal level aligned with the market.

• *Honorarios* employees suffer from deficient labour integration, that leads them to develop strategies against precariousness based on the creation of trade unions.

• The family, personal and union strategies that the *Honorarios* deploy against precariousness complement each other.
OBJECTIVES

The objectives of my research are focused on discovering the factors of common identity among Honorarios employees. These shared factors arise from the experience of denial of labour rights. Against this background, the general objective of this research is as follows:

To discover the common identity factors among public sector Honorarios employees, which arise from the experience of non-recognition. From the general objective of this research, the following goals emerge.

- Contribute to the broadening and deepening a scarce study subject in Chile.
- Show the relevance of a concept such as identity in the potential construction of a political actor.
- Highlight that work plays an essential role in workers' subjectivities.
- The experience of non-recognition is a way of tackling contemporary labour precariousness.
- To demonstrate that researchers can contribute to social actors' constitution by exploring the factors that are at the root of labour problems, without having preconceived notions of workers' behaviour.

I invite the readers of this thesis to explore Chilean public Honorarios employees' case. The following is a list of the chapters that make up this dissertation.

Summary of the chapters

Chapter I - Theoretical grounds in Identity- Towards a comprehension of the potential collective identity in Honorarios employees. This chapter contains the theoretical foundations that guide research. It includes a discussion on issues of identity, recognition and strategies against precariousness. It is based mainly on the theories of Axel Honneth and Serge Paugam.

Chapter II – Honorarios employees in the Chilean public sector. Understanding their precariousness surrounding them. This chapter describes
the background that explains the precariousness situation of Honorarios employees by reviewing three aspects. Historical context - that allows understanding the decrease of the public sector in Chile, the legal dispositions of the Honorarios statute and statistical analysis that characterise Honorarios employees' group.

Chapter III- Honorarios employees: the social factor determining their position in the social-labour division. This chapter explores a hypothesis that emerges from this research's fieldwork, which indicates that the respondents' socio-educational background influences the type of work they have access to in the labour market.

Chapter IV- The experience of non-recognition in Honorarios employees in the public sector: This chapter examines how interviewees perceive the experience of non-recognition at three levels. First, perceptions of the denial of labour rights. Second, the negation in terms of social esteem (denial of their status as public employees). Third, the fears and projections that the interviewees have within the framework of an experience of non-recognition.

Chapter V – The Honorarios’ strategies against precariousness: This chapter analyses the strategies that Honorarios employees deploy to face their precarious employment situation. According to empirical observations, they deploy their lines of actions in two levels: family and persona; and the institutional strategy based on the formation of unions.
CHAPTER I

Theoretical grounds in identity. Towards a comprehension of the potential collective identity in *Honorarios* Employees

This chapter presents the theoretical grounds for addressing the research question: Which are the factors of (potential) collective identity among *Honorarios* employees in the Chilean public sector? I consider two umbrella concepts: identity and recognition. Based on these concepts, I approach an underlying theoretical hypothesis of this research: identity is not a pre-existing concept but a process that goes from the particular to the general. I intend to reverse the classical analysis of identity by pointing out that today identity, whether collective or individual, is a process that develops based on the (non)recognition experience. In the world of work, precariousness is constituted as the scenario where identity can arise, since there is a constant experience of non-recognition due to the denial of labour rights. In this chapter, I explore the notion of recognition developed by Axel Honneth. I complement it with an analysis of the subject’s relationship to the Chilean case’s social rules. To conclude, I present specific theoretical references to analyse the strategies that *Honorarios* develop to face labour precariousness.
INTRODUCTION

Having Honorarios - in the public sector- is a coarse attitude on the institutions’ part. You feel like they were cheating on you; it is a loophole to avoid paying what they must pay. Honorarios employee, man. Municipality

This chapter aims to develop the essential theoretical concepts that guide the analysis of this research. It is important to note that it is very complex to address workers’ current situation in all its dimensions. From the transformations that the world of work has undergone in recent decades, many new problems appear that requires a multidimensional analysis. In the case of Honorarios, several factors associated with their situation make it a multifaceted case study. Unstable working and employment conditions, changes in the public sector structure, lack of access to labour rights, insufficient statistical measures to assess their situation, lack of recognition as public employees, etc. Therefore, it is necessary to develop appropriate theoretical grounds to address the diversity of factors involved in the Honorarios situation.

The challenge of investigating the situation of Honorarios is approached theoretically from two main axes. First, this chapter studies the notion of identity in the context of the world of work, discussing the more classical approaches addressing the subject and rescuing the main aspects to develop this dissertation's identity concept. It then analyses the Axel Honeth theoretical proposal, which puts the experience of recognition at the centre of identity development. It continues with Kathya Araujo's perspective, which observes Chilean society's discourses under the notion of recognition.

The second theoretical access looks at explaining the strategies deployed by Honorarios to face labour precariousness, based on the Serge Paugam view. In line with the idea of recognition, his proposal allows understanding the characteristics of the Chilean society appearing in the experiences of Honorarios. Two theoretical lines of this author are appropriate to address the Honorarios strategies. On the one hand, the family’s importance in facing precarious labour situation. On the other hand, the forms of professional integration. The following two sections develop these two theoretical axes.
The third part of this chapter seeks to know the factors of shared identity among Honorarios employees based on the experience of (non) recognition. As part of these experiences, they deploy strategies against precariousness. However, this approach poses some problematic identity areas related to the difference between the common and collective, arising the following questions: Does collective identity refers only to common experiences? Is collective and common identity the same concept? This section aims to clarify these problematic aspects to enrich the scope of the results present in this research.

1. IDENTITY AS A PROCESS: HOW TO FACE IDENTITY CONCEPT IN CONTEMPORARY WORD OF LABOUR?

This section presents the theoretical elements that allow approaching the concept of identity. First, it introduces the fundamental aspects of the classical definition of identity, posing a critical exercise to that perspective with two objectives. On the one hand, to rescue the necessary theoretical inputs to develop a definition of identity. On the other hand, to highlight the importance of the world of work today and the possible collective identity construction. The second section develops a theoretical proposal on identity, relying on Honneth's notions. Third, it explores the Chilean discourse contents based on Araujo's analysis, based on the study of disrespectful experiences.

1.1. CLASSICAL APPROACHES TO IDENTITY: TOWARDS THE RELEVANCE OF THIS CONCEPT IN THE WORLD OF LABOUR.

Different perspectives have studied the notion of identity during the 19th and 20th century. Disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, psychology or political science have addressed the process of collective identity construction. However, the eighties on a new approach about collective identity have gained importance due to different reasons grouped under the questioning of labour centrality and the rise of social movements.

The social sciences widely recognised the centrality of labour up to the 1970s, even beyond the Marxist tradition. “This consensus refers to the centrality of labour as the one structuring axis of social relations and subjectivities in society” (de la Garza,
2010, p. 21). “Social identities or social class identities are constructed from the significant role that labour played in the capitalist society until the 70s” (de la Garza, 2010, p. 53). The conditions of the capitalist era by the 1970s offer stability for labour-force since the Welfare State strengthened entrepreneurs and workers’ commitment. The focus is mainly on the working class or the labour movement as a central actor, having an exact political role in the capitalist system (de la Garza, 2010). As a result, identity usually appears as a collective issue and preconceived aspect in the labour field. Although identity is the product of a historical movement, identity is somewhat preconceived because it depends on the position occupied in the social division of labour.

Since the 1980s - the so-called era of globalisation - the conditions for the workforce have changed radically due to the advent of neoliberalism, the decline of Welfare State and the various transformations at all societal levels - culture, society, economy and politics. Some US and European scholars start to discuss the role of labour in this context. They state its death or, at least, its importance loss in understanding society. Among them, one finds André Gorz in France and Claus Offe in Germany. Both authors start from a similar diagnosis, insofar as they observe a high unemployment rate in their countries.

Claus Offe points out three arguments that demonstrate the loss of work centrality in society:

1. The segmentation between blue-collar and white-collar workers.
2. The new mode of production generates a mutation of work and the social relations that emerge from it.
3. The end of Protestant ethics and the pleasure originated in consumption.

The conclusion of Offe is thus that identities now arise in the world of non-work. (Neffa, 2001).

Faced with this scenario, André Gorz estimates it is unviable to recreate the required amount of remunerated work to tackle unemployment. He proposes a
reduction of working time. As a basis for his argument, Gorz considers it necessary to separate work from remuneration. It is unfeasible to make an autonomous activity (work) coincide with reproducing the worker’s material life (income). Therefore, to develop a self-fulfilment activity, it is necessary to reduce the working time without losing the worker’s salary. In this context, the author proposes the introduction of a minimum income or a citizen’s income (Neffa, 2001).

According to Enrique de la Garza, the discussion about the end of the labour society era is later took up by postmodern academics, but assuming a new angle. Notions of postmodernity arise from the spirit of change of the progressive academia wing, either communist or social democrat. This new approach brings the idea of the loss of a predetermined future, which explains why there is no room for developing a social project. As a result, this current of thought denies the working class its unique role and capability to change and transform the capitalist system (de la Garza, 2010). The critical concepts of postmodernity are the following: the fragmentation of the self, the culture, subject, social relationships and historicity (de la Garza, 2010). In this scenario, approaches to identity in the world of labour acquire a different character.

Antonio Stecher points out that currently, there are two groups of arguments addressing labour studies. The first one emphasises that the loss of the labour centrality results in work no longer has leverage in creating social identities. This argument positions the Fordist and Keynesian systems as the only ones capable of providing security and stability for workers. When both models go into crisis, workers lose such protection conditions. This factor would explain the loss of workers' ability to constitute collective identities (Stecher, 2014). The second group highlights the emergence of a new subjectivity profile and a new subject within the world of labour. A new type of worker competitive, calculator, adaptable, multi-task, etc. Besides, a company promoting such worker by implementing various devices such as refresher courses, technical training, motivational talks, etc. This type of argumentation thus underlines the change in labour imaginaries and the new forms of management within companies (Stecher, 2014)

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5 Stecher’s argument lines do not constitute his position, nor do they dismiss workers’ previous struggles to obtain rights associated with social security (among others). Stecher’s two groups of arguments represent the currents of reasoning in current studies of work identity.
Nevertheless, one must discuss both groups of arguments to highlight the role of labour in contemporary society and the usefulness of identity concept. The first proposition of this dissertation stresses that the world of work is still a space where collective identities can emerge. This statement does not mean ignoring the changes that the world of work has gone through. However, those transformation does not allow one to conclude the current loss of centrality of work. This research proposes using identity as a powerful tool for understanding labour conditions and workers in contemporary precariousness contexts. Rather than discarding the categories of labour and identity, what one must do is assuming the transformations of the world of work and undertake studies seeking to understand workers' current conditions.

Stecher develops two critical arguments against the mentioned trends in labour studies that align with this research' statements. First, the author discards the veracity of assertions declared by postmodern theorists: labour has lost consistency, the labour market has become unstructured, or work is no longer central to people's lives (Stecher, 2014). According to Stecher, many scholars have tried to demonstrate through several studies, either qualitative or quantitative, the importance of labour for people today. For Stecher, labour continues to be the primary mechanism of inclusion and access to social rights (Stecher, 2014). Second, the author points out an over-evaluation of the imaginary of flexibility, in terms of its extent and power. Stecher indicates that there is an overestimate of the control that companies can exercise over their workers. Such discourses position workers' subjectivation process as a mere effect of a company's discursive practices (Stecher, 2014). However, this is precisely the opposite that I try to put forward in this thesis: workers are the drivers of the identity process and not merely the process's products before them.

Enrique de la Garza reveals that some of the transformations in labour can open potential spaces to generate collective identity. He directly discusses the idea of some scholars who point out that labour has lost centrality in contemporary society and the denial of constituting identities born in the heart of the world of work. De la Garza develops four counterarguments against these assertions, giving a new meaning to the role of labour and identity in the context of transformations in the world of work.

First, the author argues against the prominence given to individualities in the construction of professional careers. Post-modern theorists consider that the
individualities that would prevail today in the heart of a professional career would prevent the constitution of collective identities since new identities develop only personally and individually. Nevertheless, de la Garza considers that these assertions forget that individual and collective elements influence each identity's development at once, i.e., identity construction is social and individual.

Second, de la Garza argues against the possibility of finding homogeneity within the current labour world. Post-modern theorists point out that because the world of work before the 1970s or 1980s was more homogeneous, the possibility of constituting collective identities born in labour was more feasible. At present, they claim the impossibility in seeing such homogeneity due to radical changes in the world of work. Assuming those transformations, de la Garza demonstrates that it is possible to find homogeneity points today. He states that one considers other types of characteristics common to people beyond just being workers, leading to forming collective identities in the world of work. The author emphasises that external elements can also contribute to the formation of identity within the world of labour. The author talks, for example, about the case of immigrants. Although they may have different backgrounds, languages, countries, or professional careers, they appeal to immigrants' status as a common identity factor in the struggle for better working conditions (de la Garza, 2010, p. 124). In this way, de la Garza argues that within work identity constitution process, the elements that emerge outside of it influence the formation of that identity and become common factors among workers (de la Garza, 2010).

The author's third criticism is related to the need for a face-to-face relationship in the conformation of collective identities. Instead, he proposes to speak about the existence of a symbolic labour community. In this type of organisation, the material links may be weaker; however, what counts is developing subjective bonds between actors. For de la Garza, the process of collective identity requires strong subjective bonds rather than material, which rules out the need for a face-to-face relationship between workers (de la Garza, 2001, p. 14). Thus, the collective identity does not necessarily need a shared space or having the same position in the social division of labour (material bonds). For de la Garza, subjective bonds can appear in a virtual space, where individuals can feel identified with aspects external to work; personal links such as being woman, immigrant, precarious worker, etc. (De la Garza, 2010)
The author’s last counterargument is against the theoretical trend that sustains that because of the fragmentation between lifeworld and work is not possible to form collective identities coming from labour by arguing that it is a common factor. De la Garza points out that such fragmentation generates a standardisation process translated into labour precariousness. Since precariousness appears as a process that assimilates everyone into a similar category -precarious worker-constitutes a common identity factor among workers (de la Garza, 2002, p. 28)

1.2. PROCESS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: FROM THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE COLLECTIVE.

This section develops the theoretical proposal of identity concept of this research, based on the contents previously approached summarised in the following three statements:

1. Labour plays an essential role in contemporary society.
2. Identity concept is a powerful tool for understanding the world of work.
3. Identities have no previous existence.

From these statements, this dissertation proposes the first hypothesis. Identity is an active process that goes from the individual to the collective. People are the primary agents of it. Three essential points support this argument.

1. The subject plays a principal, unique and active role in the process of identity construction.
2. Identity is a process that always depends on specific and updated circumstances, given that identities do not have a previous existence.
3. Although identity is a process that begins in the individual, it is always co-determined by the social.

Over time, various identity studies have recognised subjectivity as their hallmark. Subjectivity relevance resides in its ability to acknowledge the historical, social and discursive character of the forms of being of the subject in the world of work. Subjectivity shapes and influences identity according to the specific circumstances under which a person lives. Therefore, the ways of thinking, acting and feeling at work,
and which form part of a person's subjectivity, should not be analysed as immutable essences, but as the product of specific sociohistorical fields and local contexts (Stecher, 2014).

Claude Dubar, a French academic, also stresses the importance of contextual aspects in identity construction. As a starting point, the author points out that any identity is a contingent identification product. Both identities and otherness change historically, and both depend on the specific context of their definition (Dubar, 2010). For Dubar identity, which emerges from a contingency process, is the result of an operation between two components: the differences and the common nexus between those differences (Dubar, 2000). According to Dubar, “there is a historical movement, both ancient and uncertain, from one mode of identification to another. It is a historical process, collective as well as individual, that modifies the identity configuration of the forms already established” (Dubar, 2000, pp. 12-13). In this way, all identity processes, whether collective or individual, are historical and contingent.

The theory of recognition developed by Honneth allows one to continue in the same Dubar’s analytical line. Recognition assumes the relevance of subjectivity and the specific historical context, and the role of the social is considered essential for the identity constitution. Axel Honneth takes the notion of recognition as a fundamental support for understanding contemporary society. One can sustain that the experience of (non) recognition - that always occurs in a specific historical context - allows one to discover common factors that lead to collective identity constitution.

Axel Honneth’s theory appears in the framework of a current effort to renew the program of the critical theory of Frankfurt School (Sembler, 2016). As a critical theorist, Honneth reaffirms the importance of philosophical critic in reflecting and understanding contemporary capitalist society. To understand the capitalist system’s crises and its historical evolution, the author proposes the notion of recognition <<Anerkennung>>. Honneth considers it necessary to know the moral infrastructure of the institutionalised social relationships of recognition in the capitalist system (Sembler, 2016). For him, recognition constitutes the source of integration, social reproduction and identity in society. The exercise of recognition is for Honneth a moral statement about the

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6 Self-translation
other, which occurs in ritualised social practices. In turn, experiences of non-recognition occur when subjects lack the social esteem and the necessary pre-conditions to achieve a positive self-perception. Injustice, in the author’s theory, is a situation derived from a lack of recognition, leading to harmful practices against identity. Indeed, struggles for equality are moral demands that seek recognition (Sembler, 2016).

Within Axel Honneth’s theory, it is possible to observe that subjectivity emerges from an experience of (non) recognition. One may ask, what is the role of the social within this experience? The influence of Georges Mead appears in the author's theory to answer this question. Axel Honneth begins by rescuing Mead's theory by observing how the individual becomes aware of his subjectivity. According to Mead, this occurs when a person becomes aware of other subjects’ behaviours by interacting with them (Honneth, 1992). As a result, Mead realises that intersubjectivity is a constitutive part of human self-consciousness: "a subject can only acquire a consciousness of itself to the extent to which it learns to perceive its own action from the symbolically represented second-person perspective." (Honneth, 1992, p. 75).

The aspect that Honneth rescues from Mead's theory rescues the social in constructing identity. Jorge Larraín, a Chilean scholar, who carries out an analysis of identity-based on Honneth's theory, points out that the identity process is not "only a mere passive construction but a true interaction with others. The subject’s identity is constructed not only as a free expression of recognition given by others but also as a struggle to be recognised by others." (Larraín, 2001, p. 33) 7 From what Larraín described, it is possible to observe how the social influences the process of identity construction and how identity emerges in the search for recognition within society.

Based on the above, it is fundamental to highlight some aspects of collective identity construction based on the theory of Larraín, which is founded on Axel Honneth and Georges Mead's work. For Larraín, "identity is a quality, or set of qualities, with which a person or a group of people feel intimately connected. Identity is the way

7 Self-translation
individuals decide to identify with certain characteristics at a given time" (Larrain, 2001, p. 27). The author highlights three constitutive aspects of the identity process:

1. He points out that individuals define themselves from socially determined categories.
2. The construction of identity at a personal level implies others’ existence since humans internalise others’ views while differentiating themselves as individuals by relating to them (Larrain, 2001).
3. The author highlights the role of culture in constructing identity by pointing out that a series of cultural identities converge in this process, which appears in different degrees and intensities.

Indeed, according to the author, “cultural identities operate by producing meanings and stories with which people can identify. The more critical the role of collective identities in constructing personal identities is, the stronger the attraction to collective meanings and narratives become. These collective narratives and meanings exist to that individuals can identify with them (Larrain, 2001, p. 37). In conclusion, it one observes that in Larraín’s theory, all identity shapes individually and collectively. In this process, culture has an essential role and, therefore, the social as well.

It is necessary to take up some previous defining elements of this dissertation about to understand identity constitution process. Identity is both collective and individual, and it is a process that always takes place in a specific time in history. In the current capitalist society, this particular historical moment comprises recognition experiences, since recognition is the source of social integration and reproduction. Before deepening in recognition concept, it is necessaire to address some of the theoretical proposals developed so far concerning this case study.

The phenomenon of precariousness determines the historical and temporal context of the Honorarios case. This phenomenon determines a vast number of cases in the world of labour. Nevertheless, each of them is affected by specific factors. Throughout this research, and specifically chapter II delves into the particular context of Honorarios employees. Most of the precariousness factors

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8 Self-translation
9 Self-translation
surrounding Honorarios come from the Chilean state’s public policies towards its employees. Through these policies, the Chilean state has placed Honorarios employees in precarious and discriminatory conditions (compared to civil servants). The precariousness they experience shapes their subjectivities in different ways.

Honorarios employees suffer from a common situation: the lack of recognition of their labour rights and their status as public employees. Most of them live this denial experience, which, being common to all, constitutes the antecedent of possible collective identity construction. Therefore, recognition and its negation are the experiences that promote a collective identity construction, because they are the mechanism of social integration, reproduction and the source of individual and collective identity constitution. This study proposes to study the experiences of lack of respect that Honorarios live on a personal level, searching for the factors in common to these experiences.

Honneth calls the first form of recognition as love. From different love relationships, individuals face their first experience of recognition. With parents, family or friends, subjects develop a strong emotional bond, which explains why this experience happens in people’s closest circle. (Honneth, 1992). According to the author, this is the first experience of recognition since it occurs during childhood when a child lives the care and presence of other beings -usually the parents- for the first time. By interacting with them, the child learns to love and be loved. Following Honneth, love is the basis for other recognition experiences, since it is at that moment that children acquire self-confidence. In Honneth’s words, “fundamental level of emotional confidence- not only in the experience of needs and feelings but also in their expression- which the intersubjective experience of love helps to bring out, constitutes the psychological pre-condition for the development of all further attitudes of self-respect” (Honneth, 1992, p. 107).

The second experience of recognition happens through access to social rights and confers human dignity. In this type of experience, self-confidence is related to recognising the person as a subject of rights. Social rights confer to individuals dignity and respect as human beings (Larrain, 2001). While the experience of recognition based on love rests in the closest circle of a person, recognition through rights implies a social act, i.e., a social horizon of recognition. Honneth notes “only
once we have taken the perspective of the ‘generalised other’, which teaches us to recognise the other members of the community as the bearers of rights, can we also understand ourselves to be legal persons, in the sense that we can be sure that certain of our claims will be met” (Honneth, 1992, p. 108). The legitimacy and social integrity emerge from this experience of recognition, which is nothing more than granting social rights to all society participants. In Honneth’s words, “possessing rights means being able to rise socially accepted claims, they provide one with a legitimate way of making clear to oneself that one is respected by everyone else. What gives rights the power to enable the development of self-respect is the public character that rights possess in virtue of their empowering the bearer to engage in action that can be perceived by interaction partners.” (Honneth, 1992, p. 120)

The third recognition experience exposed by Honneth calls esteem and refers to the social value that others see in one. In this experience, self-esteem develops by the generalised consideration of others about oneself’s value and social contribution. Thanks to this form of respect, the subject attains positive self-esteem, a self-evaluation of his or her own abilities and traits. Society needs an intersubjective horizon of shared values to develop this form of recognition. According to Honneth, “self and other can mutually esteem each other as individualised persons only on the condition that they share an orientation to those values and goals that indicate to each other the significance or contribution of their qualities for the life of the other.” (Honneth, 1992, p. 121) This form of recognition is a field of constant struggle in contemporary society. Each group attempts to defend its values and abilities consistent with its way of life, playing a crucial role in developing social movements, which succeed because of the public reach of their demands. In Honneth’s words, the “more successful social movements are at drawing the public sphere’s attention to the neglected significance of the traits and abilities they collectively represent, the better

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10 It is important to note that Honneth in his book “The struggle for Recognition” speaks of rights in general as a part of the experience of (non) recognition, and not particularly of social rights. To develop his theory, Honneth relies on the work of T.P. Marshall. He carries out an analysis of the evolution of law from the 18th century onwards. He explains the inclusion of equality principle: a new legal order guaranteeing equality that does not allow exceptions or privileges. This author points out that civil rights appeared in the 18th century, political rights in the 19th century, and finally, social rights appeared in the 20th century. According to Marshall’s analysis, social rights are born, at least in the western countries, connected to the emergence of the welfare state. Thus, for Honneth, social rights are a part of the experience of recognition in terms of rights. However, for this research, only social rights are considered for the analysis of the Honorarios case.
their chances of raising the social worth or, indeed, the standing of their members” (Honneth, 1992, p. 127).

For each of these forms of recognition, the author describes a corresponding form of disrespect. This thesis’s initial theoretical hypothesis points out that in the experiences of disrespect, it is possible to find factors that lead to the conformation of collective identities, precisely searching for recognition or lack of it. In the Honorarios case, there are two aspects they suffer most intensely from such lack of recognition: social esteem and social. Below this section describes the three forms of disrespect developed in Honneth’s theory.

The first form of disrespect is the counterpart of the recognition experience called love. It is characterised by situations that threaten individuals’ physical integrity, such as rape or abuse. Due to their nature, such experiences lead to a loss of self-confidence. The second form of disrespect relates to recognition based on social rights. It consists of the systematic and structural exclusion of certain social rights—the denial of them—, and leads to harm to self-respect. The third disrespect form is the counter-face to the social esteem experience. It corresponds to contempt for a specific system of beliefs or lifestyles because they are of lesser value. This negative experience leads to questioning one’s abilities and characteristics of the self, and, therefore, a reconsideration of self-esteem (Larain, 2001). According to Honneth, disrespectful experiences constitute a potential source of collective struggles or social movement development. However, there is a necessary pre-condition: the means of articulation shared by a movement or a social group projected in a common intersubjective horizon. In the author’s own words: “only if the means of articulation of social movement are available can the experience of disrespect become a source of motivation for acts of political resistance” (Honneth, 1992, p. 139).

This investigation proposes to find such means of articulation of Honorarios. On the one hand, these factors appear in material conditions (reviewed in the statistical chapter) and subjective conditions (explored in the rest of the research). The next section searches certain characteristic aspects of the Chilean discourse concerning the experience of disrespect, to have some guiding elements for the analysis of the perceptions of the Honorarios.
1.3. THE CHILEAN DISCOURSE TO DESCRIBE THE EXPERIENCE OF NON-RECOGNITION BASED ON THE IDEAL OF RIGHTS.

The following are elements present in Chilean society’s discourse on disrespectful experiences that one finds in Honorarios. These components form part of the Chilean idiosyncrasy and refer to the country’s specific historical context. An author that have analysed the disrespectful experiences is Kathya Araujo. In her view, to understand the experiences of non-recognition, one must observe the relationship between norms and individuals. Araujo defines the norms as “regular social practices, adhered to standardised modalities of desirable behaviours. Theoretically, not complying with these norms implies a sanction. Norms, therefore, help to regulate the relationship between people and between people and institutions”\(^\text{11}\) (Araujo, 2009, p.17). Araujo points out that today the ideal of rights is the most important in regulating social life. Individuals experience this ideal through forms of respect and disrespect. Therefore, the basis of this ideal of rights is recognition and respect (Araujo, 2012).

In her study, Araujo tries to determine “whether and how the notion of rights appears in Chilean society as an element that plays a role in orienting the ways individuals ‘read’ themselves, their actions, and the social milieu” (Araujo, 2012, p. 164). As a first conclusion, she observes that since the return to democracy, right as a regulatory framework acquires an unusual force in Chilean society, due to the modernisation of the state and the legal system. (Araujo, 2009). Araujo points out, “the notion of rights is one of the most widely-held conceptions around which the social bond orders in Chilean society. Moreover, it is a privileged source of meaningful experiences as long as everyone recognises as a normative ideal.” Araujo, 2012, p. 165)

In Chile, the middle class has a historical precedent, that traces back to the twenties. Between 1920 and 1970, the middle class emerged in the middle of the salaried workers’ growth, urbanisation, and increased population schooling (Barozet and Espinosa, 2009). Different authors show the impact of the public sector as well in this matter\(^\text{12}\).

\(^{11}\) Self-translation

\(^{12}\) Enzo Faletto, Rodrigo Baño, ECLAC, Manuel Antonio Garretón, FLACSO, Arturo León, Anibal Pinto, etc.
The middle class’s current definition becomes a residual kind and assumes arbitrary slices of the social structure. According to Barozet and Espinoza, today the middle-class notion includes a continuo which orders the population from lower to higher according to one criterion (usually incomes). As a result, the middle class appears as what does not situate in extreme positions: the poor or the rich; the exploiters or the exploited, the dominant or the dominated, and so on (Barozet and Espinoza, 2009). Another factor of complexity to define this sector is that Chile’s inequality level is high. Based on data of the OECD, Chile’s income inequality gap is more than 65% wider than the OECD average. The Gini index in Chile arrives at 0.45 in 2015, while the OECD is 0.3 in the same year (OECD, 2018). According to the same organisation, in Chile, the wealthiest 10% is 26 times higher than the 10% of the poorest (OECD, 2015). This panorama blurs the option of placing the middle class in the Chilean social structure in a precise position. In conclusion, Barozet and Espinoza point out that there is no middle class because Chile's measures rely on arbitrary traces that do not represent congruent social groups. When one uses a different approach, including incomes, occupation or schooling level, the outputs do not converge, resulting in several social groups without similarity (Barozet and Espinoza, 2009).

Despite the above, between 60% and 80% of the Chileans identifies as middle class (Wormald and Torche, 2004: in Barozet and Espinosa, 2009). And although there is no clear definition of the middle class, the political agenda has pointed its discourse towards this social sector. For instance, a think tank of the current government called Libertad y Desarrollo declares in December of 2017 that the middle class has tripled for 25 years, growing from 23.7% in 1990 to 64.3% in 2015 (Libertad y Desarrollo, 2017). These data have become the core of the current Chilean President’s discourse, Sebastián Piñera, and was the base of his previous political campaign. Since many Chileans feel part of the middle class, political speeches address this social segment as part of their election strategies (although there is no clear definition of it). The so-called middle class and the identification with it is so
widespread that even the fourth richest person in Chile\textsuperscript{16}, Sebastián Piñera declared in 2015: "I am a man who comes from the middle class"\textsuperscript{17}. That is why Kathya Araujo's study, based on the experiences of non-recognition of the middle class, may be applied to a large proportion of the Chilean population.

The author discovers two approaches to the ideal of right in Chilean society's discourse and specifically in the middle class. First, right appears as the preferred key of interpretation, because it allows the understanding of all kinds of social situations, even those that escape the regulatory framework of right. An example she highlights is when silencing someone is interpreted as a right infringement. Second, she observes that the violation of the rights is part of the Chileans' daily experience. However, according to Araujo, because there is an exaggerated interpretation of the law's application field in the Chilean discourses, the perception of infringement intensifies. Araujo finds two possible variations from this interpretation of the ideal of right. On the one hand, the deep installation of the right model as a regulatory framework represents a significant advance in a society that lived 17 years of dictatorship. On the other hand, there is a constant questioning of this ideal due, in part, to its exaggerated application (Araujo, 2009).

Continuing with her study, Araujo discovers that subjects live the experience of right from a dichotomy between equality and privileges/power. The elements that compose this dichotomy are essential to understand the correct/incorrect functioning of rights in Chilean society. Indeed, while equality guarantees access to rights, privilege and power denies it. The following is an overview of how each element of the dichotomy operates.

Understanding that equality is the basis of the correct functioning of rights, the author observes two aspects that could be considered irregular in how they are approached (Araujo, 2009). On the one hand, Chilean society experiences equality as a fallacy. Although the equality principle constitutes a duty socially speaking, the reality repeatedly denies it. Thus, the field of rights is continually living as a contradiction between what should be and reality (Araujo, 2009). On the other hand, because of the relevance of norms in Chilean society's discourses, equality concerning norms is more

\textsuperscript{16} Forbes ranking 2018.
\textsuperscript{17} Television discourse, 2015.
important than social equality. In practice, equality understood in this way ends up downplaying the importance of social differences (Araujo, 2009).

Power and privilege are well-established ways of acting in Chile, eroding the proper functioning of rights. Despite the above, society recognises them as valuable, necessary and socially useful (Araujo, 2009). Chilean society does not explicitly recognise privilege as a legitimate logic, although its use is widespread. The individuals use the privilege informally as an efficient action even if it contradicts the values they defend. Araujo observes two fields in the Chilean institutionalism where privilege operates: justice and meritocracy. Chileans consider justice to be an institution that applies differentiated criteria according to who is on trial - those on trial mobilise their resources to influence judges’ decisions. In turn, individuals see meritocracy as unreal since it is the contact network that allows social mobility and not merit. In Chilean society, the pituto\(^{18}\) operates (Araujo, 2009); it refers to an expression related to using contacts to obtain a job or facilities.

For its part, power is a kind of logic that appears inexorably linked to abuse in middle-class discourse. Because Chileans live abuse as a daily experience, power appears as the only resource to confront it. Power is a complex logic that is in constant contradiction with the rules and between people. Power incites abuse, and not using it is seen by the middle class as a weakness, especially in the labour field. According to Araujo, “power appears as an external force that imposes over individuals and divides him in two: between what the person thinks and what aspires in life. It is a contradiction between the social regulation of rights and the coercion of power, so the abuse appears as a necessary resource to live and exist in the social” (Araujo, 2009, p. 180)\(^{19}\)

This study explores the discourses of Honorarios, thinking in their relationship with the norms. Respondents of this research see labour rights as a social form of respect, which shows the attachment with rules. Resources such as power, abuse, pituto or equality are critical aspects of Chilean society’s discourse.

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\(^{19}\) Self-translation
2. PRECARIOUSNESS UNDERSTOOD FROM THE FAMILY REGIME: INPUTS FROM PAUGAM’S THEORY.

This section focuses on the strategies that Honorarios employees develop to face labour precariousness situation, by using the theory of the French scholar, Serge Paugam. This author proposes a theoretical line to connect with Honneth's approach since he situates recognition as a central axis for understanding his theory. Based on Paugam's view, this dissertation approaches Honorarios employees' strategies, by understanding family bonds' importance in the Chilean context. The strategies against precariousness address two main lines of action in the case of Honorarios.

On the one hand, these employees turn to their families (parents or partners), who help them face the shortcomings inherent in the Honorarios statute regarding financial assistance or childcare while the interviewees work. On the other hand, the more institutional strategy deal with the trade union line of action. For both strategy lines, the analysis proposed by Paugam seems appropriate to me, since it allows me to understand the importance of family in contexts where the State has inefficient participation. Moreover, Paugam's analytical line on forms of labour integration allows one to understand the framework within which the Honorarios develop their union strategy. Here are the general references to Paugam's theory.

2.1. STRATEGY BASED ON THE LINEAL (FAMILY) BOND.

It is necessary to begin by understanding Paugam's notion of social bonds, to approach the first strategic line of Honorarios against precariousness. In the case of Chile, in the absence of various social rights to health, education or housing, the family plays a crucial role in addressing the lack of social protection. This reality repeatedly reproduces in the case of the Honorarios, who must turn to their families to face precariousness. Therefore, one must begin by comprehending what the idea of bonds means and why family bonds are predominant in Chilean society.

Paugam inspires in the Durkheimian sense of social integration, always developed in a normative system framework, to constructs his notion of the social

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20 In chapter II, I delve into the Chilean State's role and explain why it can be considered inefficient.
bond (Paugam, 2016). According to the author, social bonds allow individuals to understand how to connect, with society, through to the belonging to groups like families, friends, co-workers etc. (Paugam, 2018). In Paugam’s terms, social bonds guarantee social integration that individuals build in their socialization, adhering to current social norms. Thus, society’s regulation derives from the normative interweaving of the social bonds, allowing the community’s integration as a whole (Paugam, 2016).

In explaining how these social bonds work, the author demonstrates Honneth’s influence on his theory. For Paugam, social bonds are multiple and diverse; they rest on two dimensions: protection and recognition (Paugam 2017, 2016, 2008). Protection refers to the set of resources (family, community, work, among others) that the individual counts on to face life’s difficulties. For its part, recognition describes the social interactions that stimulate individuals by confirming their existence and their value vis-à-vis others (Paugam, 2016). “The expression ‘to count on’ sums up quite well what individuals can expect from their relationship with others and with institutions as regards protection; while the term to ‘count for’ expresses the expectation of recognition, which is just as vital” (Paugam, 2017, p. 12). By mentioning recognition and protection, Paugam observes the importance of others in the self’s constitution, which allows him to open several points of encounter between his theory and Honneth’s.

In Paugam’s theory, there are four types of social bonds. Next, I explain each one of them, and then I delve into the lineal bond’s role in the Chilean society.

The lineal bond refers to family relationships, especially between children and their parents, including other immediate family members. This social bond offers protection (physiological sense) and recognition (emotional security), by providing emotional, physical and emotional safety. According to Paugam, this link relates to the idea of attachment to each other and highlights each value (Paugam, 2008). The author also stresses that this bond has a vital function of socialising and building identity (Paugam, 2017). The elective participation bond describes the process of extra-familial socialisation from which individuals met others. This process takes place within the framework of participation in different groups or institutions such as neighbourhoods, groups of friends, gangs, local communities, etc. While the lineal
bond is not based on free choice, the elective participation bond relies on autonomy (Paugam, 2008). The organic participation bond addresses the relationship between the agents who participate in working life, tackling labour or professional integration of subjects. This type of bond concerns the role that individuals play in the social division of labour (Paugam, 2016). According to Paugam, individuals inhabit the world of labour as a learning space where they play a specific role in the organisation of work. In the words of the author, in “our societies professional integration guarantees individuals a double recognition: their social rights and their contribution to production” (Paugam, 2008, p. 73). Finally, the citizenship bond represents the idea of belonging to a nation and stresses individuals’ protection under their civil, political, economic and social rights. In other words, it means the recognition of individuals as sovereigns (Paugam, 2016).

This dissertation analyses Honorarios strategies against precariousness based on the lineal and organic bond, because they are predominant in Honorarios methods. This section addresses the preponderance of the family bond in Chilean society to understand how the Honorarios develop tactics that rest on family support. The following section delves into the organic participation bond, the most institutionalised process of the Honorarios: grouping in unions.

Paugam explains certain factors that make it possible to understand some bonds’ preponderance in certain societies. To extend his analysis to the societal level, the author introduces the idea of attachment regimes. “The function of an attachment regime is to produce the overall normative coherence that enables individuals and groups, beyond differentiation and the potential rivalry, to form a society together” (Paugam, 2017, p. 17). In each attachment regime, social bonds have an integration function and/or a regulation function. While an integration bond fulfils the role of uniting an individual with a group, a regulation bond performs a supplementary adhesion function. This complementary function produces a set of rules and norms capable of permeating the other bonds. In other words, it can generate values and principles of moral education that extends to society (Paugam, 2016). The author observes that a regulation bond is a superior bond in each society, thanks to which he concludes there are four types of attachment regimes, where a regulation bond is pre-

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21 Self-translation
eminent: *familialist regime* (lineal bond), *voluntarist regime* (elective participation bond), *organicist regime* (organic participation bond), and *universalist regime* (citizenship bond).

Among the *Honorarios* strategies against precariousness, the family bond prevails, which is why I focus this research from the familialist regime classification. According to Paugam, in a *familialist* regime, there is a preponderant influence of lineal bond over others. It appears in societies characterised by a weak industrial development: in rural areas with a small scale of production and more developed societies, where the modern structures of the economy combined with traditions marked by family solidarity (Paugam, 2016, 2017). The familialist regime comes with enormous social inequalities and a weak social protection system. The decommodification principle is minimal, so the poorest individuals do not have access to safe living conditions. Civility is also fragile: “The familialist regime also encourages strong family solidarity to cope with poverty, which remains massive because the labour market provides little generalised protection and has allowed an informal economy to develop with wages below the legal minimum” (Paugam, 2017, p. 20).

In this type of regime, all social strata consider that the main foundation of their integration and well-being relies on the family. Indeed, it is the family that constitutes the fundamental pillar of protection and recognition for individuals. In the author’s words, “in this type of configuration, the family is the basic cell of society, and all social strata, poor and rich alike, must adjust to it because that is where they can find the resources they need” (Paugam, 2016, p. 58).

These theoretical aspects allows one to approach the strategies of *Honorarios*. In the Chilean society, social inequality is high, and the protection system is weak, which explains why *Honorarios* relies on their families. Moreover, several authors confirm the relevance of the family in the Chilean tradition. Paugam also highlights a weak and unprotected labour market in the framework of a *familialist* regime, which allows one to directly address the situation of *Honorarios* and understand their family-based strategies.

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22 Self-translation
23 Pedro Morandé, Herminia González, Eduardo Valenzuela, Carlos Cousiño, among others.
The state’s dismantling process since the dictatorship accounts for a society where access to social services is problematic because it rests on privatisation, leading to social rights commodified and individuals who must pay to access them. The following chapter delves into the transformations of Chilean society, which explains why it is a community that could conform to what Paugam recognises as a family regime. The following section addresses the second strategic line of Honorarios, referred to the unions’ constitution to face precariousness, based on the organic participation bond developed by Paugam.

2.2. The development of trade unions as a strategy based on the organic bond.

The second strategic line of Honorarios refers to the constitution of trade unions to confront precariousness. The type of association where Honorarios can participate is a sui generis figure in Chilean law known as independent trade unions. In general, this union allows individuals to come together, generating a space for conversation and debate, but that does not have a traditional trade union’s rights. To approach this type of strategy, this section works with the notion of organic participation bond revised in the previous section.

As pointed out earlier, the organic participation bond develops in the world of work from professional integration, i.e., through labour division in society. Professional integration provides recognition to individuals’ involvement in the productive world and their right to social protection. In Paugam’s words, “professional integration refers not only to professional fulfilment but also to the connection- beyond the world of work- to basic protection, negotiated in the context of social conflict but regulated by a given welfare regime” (Paugam, 2017, p. 15). Thus, professional integration provides the individual with a pleasant, productive activity and protection against the future’s vicissitudes (Paugam, 2017). According to Dubet, labour guarantees social integration

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24 In Chapter II. I explain that Honorarios do not have the right to form trade unions. However, like any independent worker, these employees may form independent trade unions. This type of association serves to group workers by giving them a space for dialogue between them. Still, it does provide the traditional union rights (collective bargaining, union privilege, representation vis-à-vis the employer, etc.).
because it is associated with a social position that ensures access to a set of social rights (Dubet, 2016). Nevertheless, labour insecurity calls professional integration into question.

Paugam understands labour insecurity from two perspectives. On the one hand, taking Castel’s influence, insecurity means the absence of protection against occupational risks (unemployment or poverty). On the other hand, based on Bourdieu’s perspective, insecurity is understood as the misery of the position, which supposes the feeling of social worthless (Paugam, 2017). For the author, both notions are present in the so-called labour precariousness. This conception appears in the *Honorarios* case analysis course because they lack labour rights (protection) and recognition as public employees.

Based on the notion of professional integration and the two dimensions of labour precariousness, Paugam constructs a typology consisting of an ideal type of professional integration and three deviations. As noted above, professional integration corresponds to symbolic and material recognition and social protection derived from employment. In the author’s terms, both dimensions translate into the presence of **work satisfaction and stable employment**, which calls **assured integration** (Paugam, 2008). The author acknowledges the following three deviations from it: uncertain integration (positive relationship to work, negative to employment), laborious integration (negative relationship to work, positive to employment), and disqualifying integration (a doubly negative relationship to work and employment) (Paugam, 2007).

**Uncertain integration** appears when individuals find work satisfaction under unstable employment conditions: they may have comfortable working relationships, but they know they may lose their employment. This type of deviation is prevalent in fixed-term jobs. According to Paugam, “instability of employment is experienced by wage earners as a means of establishing oneself in the working world, of consolidating their training, and of progressively proving themselves” (Paugam, 2008, p. 3-4). It is worth to note the author considers this type of deviation happens among workers entering or towards stabilisation in the world of labour. Due to *Honorarios* statute characteristics, one could think this type of job as a previous to consolidate a more stable career in the public sector. Nevertheless, as this dissertation shows later, one
of the problems of *Honorarios* in the public sector is the consolidation of their unstable labour situation.

*Laborious integration* corresponds to the case where workers do not see their employment threatened, but they do not feel satisfied. In this case, work can represent physical suffering, when the conditions at work are tiring, or psychological suffering, when personal relationships are tense (Paugam, 2007). Often, the reason to stay in a job of this type is the guarantee of stability (Paugam, 2007).

Finally, *disqualifying integration* is the crisis of professional integration, as it combines dissatisfaction at work and instability in employment. It is a situation that creates suffering without any hope of improvement. Individuals suffering this situation see their social status under question - a case just comparable with unemployment. “Wage earners who experience it have the feeling of belonging to a group in which their identity is threatened because their status is overall inferior to that of others, or because the group itself is doomed to disappear” (Paugam, 2008, p. 5). One of the respondents’ most important questions about the trade union strategy is that the *Honorarios* statute should disappear. Therefore, forming unions to defend something doomed to disappear might seem contradictory. This problem is dealt with in chapter V on strategies against precariousness. However, this is a point touched by Paugam crucial for this research.

From the approach proposed by Paugam, *one can sustain that Honorarios locate between the disqualifying integration and the uncertain integration*. Both contain the idea of unstable employment, which is the founding condition of the *Honorarios statute*. The trade union strategy deployed to confront precariousness finds its motivations between both integrations, as analysed in chapter V.

This study approaches the analysis of the trade union strategy drawn up by *Honorarios* by considering two axes. On the one hand, the intention of grouping around a union at the institutional level responds to the need to develop the organic participation bond, i.e., in the search for complete labour integration. On the other hand, the respondents’ motivations are in the two types of deviation described by Paugam: uncertain integration and disqualifying integration. Chapter II focuses on the
description of the characteristics of the Chilean state and the development of its public sector, which allows me to understand the presence of what Paugam characterises as a familialist-type attachment regime.

2.3. FACTORS OF COMMON IDENTITY AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: A BRIEF DEBATE

This section presents a small debate around the notion of collective identity, based on the already seen premises. This research's starting idea establishes that collective identity in work does not have a previous existence. And despite the transformations in labour, work is still relevant to understand the process of workers' collective identity. Thus, collective identity is an active process, which emerges from the individual to the collective and where people are the primary agents of its formation. These premises give rise to three central aspects considered in this research:

1. The subject plays a central role in the process of constructing a collective identity.
2. Collective identity is a contingent process and is born from historical circumstances at a given moment.
3. Identity is a process that although it begins at the individual level, is co-determined by the social.

Based on the above, the question that opens is: What factors make it possible to construct a collective identity at a given historical moment? In this research, the answer arises from the theoretical framework proposed by the German academic Axel Honneth. This author recognises three forms of recognition (love, rights25 and social esteem). Each of these forms of respect has an associated experience of disrespect. The experience of (non) recognition forms one of the bases of Honneth's theory's identity comprehension. Thus, the experience of disrespect is a potential source of collective struggles or the development of a social movement. Indeed, for the author, a necessary precondition for forming political acts of resistance is the existence of the

25 Although Honneth refers to rights when talking about the experience of recognition from rights, this research only considers social rights. See footnote 10.
means of articulation shared by a movement or a social group in a common intersubjective horizon.

One must address some central differentiations for better understanding of collective identity constitution. One first element is the need to distinguish between the common and the collective level. Certain people may share a series of non-recognition experiences without becoming a social actor. E.P. Thompson provides interesting notions to address this gap by understanding the social class formation in a particular historical period: the working-class formation at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.

An interesting aspect of his work is that he considers it an essential part of class consciousness’s formation the sharing of experiences. For him, “class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to theirs)” (Thompson, 1963, p. 9). For this author, while the production relationships determine the class experience, consciousness essentially lies in the experience. By talking about class consciousness, Thompson addresses a crucial argument line for analysing shared identity factors, namely, identity construction experiences’ centrality.

Thompson’s analysis highlights the relevance of articulating common interests among individuals in building up collective identity. The author points out that such interests are usually differentiated from or opposed to another group’s interests. Thus, continuing with this research’s argument, collective identity construction needs to share common experiences that emerge from the experience of (non) recognition. This step leads to articulating common interests, allowing for distinction as a group versus others.

Another critical aspect of the collective identity constitution as a process is the voluntary involvement of each participant and respect for the particularities of each one of them. Leonie Huddy points out that “the first challenge that confronts a politically relevant social identity theory is to account for the existence of identities acquired by choice” (Huddy, 2001, p. 137). This author indicates the importance of considering individual particularities in constituting collective identity because this makes it
possible to understand each other’s differences. For her, both factors, voluntary participation -chosen identities- and respect for individualities, make it possible to enhance group and out-group cohesion.

In the process of a collective identity constitution, another exciting aspect to highlight is the group’s affectivities and internal relations. According to Melucci, collective identity is born when “individuals acting together build their action through ‘organised’ investments. They define in cognitive, affective and relational terms the field of possibility and limits they perceive. Simultaneously, they activate their relationships to give meaning to being together and to the goals they pursue.” (Melucci, 1990, 358) Melucci emphasises that collective identity is a process of constant negotiation about the meaning of the collective action. Thus, “the need for a level of identification is a precondition for any calculation of profit and loss. Without identifying with the group and their definitions, individuals cannot see injustice and calculate the exchanges in the political arena.” (Melucci, 1990, p. 359)

Therefore, to better approach the shift from the common to the collective, it is crucial to understand that within the shared experiences of non-recognition, people can develop an articulation of interests. This articulation of interests is usually differentiated or opposed to those of another group or actor. In this process, it is necessary to consider each one’s particularities and the possibility that the individuals identify voluntarily with a group. The construction of a collective identity requires developing affective bonds among the participants and jointly negotiating the group’s aims. From all these elements together, it is possible to perceive injustice as something to be fought against; in other words, it allows individuals to be aware of experiences of non-recognition.

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26 Self-translation
27 Self-translation
CHAPTER II

Honorarios employees in the Chilean public sector. Understanding the precariousness that surrounds them.
INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the global context that frames the situation of Honorarios employees. The theoretical chapter addressed identity as a process that emerges from the self to the collective, so it is crucial to contextualise individualities in advance. One may understand such background by analysing specific historical and institutional processes, where people live their experiences of recognition with other individuals under similar circumstances. The following section explain the particular scenario where Honorarios employees inhabit their (non) recognition experiences, by describing the material, legal and historical conditions. This chapter consists of the following sections.

The first section describes the historical circumstances that explain the proliferation of Honorarios employees in recent decades, related to the Chilean state's dismantling process and its public sector. During the dictatorship, this process developed between 1973 and 1989, where the implementation and imposition of a neoliberal economic system took place. The main consequence was transforming the state's social role into a subsidiary one.

At the end of the dictatorship, the reinstallation of democracy had a remarkable economic growth and relevant social achievements, that reinforced the neoliberal system. The governments in office continued promoting the subsidiary role of the state. As a consequence, the public sector did not suffer significant transformations. In parallel, civil society's needs increased, and the democratic administrations addressed them with important high-quality social policies but not improving the public sector structure. Therefore, instead of growing civil servants, the governments decided to rise the labour force that has fewer costs for the state -the Honorarios employees (Labour lawyer, Expert Interview, 2014)\(^{28}\). This explanation constitutes my central hypothesis to explain the proliferation of Honorarios, and this chapter's first part works with it, starting from the Chilean historical context. Specifically, this chapter exposes the main changes in Chilean history from the dictatorship to the present day, focusing on the public sector's transformations.

\(^{28}\) Cristian González Santibañez, Chilean labour Lawyer. He participated in this study as part of my interviews with experts
The second section describes the legal situation of Honorarios employees, which clarifies an integral part of the factors determining this group of workers' precariousness. Understanding this statute's legal aspects can explain why these employees do not have access to fundamental labour rights. This second section describes the legal aspects of the three types of public sector hiring - including the Honorarios agreement.

Section three examines the position of Honorarios employees in the Chilean labour market by comparing them to other workers, first to private ones and later with civil servants. To make such comparisons, I compiled existing statistical information in Chile and processed it for this research.

The fourth section describes statistically Honorarios employees by answering two questions: Who are the public Honorarios employees? And Where are these workers located? First, it analyses these workers at the individual level by observing characteristics such as age, gender, and education level - responding to who they are. The next is a statistical analysis of the conditions of Honorarios employees - responding to where they are. In Chile, there are no surveys that quantify Honorarios, which is why this chapter's importance lies. This research produces the data presented below.

1. HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR TRANSFORMATIONS IN CHILE.

The hypothesis guiding this chapter points out that the state's dismantling process that begins in dictatorship and continues in democracy explains the proliferation of Honorarios public employees in recent decades. In addressing this hypothesis, this section considers two moments. First, it contains a review of the origins of the neoliberal economic system implantation in Chile during the dictatorship. It highlights the dismantling process of the state and its public sector. During this process, the most significant operation is the state's social role for a subsidiary one. Second, the following paragraphs deal with the dictatorship continuities during democracy. Despite the essential social and economic improvements that the country
had during the democratic period, its subsidiary role remained unchanged, extending to the public sector.

1.1. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE DISMANTLING PROCESS OF THE CHILEAN STATE AND ITS PUBLIC SECTOR

During the 1970s, the whole world experienced a series of transformations in the economic, political, cultural and social spheres, known as the beginning of the globalisation process. It is a period characterised by the change in the form of capitalist accumulation, by the crisis of the organisational model of labour - mostly founded under Keynesian and Fordist precepts -, and by the advent of an intensified neoliberal system (Stecher, 2014).

Each region or country experienced this process in different ways according to their particularities. In the so-called global south, the nations began to live a stage dubbed by Paul Singer as a consented dependency. This term expresses the idea of governments' willingness to maintain an economic link of dependence with the global north countries, which generates an opening for local companies, as exporters of raw materials to companies in the global north. Consequently, governments promote enterprises' pre-eminence and individual freedoms over the old state control (Faletto, 1998).

The multinational companies' leading role as drivers of the global capitalist economy characterises this period. These firms that operate worldwide initiate a relocation of their production structures through the commodity chains. The notion of commodity chain refers to “wide range of activities involved in design, production and commercialisation of a product” (Gereffi, 2001, p. 14). These activities happen through two lines: producer-driven and buyer-driven (Gereffi, 2001).

During this period of consented dependency, the International Monetary Fund, thanks to the governments’ support of Great Britain and the United States, acquires crucial leadership at the international level. This alliance promotes the abandonment of protectionist policies such as full employment or social security. Moreover, it

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29 The original concept in Spanish is dependencia deseada
proposes neoliberal policies, facilitating monetary convertibility and financial liberalisation, favouring large companies’ development. Thus, the market becomes the main allocator of resources within national economies. In this scenario, internal governments lose control over economic surpluses, and their investment capacities are limited (Faletto, 1998).

In Chile’s specific case, the transformations previously described are lived under a very critical period of its history marked by a dictatorship from 1973 to 1989. Moreover, in 1980, the dictatorial government approved a new Constitution that enshrined all its economic and social shifts. Previous this period, the governments in charge promoted the so-called Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI)\(^{30}\). What characterises this process is the state’s positioning as the primary agent of economic development promotion and what in Latin American academics called Estado de Compromiso\(^{31}\). According to the typology of Manuel Antonio Garretón, a socio-political matrix of “político-statist” and “national-popular” character defines the state of commitment. This matrix, which prevailed from the 1930s to the 1970s, explains the strong intertwining between the political, economy, and civil society. It is a system where social actors emerge under the strong influence of political parties, which allows a certain level of state control over the social conflict\(^{32}\) (Garretón, 2007).

The process described above underwent a radical cut in 1973. The military forces, headed by Augusto Pinochet, took power by force, imposing a dictatorship that lasted for 17 years. In this context, the military sets radical transformations following the new economic trends, leading to neoliberalism consolidation in Chile. The introduction of this economic model has a unique feature. Since this economic system’s imposition occurred under dictatorship, there was no possibility of opposing forces appearing. This section describes below the moments of the transformations process.

A first transformation was the dismantling of the social relations model that had existed up to that time coming from the state and public enterprises\(^{33}\). As a result,

\(^{30}\) This process was implemented in the rest of the Latin American countries, reaching its most tremendous success in Brazil and Argentina.

\(^{31}\) The literal translation is state of commitment

\(^{32}\) Although according to Garretón, by 1967, there was a significant worsening of the social conflict.

\(^{33}\) For example, between 1964 and 1973, Frei and Allende’s governments nationalised the copper.
Chilean society experienced a broadening of its democratic (representativeness) and material (social rights) bases (Garretón, 2007), including specific social sectors, previously excluded such as the peasantry.\textsuperscript{34} Due to the bureaucratic apparatus’s growth, there was a rise in public employees (Garretón, 2007). Trade unionism and associations of civil servants, under the wing of political parties, had strong participation in society’s material and democratic expansion (Leon and Martinez, 2001; Garretón, 2007; Ruiz and Toro, 2005). In this context, the military proceeded to disarticulate the main actors or social movements existing that moment, using force as the primary mechanism - tortures and exile (Ruiz and Toro, 2005).

The military prepared the ground for a fundamental ideological transformation in a second stage based on the new economic model. According to Moulian, this ideological operation sought to impose the idea that state decisions produce inadequate allocations in the market and generate irrationality. The dictator’s regime wanted to set a narrative that explained that outside of capitalism, there are no economic growth possibilities (Moulian, 1998, p. 197).\textsuperscript{35} Thus, the military forced a break with the previous political regime in ideological terms by promoting the idea that the state could achieve economic development. As a result, the new ideology undermined the public sector since it consecrated the market as the only mechanism capable of allocating resources and social rights.

In the third, the military imposed a labour market deregulation by promoting flexible labour relationships. From the instruction of the Minister of Labour, José Piñera, in 1979, a new set of labour standards established - the Plan Laboral. Three pillars compose the new labour rules.

- Restraint of the right to strike.
- Limitation of collective bargaining only at the enterprise level.
- Elimination of the old branch-based trade union formation.

\textsuperscript{34} Until 1960, Chilean governments had privileged industrialisation in urban areas, leaving aside rural development. During the 1960s and early 1970s, Frei and Allende’s governments carried out an essential agrarian reform that contemplated the rural world by redistribution of land and peasants’ unionisation. This process intensified during the Allende government.

\textsuperscript{35} Self-translation
To achieve these three objectives, the Labour Code implemented the following measures. The replacement of striking workers to limit the right to strike. The parallel bargaining groups to reduce the power of collective negotiation. Within a company, a group can negotiate agreements with the employer without being in the union. The results of this negotiation become effective and extensive to other workers, bypassing the union. Besides, the code stipulated the existence of four types of unions:

1. Inter-company: it groups workers that perform for different employers.
2. Company: it groups workers from the same company.
3. Independent: it groups workers who do not depend on any employer\(^{36}\).
4. Transitional: it groups workers who perform under dependency or subordination in cyclical or intermittent periods\(^{37}\).

Union power diminished after eliminating branch bargaining and relegating collective negotiation at the company level. Transitional and independent unions lack sufficient bargaining power and are doomed to disappear by their very nature. The consequence of the implementation of this new labour code was, and still is, the depoliticisation of the unions and the weakening of the working class in general (Fundación Sol, 2015).

During the first years of the dictatorship, the military prepared the ground for neoliberalism's subsequent implantation. There is the fourth moment of economic renewal which joins the other three changes mentioned above. At this last moment, the Chilean political right-wing acquires a central role, inaugurating a technocratic elite's birth—this new elite comprises people specialising in economics or commercial engineering. They were known as the Chicago Boys because from the 60s on they obtained postgraduate degrees in the United States at that school. Their influence since the 1980s is key to understanding Chile's future. Upon their return, they assumed critical positions in public service, and from there, they developed public policies to transform the economy and radically impose a new ideology. Such public policies

\(^{36}\) The independent trade union is the figure that organises *Honorarios*.

\(^{37}\) https://www.dt.gob.cl/portal/1626/w3-article-99712.html. Last review 14.05.2019
aimed to establish the desired society they wanted and appropriate social relations to implant neoliberalism (Faletto, 1998).

The *Chicago Boys* implemented three reform lines beginning in 1975, based on a long-term public recovery program. First, the program promoted the privatisation of public enterprises and services. School education and primary health were transferred to the municipal administration, leaving many of these services in private hands (concessions of public hospitals, private capital clinics, private schools and universities, etc.). Second, the program stimulated the deregulation of critical areas of the economy, the labour market, and state prices. Third, the *Chicago Boys* program developed a policy of economic openness to the outside world, facilitating and promoting export diversification (Moulian, 1998).

This program provided some economic continuity to the country since Chile has always been an exporting country and dependent on exploiting raw materials, especially copper, cellulose, fishing, fruits and legumes (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016). The *Chicago Boys* measures that promoted modernisation of production and openness for foreign investment had two consequences. On the one hand, it interrupted the import substitution process and led to a new modern financial and commercial sector. On the other hand, these measures radically transformed the social structure (Barozet, and Espinoza, 2016). The main changes were the following: a sharp fall in the significance of the productive working class, the dominance of the service economy, and the bureaucratisation of wage labour under private organisation (Leon and Martinez, 2001). Added to the above, "the claiming logic of mobilisation of the social actors, which resulted in a strong presence of trade unionism in national life, has been displaced by a mesocratic style of life, market-driven" (Leon and Martinez, 2001, p. 29)38.

Based on the preceding, it is essential to highlight the consequences of all moments of transformation for the public sector. All the measures implemented by the military and the new technocratic elite preserve the subsidiary role of the state and place the market as the primary mechanism for coordinating productive and social activities; a role enshrined in the promulgation of the 1980 constitution39. The state

38 Self-translation
39 The 1980 constitution is still in force today.
leaves a series of social service provision to the market, which necessarily weakens the public sector, as I analyse below.

After the dictatorship transformations, the state reduces its role as a provider of social services. The market relieves as the leading creator of wealth, and the state dedicates to the most vulnerable social sectors through an orientation of target efficiency (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016, p. 56). Although the Chilean state was never a real welfare state, nor did it adequately address poverty in urban and rural areas, it did have a more robust public sector before the dictatorship. Due to the military regime measures, a significant part of the public functions passed from the central administration to the municipalities, without adequate resources. Between 1970 and 1980, this power transference allowed the reduction of social spending from 25% to 10% concerning the state’s total budget (Barozet, and Espinoza, 2016, p. 56).

During the whole dictatorial period, there is a dramatic reduction in the number of public employees. The first Indicative Development Plan, published in 1974 by the National Planning Office (ODEPLAN), declares: "The state must reduce to modernise by decreasing it in all its dimensions and improving its efficiency"40 (Velásquez, 1990). During the first four years, this program execution achieved the most considerable reduction in public employees ever known. The state decreases its administrative staff by 96,000 people, representing 60% of employees’ total decrease in the period41.

From the dictatorial period description, one observes that the main operation is the consecration of the state’s subsidiary role and its orientation to target efficiency policies. Given the state diminished to a minor role, it leaves the way open to use Honorarios employees. Since the dictatorship, public employee staff have not increased. Thus, to implement target efficiency policies, the administrations preferred to have a workforce that implies fewer costs for the state than the strengthening of the public sector. The following section analyses the continuity of the dictatorial period

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40 Self-translation
41 Due to the dictatorial context, statistics for this period are relatively scarce. This study analyses the period between 1973 and 1985.
during democracy, to prove the continuity in both periods and to explain the *Honorarios* increase.

### 1.2. Democracy Arrival and its Continuities with the Dictatorship

In 1988, the military at the head of the dictatorial regime agreed to hold a plebiscite to evaluate the dictatorship's continuity. The results showed 55.99% against the military's continuity in command, thanks to which Chile carries out its first democratic election. In 1989, the candidate of the Christian democratic party, Patricio Aylwin, was elected President. Thus, in 1990 a new period began in Chile marked by a highly consensual democracy and by the government of a centre-left coalition called the *Concertación*\(^\text{42}\), which remains at the forefront for 20 years.

In this new democratic period, one observes three main characteristics:

1. The development of a highly agreed transition to democracy: arrangements between the *Concertación*, the right-wing parties and the outgoing military.
2. High economic growth maintained for at least ten years.
3. The preservation of the 1980 Constitution, that although some reforms, remains in force to this day.

Regarding the first point, the 1980 Constitution ensures the democracy of agreements because it guarantees the representation and preservation in the power of the Chilean right-wing and the military. The Constitution contains two fundamental laws to preserve people in power: life senators and a binominal election system. The title of life guarantees that some people who participated in the dictatorship remain in force\(^\text{43}\). The binominal system - that works only to choose the incumbents- organises elections by lists of two candidates favouring coalitions. Each pact proposes two candidates by the district. The two lists that obtain the two highest majorities elect each one representative. Thus, the first most voted candidate from the second most voted

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\(^{42}\) In 2010 the right-wing candidate Sebastián Piñera was elected, being for the first time during the democratic period, being the first President outside the *Concertación*. In 2014, when Michelle Bachelet is elected President of the country, represents the same centre-left coalition that had governed for 20 years now under the name *Nueva Mayoría*. Currently, the newly elected President is Sebastian Piñera.

\(^{43}\) For example, the former dictator Augusto Pinochet, remains in power until 2002, thanks to his lifetime title.
list will be selected, even if he or she receives fewer votes than the second most voted candidate from the first pact. Nevertheless, if the most voted list doubles in percentage the second one, the two candidates from this first list will be elected, regardless if there is a candidate from the other list with more votes.

One of the arguments of the Concertación for not making significant changes during democracy has been the existence of such laws in the Constitution. In any case, the governing coalition has implemented two periods of transformations to the Constitution. The first moment was in 2005, when the President of that period, Ricardo Lagos, eliminates the life senators and reduces the presidential period from 6 to 4 years. The second moment was in 2015 when President Michele Bachelet replaces the binominal system with a proportional one. Despite these significant modifications, the subsidiary role of the state continues to this day.

An essential and outstanding economic growth is another characteristic of this period. Between 1991 and 1997, Chile grew at an average annual rate of 7% (Clearly, 2007). Thanks to this sustained growth, GDP per capita passed from 2100 dollars in 1991 to 5500 dollars in 1997. By 2007, Chile's GDP had risen to over US$10,000 per capita (Clearly, 2007). The inflation inherited by the dictatorship was 27.3% around 1991; it reduced to 4.7 in 1998 (Clearly, 2007). The national debt decreased from 45% of GDP in 1990 to 13% in 1998, reaching 5% of GDP representation in 2007 (Clearly, 2007). The end of Chile's international isolation during democracy, together with highly competitive copper prices in the global market, allows a notable economic and social improvement for the country, especially compared to its neighbours (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016). Nevertheless, despite this favourable scenario, Chile's main problem is the unequal distribution of income and the inadequate provision of social services. Therefore, Chile is a country that maintains a successful economic performance during this period, with relative success in social terms (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016).

At the heart of the Constitution, the state’s subsidiary role is the leading cause of the ineffective provision of social services- another characteristic of this period. The public policies developed during the Concertation administrations find two moments. First, during the 1990s, the main objective of such policies was poverty reduction. Second, from the year 2000 onwards, policies searched to achieve economic growth.
with equality. However, whatever the time considered, throughout this period, the state implemented policies under the criterion of *target efficiency*. The state's role reduced to compensate the country's most vulnerable social groups such as the poor, the elderly, or the unemployed (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016).

Since the 1990s, the *Concertación* has created critical public institutions to address the most vulnerable sectors. In the first administration, President Patricio Aylwin creates the following institutions: FOSIS in 1990 (program Solidarity and Social Investment Fund), SERNAM in 1990 (the National Service for Women), INJUV in 1991 (Institute of Youth). The next President, Eduardo Frei, emphasises the country's modernisation by developing modern infrastructure and improving public education quality. His government increased the schooling period, built new educational establishments, and implemented new learning programs. Under both administrative periods, Chile saw a significant drop in poverty rates. According to the National Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (MIDEPLAN), poverty decreased from 38.6% in 1990 to 21.7% in 1998 (Clearly, 2007). Currently, poverty rates fluctuate between 8% and 14%, depending on the measure used (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016).

From the year 2000 onwards, Ricardo Lagos and Michelle Bachelet's socialist governments introduced essential corrections to the economic model. Due to the inadequate provision of social services, both Presidents created programs to address the problem. To improve health, President Ricardo Lagos formulated the Plan for Universal Access and Explicit Guarantees (AUGE), aiming to cover the most common pathologies. This program guarantees universal access for all Chileans - regardless of their resources or whether health insurance is private or public - to medical treatments from a list of diseases. Bachelet's government, implemented a national budget to guarantee a minimum retirement floor (Barozet and Espinoza, 2016)

Although the democratic period brought several advances in the social area, the new institutions assumed the *target efficiency* approach because the different administrations did not reform the state's subsidiary role. Social

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44 Until 2011, the Ministry of Social Development measured poverty at the household level, considering the ability to satisfy food needs from people's income (a measure that has existed since 1987). From 2013 onwards, the measurement of poverty improved, adopting a multidimensional perspective. That is why if the last one considers the lastest measure, the poverty level is higher.

45 In chapters IV and V, I delve into the Chilean retirement system. This system works on personal savings administered by private institutions, and it does not guarantee decent pensions in old age.
institutions took the public policies coordinator role and not the executor one. Social institutions took the public policies coordinator role and not the executor one. While the institutions created in the period promoted critical social programs to address public needs, their implementation fell into the hands of institutions outside the central administration (municipalities, NGOs, foundations, etc.) (Clearly, 2007). The administration established such programs for limited periods and with particular objectives. **Specific social programs covered social needs, which did not translate into the state's widening and deepening.** The administrations established such programs for limited periods and with particular objectives.

**During the period under review, the market maintained its central role as a provider of social services.** One observes market's relevance in areas such as health, education, or retirement, because of the emergence of private universities\(^{46}\), private schools, clinics, concessions to private in the public infrastructure construction, ISAPRES (private health insurance companies), and AFPs (private pension fund management institutions). The different administrations of this period never conceived the social services as part of a universal social rights programme. In this scenario, **Chilean families must pay large sums of money to access social services, so banks take a central role in loans and credits.** The bank appears as an agent in Chilean welfare development (Clearly, 2007; Barozet and Espinoza, 2016).

This period's analysis represents an essential step in understanding Chile's public sector's decline due to the state dismantling. One observes the influence of the target efficiency approach in public policies in the interviews of this research. An essential part of the respondents works for time-bound social programs - especially those **Honorarios** located in municipalities. Many respondents state that even when programs finish, their **labour agreements extend** because they perform in new social programs over time. The following sections show the augmentation in the number of **Honorarios** employees in the public sector by reviewing some statistics.

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\(^{46}\) In chapter III, I refer to the emergence of private universities in Chile. In this chapter, I explain the influence of education as a factor of social differences reproduction also inherited during professional life.
2. Honorarios Statute: The Labour Relationship in Disguise

This section analyses the Honorarios statute in legal terms, allowing one to understand these employees' precariousness and compare it with the other two existing formal contracts in the public sector- planta and contrata. From the legal differences between public sector contracts, it is possible to comprehend differentiation or discrimination between different public sector employees. This section highlights how different situations of discrimination have repercussions on the experiences of Honorarios employees.

2.1. The Different Methods of Hiring Employees in the Public Sector.

There are two principal labour codes in Chile: The Administrative Statute and the Labour Code. The first one regulates all labour relations within the public sector - both central administration and municipalities. The second one applies to the private world- especially within companies. For the research purposes, this section focuses on the first jurisprudence, which states the following: “all relations between the state, ministries, governorates, centralised and decentralised public services, intended to fulfil administrative functions, must be regulated by the present Administrative Statute” (Article 1, Administrative Statute).

As it currently operates, the Administrative Statute appeared during the military dictatorship in 1989. Lagos' government last amended this labour jurisprudence in 2004, without substantially altering it. This code considers the existence of three types of public employees. The civil servant (called planta) has a permanent contract and forms part of the regular staff. The second (called contrata) has a civil servant's status but with a temporal contract (although renewable). The third type of employee is Honorarios, who does not have the official public status and works under a civil agreement- not a contract.

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47 Despite the existences of two principal labour codes from which other sub-codes derived. It is worth mentioning one of them: the administrative statute for municipal employees. For this study goals, I focus on the general administrative law for public employees.
48 The Spanish names in Chilean legislation correspond to these translations Estatuto Administrativo and Código Laboral
49 Self-translation
50 The labour code exceptionally regulates some labour relations in the public sector. However, since they are exceptional, this dissertation excludes them.
This section describes civil servant contracts (planta and contrata) characteristics to compare them with the Honorarios statute. The planta contract refers to the permanent set of officials, and whose number is fixed by a law per each institution. Under this contract, a civil servant can follow a career in public service. It corresponds to managers, professionals, technicians, clerks and assistants. Contrata corresponds to a temporary contract and provides employees with the status of a civil servant. The number of people working under this jurisdiction must not exceed 20% of the total staff. As a transitional contract, it lasts to each 31st December, with the possibility of renewal for one extra year following an evaluation of the official’s performance.

Both contracts have access to the labour rights corresponding to civil servants, which are stipulated by law. The administrative statute defines these labour rights as follows: “Every public employee has the right to job stability, promotion in the career, medical leaves, professional training courses, training activities, holidays, medical assistance in the event of labour accidents or illnesses arising from their job function, among others”. The statute also stipulates that every public employee has the right to welfare and the security system’s social provisions. Concerning the employee participation in associations, this code establishes the right to participate in the Asociación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales, ANEF (National Association of Public Employees). The law recognises this association as the official channel of participation, defence, orientation and representation of all public employees.

The third form of contracting in this code corresponds to Honorarios. From a legal perspective, this form completely differs from the other two. According to the Administrative Statute, the public sector can hire a person under the Honorarios agreement in the following cases: professionals or technicians with higher education, and experts in specific subjects, when a public institution requires accidental tasks. The hiring of Honorarios must agree with the corresponding public authority. Thus, this code allows Honorarios hiring but establishing, at the same time, that its laws do not apply for such worker. It explicitly states

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51 In the administrative statute, planta and contrata are not contracts but legal regimes. As such, they regulate all relations between the state and its employees. This dissertation continues with the term contract since it facilitates the language.

52 The exception constitutes those positions of trust to whom does not apply the same rights.

53 Self-translation
that *Honorarios* employees do not have access to the civil servant’s labour rights. The private sector\(^54\) also contemplates hiring under this modality, but with regulations and rights.

The administrative statute rules out *Honorarios* from any participation in the national employee association. However, *Honorarios* employees have profited from their statute’s legal vacuum, taking advantage of the private sector labour code regulations and have grouped into independent trade unions over the last decade. This type of association is the figure that the private sector’s code contemplates for workers without employers. It can only organise workers and provide them with legal advice but without any legal bargaining capacity. In this sense, the *Honorarios* trade unions can not negotiate with their employer- the state\(^55\).

Table N°1 below summarises the difference between the three types of employees in the public sector.

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\(^54\) Section 3 of this chapter delves into the implications of the private labour code for the case of *Honorarios*.

\(^55\) Later this dissertation continues deepening into this form of union association in the case of the *Honorarios*. 
TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTRACTS IN THE CHILEAN PUBLIC SECTOR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Planta</th>
<th>Contrata</th>
<th>Honorarios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Functions</strong></td>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>Accidental tasks, not the usual ones of the institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public office</td>
<td>Public office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Position</strong></td>
<td>Permanent position</td>
<td>Transitory position</td>
<td>Accidental task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duration</strong></td>
<td>Undefined period</td>
<td>Until 31th December of each year (renewable)</td>
<td>Not defined. According to the specific task commanded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Code</strong></td>
<td><strong>Estatuto Administrativo</strong></td>
<td><strong>Estatuto Administrativo</strong></td>
<td>Civil Code (It is not part of Administrative Statute nor Labour Code)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Workers association</strong></td>
<td>ANEF (National Association of public employees)</td>
<td>ANEF (National Association of public employees)</td>
<td>Independent trade union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of public offices</strong></td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>Without limitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rights</strong></td>
<td>Social security and welfare system. Right to follow a civil service career.</td>
<td>Social security and welfare system. No right to follow a civil service career.</td>
<td>No rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Self-designed based on administrative and public information

Since no labour code governs the Honorarios agreement, the following question arises: what is the regulation for this statute? Honorarios is an agreement between two natural people, which is why it falls into the civil code. The following section explains Honorarios statute rules and its consequences.

2.2. Regulation of the Honorarios Agreement and its Consequences.

This section deals with the regulation of the Honorarios agreement. A precise notion for addressing the legal framework of Honorarios is that of the “grey zone” (Leiva, 2012). According to Ferez and Ugalde, in Chile “the notion of dependency is the one that marks the boundary between salaried and self-employed workers” (In Leiva, 2012,
Thus, a subordination bond in any labour relationship means salaried work. In Honorarios’ case, *the notion of independence is the one that defines their statute*. However, *these employees’ actual working conditions in practice denote a complete relationship of dependence*. Therefore, *Honorarios* employees in the public sector are salaried workers and not independent ones, so they are in a *grey area*.

Considering that *Honorarios* are in a dependent labour relationship and perform as civil servants, why does the state not recognise them? Why do *Honorarios* not have the same rights as an official public? *Honorarios* statute does not represent an employment contract but an agreement between two persons regulated by the Chilean civil code. Specifically, the *Honorarios* definition establishes that a person provides services by leasing immaterial services within a specified time, i.e., accidental tasks. The service provider has flexible schedules, defined by the job to be performed.

*Honorarios* that work in the public sector suffer from a legal vacuum that the Chilean state uses. The conflicting point relies on the possibility (need) to develop specific and accidental tasks that the public sector interprets as social programs with limited time. However, two complicated situations may appear in this framework: either a social program extends in time, either new social programs arise. Consequently, the public sector can always renovate an *Honorarios* agreement since both social program’s situations can be considered different accidental tasks. Since the administrative statute does not establish limitations on the *Honorarios* labour supply hiring, the state can use it for an unlimited time. Besides, this code does not stipulate any legal procedure against false employment relationships.

*All these factors are breeding grounds for the emergence of a labour relationship in disguise for Honorarios*. They operate without a formal contract but like if they had one. They work in the public sector -institutions and dependencies of the state-, with regular hours, under subordination, and perform permanent tasks. Those conditions imply that *Honorarios* employees are in the labour world’s grey area- being *autonomous-dependent* workers (Leiva, 2012). Next section contrasts the

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56 Self-translation
situation of Honorarios employees concerning other workers, to continue deepening their precariousness position.

3. Honorarios Employees and Other Workers

This section contextualises Honorarios precariousness by comparing them with other workers. First, it compares Honorarios with workers under the same statute but from the private sector. Second, this section places Honorarios withing the public area, contrasting them with civil servants (both, planta and contrata) from municipalities and central administration. This comparative analysis allows one to address the situation of Honorarios employees within the Chilean labour market.

3.1. Honorarios Public Employees and Honorarios Private Workers

A first element to consider in addressing this section is Honorarios employees from the public sector have the same legal statute as those working in the private one-meaning that in both cases the situation is regulated by the civil code. However, although the regulation is the same, the number of Honorarios employees is higher in the public sector. Why does this difference exist? This section approaches the answer in two parts. First, it explains the difference between both sectors from a statistical approach. Second, this section deals with the contrast based on legal analysis.

In Chile, the instrument that measures the number of workers in the private sector and considers Honorarios workers’ presence is the ENCLA survey, elaborated by the Chilean’s Labour Bureau\textsuperscript{57}. The poll considered for this research dates from 2014 and indicates that the percentage of Honorarios workers in the private sector amounts to 1.4%.

Within the public sector, the institution that measures human resources distribution is the Chilean Government Budget office (DIPRES)\textsuperscript{58}. This institution includes data since 2006 and excludes from its measurement employees from

\textsuperscript{57} The Dirección del Trabajo is decentralised public service with legal personality and its budget. This office is subject to evaluation by the President of the Republic through the Ministry of Labour.

\textsuperscript{58} The objective of the DIPRES is to guarantee the allocation of resources in the public sector efficiently within the fiscal policy of the Chilean State. This office is under the Chilean Ministry of Finance.
municipalities. According to this institution, the percentage of Honorarios public employees in 2014 reaches 17.4%. Although the measurement instrument is not the same for the public and private sector, the data show a relevant difference. These figures serve as a reference to show that there is a critical contrast between the number of Honorarios workers in the public and private sector. This section argues below that the different legal regulations in both sectors explain the disparity between the figures.

The Honorarios statute is an agreement between two parties regulated by the civil code, designed to control the provision of a specific service delivered by an individual. Neither the public nor the private sector establishes a numerical limitation in the staffing based on the Honorarios statute. Thus, a legal factor explains the fact that there are more Honorarios employees in the public sector. Since there are two labour codes in Chile, the regulations are different. In the public sector, there is no control for false labour relationships. However, the private sector in its labour code contemplates the legislation of dependent relationships without contracts (Expert interview, 2014).

The private sector labour code states that an employment contract "is a settlement in which the employer and the employee maintain a relationship of dependence and subordination. The worker provides a service, for which the employer must pay a salary. It follows from the preceding that the provision of each service implies the existence of a dependency labour relationship". The labour code establishes that regardless of a contract's physical existence, a relationship of dependency and subordination that lasts more than three months is a formal employment relationship. Labour courts usually rule in favour of workers when faced with such lawsuits (Expert interview, 2014).

Nevertheless, in the public sector, the administrative statute does not establish any regulation against the presence of an employment contract presumption. Faced with such absence, the public sector institutions can hire Honorarios employees without prohibition. Labour lawyers believe that there is a legal vacuum in the public sector. When Honorarios employees denounce an employment relationship of 59 Self-translation. From Código Laboral Chileno.
dependency and subordination without a contract, the labour judges rule favouring the employer - Chile’s state (Expert interview, 2014).

The difference of legal criteria between the private and public sector explains the high level of Honorarios employees in the public sector. This hypothesis that emerges from the expert interviews constitutes one of the pillars of this research. Next section continues the comparison between employees but now framed to the public sector.

3.2. **PUBLIC HONORARIOS EMPLOYEES COMPARED TO CIVIL SERVANTS IN THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION.**

This section deals with Honorarios employees' situation at the central administration level based on analysing the Chilean Government's Budget office (DIPRES). The data provided by this institution make it possible to account for the number of the three types of employees (*planta, contrata* and *Honorarios*) from 2006 to 2017 as the table N°2 shows.
Table 2 presents a sustained increase in the number of Honorarios employees until 2014, increasing from 29,840 in 2006 to 47,239 in 2014. Between 2015 and 2016 the figure remains relatively stable. However, in the year 2017, there is a considerable drop in the number of Honorarios, reaching 34,690. The number of planta employees persisted stable during the period under review. In the case of contrata employees, the distribution shows a constant but not a high rise.

Based on these data, two observations seem to be relevant. On the one hand, the stable figure in the number of planta employees confirms that the various governments since 1990 have not wanted to enlarge the public institutions’ permanent staff. On the other hand, the sustained increase in the number of contrata employees shows the irregularity in hiring personnel in public services. The administrative statute declares that contrata personnel should not exceed 20% of an institution's total.

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60 The analysis begins in 2006 because there are no data about Honorarios employees in previous years.
Although the revised data do not reveal a decrease in the state’s permanent employees, it shows a lack of interest in increasing permanent positions. To deepen this aspect, graph N°1 indicates each type of employee’s growth rate in the central public administration.

**CHART 1: GROWTH RATE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES IN CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION- PERIOD 2006-2017**

The previous graph makes visible the differences in growth between the three types of public sector employees. The chart shows there is a more stabilising trend in the case of *planta* and *contrata* employees. However, in the case of *Honorarios* employees, it tends to rise, with certain exceptions (2010 and 2016). As noted earlier, the trend towards stabilisation in *planta* reveals a negative political intention to expand the public sector. The resolution is the endowment of *Honorarios* employees to respond to citizen demands. *Honorarios* employment does not signify extra costs for the public sector.

In Chile, a bureaucratic process does not allow for an easy increase in the public sector’s *planta* staff. One decree\(^62\) establishes a fixed number of civil servants

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\(^{61}\) The formula used was: \( \frac{(\text{Present year} - \text{Past year})}{\text{Past year}} \times 100 \)

\(^{62}\) Decree with the force of Law No. 2. Santiago, March 10, 2016. Library of Chilean Congress.
for each institution (Expert interview, 2014). For example, in the Ministry of Education, the amount is 2,797 employees. The legislators must create a decree with the force of law to change the employees’ fixed quantity per each institution. This process translates into an increase in the costs associated with public employees hiring. The hypothesis that this dissertation establishes is the difficulties involved in the mentioned process lead to governors' unwillingness to invest in expanding the workforce of public employees.

3.3. Honorarios Employees in Municipalities

To begin to analyse the numbers of Honorarios employees in municipalities, one must highlight three antecedents:

1. The hiring of Honorarios in this area operates under the central administration’s same hiring criteria, although it has its specific labour code.

2. There is no data in official state statistics that compare trends between the three types of public sector employees in municipalities.

3. The Union of Honorarios Workers (Unión Nacional de Trabajadores a Honorarios) collected the data analysed in this section in 2014. As far, the union have not updated its figures.

One of the problems of statistics regarding municipalities in Chile is the lack of updated information and standardised technology to collect statistics. However, the National Union of Honorarios Workers carried out compiling statistics from two information sources. The first one comes from the Chilean Internal Revenue Service (SII). To obtain the number of Honorarios officials in municipalities, the union asked for the number of people who declare their salary in municipalities based on Honorarios invoice. The second source of information comes from the national municipal information system (SINIM), which collects information officially. The figures obtained from the two sources do not coincide. Those coming from the official

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63 The municipal administrative statute is a compilation of standards that operate for municipalities and the services that depend on them, such as primary health and primary and secondary education. The regulation deriving from this statute is the same as the central administration.
measurement system are lower than those from the tax service. One may observe there is an undervaluation of this type of data in the public sector.

The following chart illustrates data from the Chilean Internal Revenue Service.

**CHART 2: TIME-LINE DISTRIBUTION. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES UNDER HONORARIOS AGREEMENT IN MUNICIPALITIES.**

The graph shows a constant growth of Honorarios employees in municipalities between 2006 and 2014, which rose by 76% from 87.151 to 153.533. One can better contextualise these data by comparing the total amount of Honorarios in the public sector to see how many of them belong to municipalities. The Chilean Internal Revenue Service collect data from taxpayers declaring their salary based on an Honorarios invoice and sector for which they work in the public area (Honorarios in the public and private sector). The following graph illustrates the proportion of workers performing under the statute Honorarios in municipalities.
When analysing the figures of table Nº 3, one can observe the proportion of Honorarios in municipalities reaches around 50% of the total of employees in the public sector (except for the first years). It is not easy to analyse these data due to the differences in information sources (previous section, for example). Nevertheless, one can affirm that half of the public sector's Honorarios agreements are in the municipalities. Besides, these data confirm a constant increase in the number of Honorarios in municipalities.

The main problem with a rise of Honorarios in the municipalities is that working conditions are worse than in the central administration. According to the interviews, lower wages and higher occupational risks explain such inadequate labour conditions. Municipalities are in charge of the implementation of several social programs designed by the central administration. Honorarios work for different social programs over an extended period, continually moving from one program to another- a prevalent dynamic in municipalities.

By implementing those programs, Honorarios from municipalities face several risks because they work on the streets, make visits to people, supervise works in the field, or travel. The dangers multiply under such an environment, especially considering that they do not have health coverage and occupational accident insurance. On the contrary, Honorarios from the central administration deal with fewer risks, because they do an office job- designing social programs and evaluating public
policies. One must highlight that *Honorarios* employment is intrinsically high-risk because of the lack of labour rights, so the situation of *Honorarios* in municipalities is particularly worrying.

The next graph shows the number of *Honorarios* employees in municipalities from official figures collected by the National Municipal Information System (SINIM). These results may be inaccurate since updating data on human resources does not work equally in all municipalities- actualisation in different periods without the same precision. As a result, the Chilean Internal Revenue Service shows higher numbers than the SINIM.

**Chart 3: Time-line Distribution, Public Employees Under Honorarios Agreement in Municipalities.**

One first observation from the data above shows a stable trend, unlike the Chilean Internal Revenue Service figures, whose numbers reveal a constant growth in the number of *Honorarios* employees. A second remark is that the SINIM's data are significantly lower than those from the Chilean Internal Revenue Service (see chart 2). For example, in 2011, the SINIM reports 72,147 *Honorarios* employees, while the Chilean Internal Revenue Service declares 147,608. A third consideration is a contrast...
between the rates of growth\textsuperscript{64} illustrated by each institution. According to SINIM, between 2010 and 2015, the increase is 4.7\%, while for the rate's Chilean Internal Revenue Service between 2006-2014 is 76\%. The \textit{Honorarios} Union leaders think the last institution's data are more reliable since all Chileans periodically must declare their incomes to this service.

Beyond the inaccuracies in the data collected by the SINIM, a piece of information results useful for this research. One can analyse the \textit{Honorarios} distribution in the different municipalities areas. During the transformations in the Chilean dictatorship, the military transferred from central administration primary health and schools administration to municipalities. According to SINIM, in 2015, this distribution is as follows: 14\% in health, 11\% in education and 75\% in management. These data confirm the arguments developed above: most of these employees work implementing social programs (managing area)- a touching situation since workers' conditions are more critical in this area. Next section characterises \textit{Honorarios} employees in the public sector based on statistical data.

4. \textbf{Statistics of \textit{Honorarios} employees in the public sector.}

This section analyses Chilean the characteristics of \textit{Honorarios} from the public sector based on statistics produced for this research in 2016. Due to the complexity of these data production, this section has not updated them. Nevertheless, the statistics allow for the description proposed by the objectives of this research.

The information analysed in this section intends to respond to two questions: who are the \textit{Honorarios} employees? And what are the working conditions under which they work? The first answer emerges from the exploration of individual aspects such as age, gender or education level. The second one arises from studying factors such as wages, the welfare system and working hours, and comparing them with civil servants' conditions (\textit{planta} and \textit{contrata}).

\textsuperscript{64} The formula used was: \[
\text{Growth} = \left( \frac{\text{Present - Past}}{\text{Past}} \right) \times 100
\]
In Chile, no studies are addressing the characteristics of Honorarios employees directly or consistently. Therefore, to find these data, this section bases on the New National Employment Survey (NENE) and its module called the Supplementary Income Survey (NESI). The National Statistics Institute (INE) conducts this survey periodically and measures wages, employment and unemployment of all citizens. However, this measure contains no specific analysis of Honorarios in the public sector, although it indirectly addresses them. For this reason, this section works with the survey databases by constructing specific filters based on its questions.

The analysis takes three years: 2010, 2013 and 2015. The databases allow constructing just general filters without distinguishing between administration levels (central or municipalities) or types of civil servant contracts (contrata and planta). Therefore, this section analyses Honorarios employees from the public sector (without differentiating the administration level) and compares them with civil servants (no planta or contrata differentiation).

4.1. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISATION OF Honorarios EMPLOYEES IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

This section presents an analysis of Honorarios employees in the public sector by characterising them according to gender, age, and schooling level. The graph below illustrates data on gender prevalence over the period 2010-2015.
This section presents an analysis of Honorarios employees in the public sector by characterising them according to gender, age, and schooling level. The graph below illustrates data on gender prevalence over the period 2010-2015.

The data indicate there are more women under the Honorarios statute than men during all period analysed. In 2010, the percentage of man was 41.5% and women 58.5%. In 2013, the difference remained similar with 42% men and 58% women. At the end of the period, the gap increases to 38.7% of men and 61.3% of women. These rates suggest a significant gender distribution difference of Honorarios employees in the public sector. Although all Honorarios suffer from the lack of labour rights, the gender gap is more dramatic for women. For instance, the maternity subject concerns this population directly. This research's interviews verify this apprehension since women declare fear of losing their jobs if they become pregnant (due to the dismissal facilities). The Honorarios statute punishes women more, especially at reproductive age, so it is dramatic the higher women presence in the public sector.

Next table shows the average age of this type of employees, distinguishing between men and women.
TABLE 4: TIMELINE- AGE OF HONORARIOS EMPLOYEES ON AVERAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by author based on Chilean survey "Nueva encuesta nacional de empleo", NENE

The data show the average age stays constant throughout the period for both sexes. For men, the age remains around 40, and for women, there is a slight increase towards 2013 and 2015. At the beginning of the period, the age average is 34 years, and at the end is 37 years. This analysis shows two eye-catching aspects. First, the Honorarios statute does not constitute an initial stage in a person's professional life or temporary job. Second, women in their reproductive stage.

The following chart shows data on the educational level of Honorarios employees in the public sector.

CHART 5: TIMELINE- EDUCATION LEVEL DISTRIBUTION ON AVERAGE. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES UNDER HONORARIOS AGREEMENT

![Educational Level Distribution Chart]

Source: Prepared by author based on Chilean survey "Nueva encuesta nacional de empleo", NENE. Period 2010-2015

The previous graph shows a similar distribution over the period analysed. The data indicate there is a more significant presence of Honorarios with higher education. The college and technical categories together give the highest figures in the chart, with the following results: 2010 (63, 3%), 2013 (66, 4%) and 2015 (71, 2%). Therefore, one
can conclude *Honorarios* employees in the public sector are high qualified labour-force. The data also reveals that precariousness is a phenomenon that can touch all types of workers, including professional categories as the case of *Honorarios*. The interviews confirm this observation since *Honorarios* declare to feel lack of recognition concerning their educational level.

Summarising, *Honorarios* employees are a highly qualified labour force, with a more significant female presence and at a young but not initial age of their labour careers. The following section compares *Honorarios* employees with civil servants.

### 4.2. The Working Conditions of *Honorarios* Employees in the Public Sector: A Comparison to Civil Servants.

The following is an analysis of *Honorarios* employees' labour conditions in the public sector compared to civil servants, which allows describing the specific context of labour precariousness surrounding them. This framework leads to a comprehension of the discrimination by civil servants against *Honorarios*.

The first set of data takes the same previous period studied (2010-2015) and corresponds to working hours distribution, comparing *Honorarios* with civil servants. The analysis divides working hours into two categories: full and part-time. Since the databases do not differentiate inside civil servants, the research has grouped planta and contrata under the categoría *liquidación*[^65], the payment method for this type of employee.

| TABLE 5: TIMELINE- WORKING DAY DISTRIBUTION ON AVERAGE, PUBLIC EMPLOYEES |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Year                        | 2010 Honorarios | 2010 Liquidación | 2013 Honorarios | 2013 Liquidación | 2015 Honorarios | 2015 Liquidación |
| Full-time                   | 81,5%           | 94,3%            | 86,0%           | 95,6%            | 85,2%           | 95,7%            |
| Part-time                   | 18,5%           | 5,7%             | 14,0%           | 4,4%             | 14,8%           | 4,3%             |

Source: Prepared by author based on Chilean survey “Nueva encuesta nacional de empleo”, NENE. Period 2010-2015

[^65]: See in previous sections, formal contracts within the public sector include planta and the contrata.
The previous table shows that both Honorarios and civil servants work mostly full time, with the latter reaching a higher percentage (around 95%), a regular trend in permanent staff. However, this pattern reveals a problem in the case of Honorarios. Their agreement establishes that a worker under this statute does not comply with fixed schedules. The working period ends when the person delivers the final product (deciding the working time distribution). One can conclude there is a violation of the Honorarios agreement by the employer concerning working hours. According to the interviews' analysis, the respondents indicate they work full time, even though their agreements do not contemplate it.

The following graph presents the percentage of access to the social welfare system, comparing Honorarios with civil servants. The welfare system category divides into health and social security (old-age contributions). According to the administrative statute, Honorarios employees do not receive any protection. Until 2019, Honorarios made their social contribution voluntarily. Although some public institutions take care of the social security of the Honorarios, they are exceptions since it depends on the political will of the person in charge. Besides, the social coverage of these exceptional cases excludes health and retirement. The chart below shows data on access to social welfare among different public sector employees.

**CHART 6: TIMELINE- SOCIAL WELFARE AVERAGE. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES**

Source: Prepared by author based on Chilean survey “Nueva encuesta nacional de empleo”, NENE. Period 2010-2015
Regarding the previous graph, one can observe that Honorarios employees have deficient access to social welfare. The rates show a significant difference between them and civil servants (99% access), revealing open discrimination within the public sector. Although some institutions protect Honorarios employees, the data highlight their state's use as a cheaper labour-force by not assuming the costs associated with social assurance.

Another interesting aspect of analysing refers to the retirement system. During old ages, the pensions in Chile are minimal even without contribution gaps. For Honorarios, this situation will be even more dramatic in the future since in their case, the retirement contribution is voluntary. According to the analysis of the interviews, Honorarios prefer not to contribute to the pension system either because their salaries are not enough or because they do not trust in the system. Therefore, there will be a significant social problem concerning these persons in the future, as their working life has large gaps in the retirement contributions.

The next element to analyse in the case of Honorarios refers to their incomes. The table below corresponds to the average dollar salaries of Honorarios employees.

Table 6: Salaries distribution on average in U.S. dollars. Honorarios Public Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>597.7</td>
<td>850.02</td>
<td>896.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by author based on Chilean survey "Nueva encuesta nacional de empleo", NENE.

The data in table Nº 6 show a significant increase in the average salary of Honorarios employees. In 2010 it was 597.7 dollars and at the end of the period riced to $896.79. One can estimate this increase as positive, especially considering Honorarios average wage is higher than the minimum wage in Chile (in 2016, the minimum wage was US$387.99). In this context, one can relativise the precariousness of these employees. However, as this dissertation has argued, labour precariousness...
is a much more complex phenomenon that includes a lack of rights and recognition. This section continues analysing Honorarios salaries by comparing with civil servants as the following graph illustrates.

CHART 7: SALARIES DISTRIBUTION IN DOLLARS ACCORDING TYPE OF CONTRACT

The previous graph indicates that Honorarios employees receive a lower salary than civil servants. This situation remains stable throughout the period analysed. These data show discrimination against Honorarios employees within the public sector, considering they perform similar tasks as their colleagues without having the same working conditions.

The previous graph indicates that Honorarios employees receive a lower salary than civil servants. This situation remains stable throughout the period analysed. These data show discrimination against Honorarios employees within the public sector, considering they perform similar tasks as their colleagues without having the same working conditions. The next piece of information is a comparison within the Honorarios group between women and men.
The chart shows a wage increase for both women and men during the period analysed, and a significant gender difference favouring men. In 2010, men earned $227.94 more, and in 2013 it rose to $285.96. At the end of this period, this difference incremented considerably to $445.32. Once again, the analysis of the working conditions of Honorarios employees reveals a disadvantage that harms women, who are in a situation more vulnerable than men.

When considering the salary distribution between Honorarios employees according to education level, one observes gender differences again. The following is a graph illustrating the wage differences between men and women according to schooling level.

**TABLE 7: SALARIES DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO GENDER AND EDUCATION LEVEL. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES UNDER HONORARIOS AGREEMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>237,34</td>
<td>194,02</td>
<td>415,09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>427,44</td>
<td>341,74</td>
<td>426,62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical education</td>
<td>477,22</td>
<td>367,67</td>
<td>1370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate and more</td>
<td>1024</td>
<td>678,07</td>
<td>1434</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by author based on Chilean survey “Nueva encuesta nacional de empleo”, NENE.
The table exhibits a significant wage gap between men and women at all levels of education. This difference is even more dramatic at the highest level of education (college graduate and more). At the same time, ascending at the school level, the wage gap increases disadvantaging women. The gender gap at labour is a reality in Chile as well. A study conducted by the OECD in 2018 points out that in Chile, the wage gap between men and women in similar positions is 21.1%.

Generally speaking, the situation of Honorarios employees is highly precarious, worsening in women. They are in a more vulnerable position since they are in their childbearing age. By lacking maternity rights and having lower salaries, women live a situation more complicated. They experience a double labour precariousness: the lack of rights due to the Honorarios statute and discrimination within the same group of employees. This situation affects women's subjectivities as evidenced by the interviews, where they exhibit feelings in more vulnerable positions.

CHAPTER III

*Honorarios* employees: the social factor determining their position in the social labour division.
INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses specific social antecedents that determine the current job position of *Honorarios* employees in the social division of labour. The research's initial methodology establishes a qualitative analysis strategy based on the development of semi-structured in-depth interviews, choosing respondents according to a rough division between public administration level and gender. In doing the fieldwork, the social origin and the higher educational institutions background show their relevance as analytical elements as they influence the current position of *Honorarios* employees in the social division of labour.

The importance of the mentioned factors concerns to another observation from the fieldwork. The level of labour precariousness of the employees in their current job position is associated with these elements. When universities are of better quality, students tend to get better jobs; and in Chile, the applicants' social origin conditions access these higher education institutions. Thus, the following hypothesis emerges from the fieldwork: **while social origin influences higher education options, the educational institution influences people's labour markets' prospects.**

Although the methodology's initial selection criteria did not contemplate these elements, the hypothesis does make sense in the Chilean context. And despite there is no statistical background to prove this hypothesis, this research can serve as a basis for exploring this correlation in the framework of labour studies in Chile in the case of *Honorarios*.

One crucial support of the mentioned hypothesis comes from the previous knowledge acquired of the public sector regarding *Honorarios* in conceiving this dissertation. **The labour precariousness is higher in municipalities than in the central administration;** a finding proved in doing the interviews and observing the different dynamics within the public sector. The existence of different positions and a hierarchy in the social division of labour is a proven fact. However, the educational and social factors on access to the labour market result in more challenging proof.
Three elements present in this research are the basis of the design of this chapter. First, the questionnaire applied includes subjects about the social origin, the background higher education institution, and the respondent's current job position. Second, the methodology allows discussing these aspects in-depth with the *Honorarios* interviewed. Third, this chapter analyses previous studies addressing the relationship between social origin and access to higher education, showing that the Chilean higher education system reproduces a prior social segmentation (Fleet and Gúzman-Concha, 2017).

This chapter combines two sources of information to develop the previous hypothesis: the qualitative material collected for this research and Chilean studies that address the relationship between higher education and social origins. In doing the interviews' discourse analysis, this dissertation exhibits the increased presence of the respondents' perceptions of the mentioned elements. The socio-educational background influences the experience of (non) recognition and the strategies deployed to face precariousness. Thus, although there are identity elements in common among *Honorarios*, their backgrounds do not coincide.

Two sections compose this chapter. First, it analyses how Chile’s higher education system constitutes a reproduction factor of social inequality since students must study institutions intended for their social backgrounds. In the same sense, this dissertation shows how *Honorarios* appear in certain positions in the social division of labour in the public sector according to their socio-educational origin. The second section analyses the respondents' perceptions of the different topics involved in the socio-educational labour problem: the value of studying (having studied), being a professional, and work.
1. Higher Education in Chile and Reproduction of Social Inequality. The Case of Public Honorarios Employees.

This section shows how educational and social backgrounds influence the current working position of Honorarios employees in the public sector. First, it analyses the Chilean reality regarding higher education and how it reproduces social inequity. Second, it explains the distribution of the research participants concerning their socio-educational background and current work position.

1.1. Brief Review of the Chilean Higher Education System as a Reproducer of Social Inequality

In general, education is a factor for social mobility in societies, but it does not operate isolated. There is strong evidence that parents' socio-economic background influences their children's future education and work. There is also proof that secondary education inequalities significantly impact higher education and the wages people subsequently access (OCDE, 2010). Although most education systems replicate social disparities, the Chilean case's, in particular, is a system intended to reproduce such inequality. The high educational Chilean system composes the institutions aimed to different social groups. In simple terms, there are higher education institutions directed at the wealthy, middle class and low social groups (Fleet and Gúzman-Concha, 2017).

During the dictatorship, the authoritarian regime designed the current dispositions of the Chilean higher education system. There were eight universities in the Chilean higher education system before that period: two state-owned and the rest privately owned. However, regardless of property rights, all universities were constituted as autonomous organisations, oriented to public service and state funding (Brunner, 1986). In 1981, the military dictatorship leaders promoted new legislation regarding the higher education system to avoid universities' politicisation processes.

The regime developed three significant reforms:
I. Universities’ administration was separate from their regional headquarters to avoid centralisation and achieve autonomy, leading to multiplication in educational institutions.

II. Introduction of a principle of self-financing implying that fees fall on students and their families (to compensate for a further reduction of state)

III. Creating a new educational market that introduced private institutions in competition with the public to capture students and get public financing (Fleet, and Gúzman-Concha, 2017). “Under this new regime, there was an increase in universities and their enrolments. This resulted in members of different social classes no longer finding a common, unique, public and de-commodified space. Instead, students were separated into different status groups, in accordance with the selectivity of institutions and the trajectories or preferences of students” (Flee, and Gúzman-Concha, 2017, p. 165).

The data indicate that at the beginning of implementing the new legislation in higher education, the number of universities grew from 8 to 25 institutions. By 2011, according to the Ministry of Education, the number of private universities was 34 (Fleet and Gúzman-Concha, 2017). This reform’s creators intended public universities to provide education for the country’s elite while private universities to massify access to higher education. However, over time, many public universities began to establish themselves outside the capital (Santiago), putting the regional universities in competition with those located in Santiago (e.g., in competition for state funding and recruiting students). From this competition, the selection criteria in regions began to be less strict. As a result, higher education for the elite was established at Santiago, run by a few state universities and a few private ones. Since the implementation of this reform, access to higher education has become dramatically massified. According to official figures, between 1991 and 2011, admission to higher education institutions increased; students between 18 and 24 years of age, who have completed high school, increased from 14% to 56%. “Most of this expansion is attributable to the private universities, which grew from representing 15 percent of the university population in 1990 to 53 percent in 2011” (Fleet and Gúzman-Concha, 2017, p. 165).

The authors Fleet and Guzmán-Concha have made a classification of Chilean universities (Table Nº 8). The authors first classify universities according to access:
elite and mass, each subdivided into elite access (traditional public universities and private conservative universities) and mass access (regionally located universities and commercially oriented universities). The authors use this scheme to evaluate the student’s political orientations, an element that this research does not consider. Still, it is a starting point for a subsequent classification according to the objectives of this study.

**TABLE 8: CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES CLASSIFICATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Traditional Universities</th>
<th>Private conservative Universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- 1 -</td>
<td>- 2 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Regional Universities</td>
<td>Private- Commercially Oriented Universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 3 -</td>
<td>- 4 -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Self-designed based on the study of the authors Fleet and Guzmán-Concha

A Chilean study carried out in 2017 on higher education complements the analysis based on the previous schema and this research’s objectives. In this study, the authors conclude there are two paths in choosing a higher education institution: a “traditional” one and a “new” one. The “traditional” one responds to the existing logics in the higher education system before 1981. The “new path” is a consequence of massification in access to higher education institutions (product of private universities’ proliferation).

The students who chose their university based on the “new path” are in quadrants Nº 3 and Nº 4 (see table Nº 8). According to the study, the students placed in these quadrants correspond to the lower class. The study points out that two antecedents explain the context of this election. On the one hand, students from low social sectors are usually the first generation to access higher education, from families

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70 The study, called Aseguramiento de la Calidad en Educación Superior (Quality Assurance in Higher Education), was conducted by the following authors: Orellana, V., Guzman, C., Bellet, C., Gareca, B., and Torres, F.
with no previous knowledge or background about university admission. On the other hand, new higher education institutions have a much more accessible form of promotion (advertising). These factors act together with the lower social classes’ general idea that higher education is the only form of social mobility and personal fulfilment (Orellana et al., 2017).

One relevant aspect to better understand the reproduction of inequality in higher education founds in Chile’s university selection process. To gain access to any university in Chile, public or private, students must take an exam called PSU (university selection test). This test estimates educational competences in different areas, the results measured with a scale of scores, and universities select their students according to the PSU obtained points. The logic is that if students get higher scores, they can access the most prestigious universities in the country (those in quadrant 1 and 2 in table Nº 8). The problem with this form of selection is its high correlation with family income. Higher-income families send their children to "public traditional" or "conservative" universities. These schools guarantee high-quality education, demand excellent scores in the university selection test, and reproduce the elite’s social relations (Fleet, and Gúzman-Concha, 2017).

For students coming from low social origins, the option is usually the universities located in quadrants Nº3 and Nº4 (see table Nº 8), "commercially oriented or "public regional" ones. The students choose those institutions because they demand lower scores, which translates into these institutions' overcrowding.

One of the problems of "commercially oriented" universities is they charge large amounts of money during the whole period of studies without offering quality. The Chilean constitution prohibits profits creations at the expense of education. However, the "commercially oriented" universities have managed to do a lucrative business based on many loopholes. A typical example is creating parallel companies, which allow them to make profits outside the university's institutional framework with students' money. Consequently, students' families must pay high costs for an inferior type of education by getting loans that force them into debt for a long time. Instead of regulating this problem, the Chilean state has implemented different bank credit formulas (Fleet, and Gúzman-Concha, 2017). Although there is no profits creation in
the case of "regional" universities, the state funding is lower due to their more inferior quality and bass scores in the admission test (Fleet, and Gúzman-Concha, 2017).

The preceding gives sense to the worked hypothesis. There is evidence that the Chilean higher education system reproduces the social inequalities of origin. The Chilean labour market considers better professionals from the "traditional" and conservative" universities (see table Nº 8). On the contrary, it recognises as lower quality from "regional" and "commercially oriented" universities.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the social inequality reproduced in higher education is reflected in the jobs people have access later. In the case of Honorarios employees, this research observes that respondents from lower social origins and "commercially oriented" or regional" university backgrounds are in more precarious jobs. The next section explains how research's participants locate in the social division of labour according to their socio-educational experiences.

1.2. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR ACCORDING TO THEIR SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND.

According to their socio-educational background, this section analyses Honorarios distribution in the public sector's labour social division, contemplating two analysis levels. First, it explains how, in the public administration, different types of jobs correlate with greater or lesser precariousness levels. Second, it shows the respondents' distribution in the various work positions within the public sector. This section aims to create an exploratory framework that allows further analysis of Honorarios' perceptions regarding their jobs on the public division of labour.

The social division of labour in the Chilean public sector characterises by a clear distinction between the central (ministries) and decentralised level (municipalities). Between these two levels, one founds the services, which report directly to the ministries and divide their work between institutions and agencies. At the top of the division and better working conditions are the ministries, where Honorarios design public policies and social programs. In the case of services, people work on

71 See table Nº9 below.
implementing programs at the national and regional levels and have better conditions than municipalities, but not the same as ministries. There are municipalities at the bottom of the division, where Honorarios work on decentralised administration tasks and are responsible for implementing social programmes working directly with people. At this level, labour conditions are the most precarious within the social division of labour in the public sector.

Two elements explain the different levels of precariousness in the public sector. One the one hand, there are more resources in the central administration than in the municipalities. On the other hand, according to the Honorarios statute, there is no working conditions regulation. By way of tacit compromise, some public institutions have remedied this vacuum by granting Honorarios certain minimum benefits\textsuperscript{72}, which depend on the direct bosses' discretion. Ministries and services have standardised a few labour benefits for most Honorarios (holiday entitlement, leave, accident insurance). Municipalities have not normalised any social assistance.

This research fieldwork proof that in ministries are better working conditions and higher salaries, almost compared with those of the civil servants. Some respondents attribute their better situation to the complexity of the tasks they perform at this level. Even a few respondents declare holding positions of trust in the ministries. Services provide similar labour conditions than in ministries, but with lower salaries. Municipalities present the worse labour situation: low wages and inefficient social benefits distribution- depending on the mayors' will.

It is worth considering the case of municipalities since among them one observes different degrees of precariousness. Honorarios who perform regular tasks of municipalities face fewer risks than those on working on the ground. These employees confront anomalies such as long working hours, street hazards (e.g. accidents), closure of social programs, government change, etc. Therefore, Honorarios implementing social programs are at the lowest level of the social division of labour in the public administration.

\textsuperscript{72} This section uses the word "benefits" to avoid thinking that Honorarios in some public institutions entitled to labour rights.
This section presents the following table to understand the precariousness levels in the public administration in the case of *Honorarios*.

**TABLE 9: LEVEL OF PRECARIOUSNESS IN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. THE CASE OF *HONORARIOS***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HONORARIOS SOCIAL SEGMENT</th>
<th>ADMINISTRATION LEVEL</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT MANDATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>MINISTRIES</td>
<td>Design of public policies and social programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium High Segment</td>
<td>SERVICES</td>
<td>Implementation of programs at macro level (region)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Low Segment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Regular Tasks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Segment</td>
<td>MUNICIPALITIES</td>
<td>Implementation of programs at micro level (district)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Self-designed

In relying on the previous arguments, the hypothesis developed in this chapter acquires sense: **the socio-educational background of *Honorarios* influences the type of work they can access.** Although the hypothesis testing emerges from this research's qualitative observations, it serves as a precedent for future study development. Based on interviewees' positions, the following graph explains the *Honorarios* distributions according to their social-educational background.
The previous graph shows the participants' distribution in this research according to salary, type of institution (ministry and municipalities), gender, age and university type. Beforehand, this chapter classified universities into four types of universities (see table N°9), which in the graph appear as such: public elite (pink), private elite (green), regional (light blue), and commercial (purple). The first two correspond to the upper-class access (better quality education), while the last two to the lower and middle classes study (lower quality education). The establishment classification includes a distinction between municipality and ministry, excluding services since administratively they belong to ministries. The rest of the graph variables correspond to the respondents' data: age, salary and gender.

In analysing the preceding chart, two observations appear. First, the distribution's highest salaries are in the ministries and correspond to Honorarios from the most prestigious universities. In municipalities are the respondent's from the least prestigious universities ("regional" and "commercially oriented") and have the lowest
wages. Second, the graph confirms the previous chapter's trend, which indicates that women earn less than men. The chart also shows that older Honorarios perceive higher salaries.

Beyond a few exceptions, the graph shows a correlation between educational background and the precarious job position. Methodologically speaking, this research assumes that the institution's high education background correlates with the social origin, although this chapter proofs the relation education-job. The next section discusses the respondents' perceptions regarding the central hypothesis of this chapter.

2. Perceptions about labour, university studies and being a professional.

The following section presents the Honorarios' perceptions around the hypothesis previously developed addressing topics such as having studied, being a professional, and the job's current position, considering the participants' socio-educational background. This section starts by analysing respondents' decisions about their high-education. It continues with the exploration of their perceptions about being professional. It ends by observing the place of labour in the participants' lives. These three analytical levels give consistency to the hypothesis developed in this chapter.

2.1. Meanings of having gone through higher education.

The decision to enter higher education in Chile has become a topic of crucial importance. One of the reasons is admission to higher education appears in society as the form of social mobility. As the previous chapter discussed, the military regime designed higher education system reform to massify access, resulting in weakening higher education and private universities' preponderance.

The mentioned reform introduced as the main change the principle of self-financing. Students and families are in charge of financing higher education. As shown in the previous sections, there are four types of universities: "public elite", "private
conservative", "regional" and "commercially oriented". The elite gets its formation in Santiago in a few universities. Access to higher education for the rest of the citizens relegates to "regional" and "commercial-oriented" universities. The state reduces its participation in higher education, resulting in increased social segmentation and leaving the decision to study within the private sphere. Students and their families must decide their higher education options according to their concrete possibilities, determined by test scores for admission, ability to pay, and knowledge about higher education (types of universities, types of careers, access to credits, scholarships, etc.). In the sense of Bourdieu, the socio-cultural capital of families directly interferes with the students’ decision of where to study.

When asked how you decided to study what you studied, the respondents show in their discourses the influence of their families’ socio-cultural capital and their social origins. The following respondent from a family of high social origins and studied at an elite public university talks about how he chose his options to study in higher education. At the time of the interview, he worked in one of the highest positions in the social division of labour (design of the educational reform in the Ministry of Education). Concerning the influence his family had on his decision, he states the following:

"… I don’t know, I come from an upper-middle-class. I’m not the first professional of my family, therefore, for me, individually, is a natural thing, so to speak.”

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

In his case, the decision to higher education admission is part of an obvious path, i.e., there was no question about it. Both parents of the respondent are professionals trained in prestigious universities; therefore, higher education was part of his family discourse. There is no question about the kind of university to study these families- a prestigious one, showing the relevance the cultural capital. The next respondent also comes from an upper-class family. His position in the social division of labour at the interview time was one of the most advantageous. He received his professional training at an elite public university. He decided to study economics because his family had a high level of information about this career.

“First, [I decided] thanks to relatives’ advices, cause in my family the majority are economists. Later, because it interested me, when I was in the school, I felt always
interested in the humanist area, but closer to scientific or mathematical jobs, therefore, business engineering and economy [professions] where always the most attractive to me… to this day”

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

There are two universities with a long tradition in Chile and considered the most prestigious in the country: Universidad Católica ("private conservative ") and Universidad de Chile ("public elite"). In the lower middle class, access to these institutions is a matter of meritocracy and social mobility. For the upper-class, access to these universities appears to be an obvious option. The following respondent, of high social origins and good position in the working world, tells there were only two options (between the two mentioned universities).

“… regarding the university, I wanted the [Universidad] Católica or [Universidad de] Chile. I wasn’t accepted in the Católica because of the score, therefore, the option was the [Universidad de] Chile. I hesitated between Administration and Economy, I haven’t decided. My older brother, who lives in Germany, advised me: you must follow Economy in the [Universidad de] Chile, they are the best (…) It was because of that”

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

In this respondent’s speech, it is possible to observe how a university's choice is a free choice for her. Her path was pre-established to study at one of the most prestigious universities. A key idea to understand why the upper-class has better education options relates to their private schools' background. In Chile, there is a correlation between private schools and admission to the best universities. According to official figures, in 201773, 76% of people with the best scores in the higher education administration test come from those schools.

For the middle and lower classes, the decision to study depends on several previous economic factors. People belonging to these social groups study in public or semi-public (subsidised) schools, which are economically accessible to all, but of lower quality. For example, in 2017, among the best scores in the test of admission to higher education, only 10% comes from subsidised schools and 14% from municipal schools 74. Students end up studying at "regional" or "commercially oriented" universities. The ability to pay is also a constraint for these students, because higher

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74 Ibíd.
education is costly, and paradoxically, to have access to scholarships or state funding, it is necessary to obtain high scores on the admission test. Therefore, the lower social sectors must resort to loans from private banks, condemning them to an enormous debt in the future. The following respondent shows in her speech how the monetary issue was a restriction during her studies at the university. She studied at a "commercially oriented" university. She was working in a municipality.

I had to finish my psychology degree because my dad worked his butt off to pay for my studies. I worked my ass off to pay for my studies. I considered that I couldn't lose a year of my career. I got frustrated… lots. Now, since I finish my studies, I found an area that I like a lot, which I always believed I would work in.

Female Honorarios, Commercial-oriented university (Municipality)

This respondent's discourse shows how money is a constant concern in sectors where access to higher education is more complicated. She works at the lowest level of the social division of labour. Some cases manage to escape the circle of reproduction of social inequality at the level of higher education. However, these cases are an exception. The following respondent tells how her path was an exception and explains it was a significant effort for her and her family to enter higher education.

I was raised just by my mom; I didn't have any relationship with my dad. My mom had low schooling, but always worried about providing me with all the options to study, she did everything to get me studying. I won all the scholarships that I had to win. She always told me that I shouldn't depend on anybody and have a university degree…. I always understood as such, so I did so. (…). My maternal family had the same spirit. Everybody came from the countryside, nobody had any technical nor university education, but my generation does.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

This respondent studied at an elite public university, thanks to her family support. In these exceptional cases, pursuing a quality professional career implies an effort in monetary terms and a strong belief that higher education is the path to social mobility. Like the previous respondent states, she paid her studies obtaining scholarships and her mother's effort to pay. Her current job is not the highest within the division of social labour. Her speech shows that in Chile, the relationship between economic resources and education is a challenging and meritocratic achievement.
Chilean society does not guarantee a fair distribution of opportunities or resources. Because of these characteristics, meritocracy is an exception to the rule. Despite the difficulty of developing meritocracy in Chilean society, education plays an essential role in families’ discourse, as the following case shows.

I give [education] a high value; I believe it is related to my family history. The generation of my mom is the first, and my father is the second one. Moreover, one can make the subject's social analysis; however, it is hard to detach from the family history. The notion that circulated in my family placed education a high value. That implied to have higher education.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The following respondent comes from low social origins, studied at a commercial-oriented university and works in a municipality. She describes a very relevant aspect of education in Chile. The transition through higher education is not only a matter of meritocracy and social mobility, but it also has a moral reading. It is about considering higher education as the step to "be a better person."

Parents always say: ‘you have to be better than me’. I cannot consider that I’m better than my mom, she has always had to fight for her and me, therefore, I will always have my mom in the highest regard. However, I succeeded in having studies, being better myself. A thing that my mom never had. And I think I could be better than her.

Female Honorarios, Commercially oriented university (Municipality)

Under this moral reading, to be successful in life means to have a university degree. The next respondent also presents a similar view of education, but from another perspective. She also comes from a low social sector, studied at a "commercial-oriented" university and works in a municipality. In her moral reading, higher education operates as a source of more opportunities and contributes to society.

The social value is, shoot... has a high social value. First, it allows you to access more significant opportunities, allowing you to have more knowledge, contributing to this society. It allows you to contribute by being critical, helping, supporting others. In that sense, [education] has a significant social value.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)
According to the previous analysis, one observes different meanings associated with the passage through higher education. These meanings vary according to the socio-educational background of the respondent. This qualitative analysis gives consistence to the initial hypothesis of this chapter: the socio-economic background of Honorarios employees influences the labour position they access. Honorarios employees from higher social sectors consider university studies as part of a natural path in their lives. Because of their families' socio-economic and cultural capital, they take studies at high-quality universities for granted. For Honorarios from the lower social origins, higher education does not appear as a logical path. In this case, getting to study at the university is the consequence of a greater personal and family effort. These social sectors conceive higher education under a moral reading; it is a synonym of social mobility, a better person and necessarily the product of a significant economic effort.

2.2. Meanings of being professional

Perceptions of being professional represent the value that the respondents give to their careers and position within the social division of labour. This section observes specific universities and particular professional careers as engineers, reflecting the Chilean society's valuations. The next respondent shows this reality in his speech.

In terms of stability, I don't worry. What I told you before, by having the civil engineer degree from the [Universidad] Católica, I know there would be people who would hire me only because of that.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

The respondent is highly aware his university degree gives him a good position in the social division of labour guaranteed beforehand. He occupies one of the best places among Honorarios who participated in this research, a trust position in the ministry designing public policies. The official figures corroborate what the respondent says. According to data from the Ministry of Education, the industrial engineering degree at the Universidad Católica (the university of origin of the respondent) has a 95.1% employability after the first year of graduation. It is also the sixth best-paid
career in the country. In this case, the situation of precariousness does not seem self-evident. Indeed, even if he does not receive the same rights as a civil servant, his socio-economic status ensures him with tranquillity.

The following respondent obtained her professional degree at an elite university, one of the respondents' highest positions. In her speech, she is aware that her background university is socially profoundly valued. She even acknowledges that she discriminates against some professionals according to their university of origin.

Well… I'm a professional from the [Universidad de] Chile, and I think it is highly considered. I have my own bias regarding universities. There are some which I value and some which I do not. Probably I appreciate more someone that studied to be a plumber than someone that studied in an X university. I prefer not to give names [of universities]

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

One can observe that elite universities' awareness appears in the upper classes. For those who studied at prestigious universities and profitable careers, the working future is relatively secure (even for Honorarios). However, when analysing the respondents' discourses with lower social origins, being a professional is associated with other values. In these sectors, obtaining a professional degree again acquires a moral reading, as the following respondent explains. He thinks that being professional values him more highly than the rest of his family.

I'm the only one in my family that was able to get a university degree. That gives me a different value, a distinctive plus inside my family. I studied because I wanted to get something different, by opting to obtain a university degree. I achieved it by having the technical degree that I have, which gives me a respectable job.

Male Honorarios, Commercial-oriented university (Municipality)

For the respondent, having been able to study a professional career, distinguishes him from his peers (his social environment) and gives him a respectable

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76 This research design did not contemplate the question of values attached to professions or universities of origin. Therefore, the values observed in this analysis correspond to moral boundaries that the respondents establish.
job. This discourse represents the aspiration of the emerging social classes in the Chilean society to add a high value to professional titles.

Among Honorarios employees from lower social origins, one observes that seeking a professional fulfilment path outside of the canons considered prestigious is poorly evaluated by families as the following interviewee explains. He opted to follow a musical career, which his family did not appreciate it.

I wrote down ten options in the form of admission [to university], just to set down that I wanted to study music or theatre. However, the typical family speech: "first, study something that allows you to earn money, then study music as a hobby"

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

The hope placed in higher education is to emerge socially. For this reason, for families from lower classes to study less prestigious careers is not a viable option. As this section already pointed out, Chilean society considers particular universities and precise professions as more prestigious. In the collective imagination, being an engineer, a doctor, a lawyer ensures better future conditions. For this reason, many people who enter higher education through "commercial-oriented" universities choose careers with a high reputation. However, as commercial-oriented universities ensure lower quality, those people's frustration is very high upon inserting the labour market.

As the analysis in this section shows, the moral reading of being a professional appears among those discourses' respondents from lower social sectors. Phrases such as "being a better person" or "having a social distinction" account for a moral frontier. The upper classes' discourses do not exhibit such reading because obtaining well-reputed degrees from prestigious universities are part of a predetermined path- a component of their families’ socio-cultural capital. The following section analyses Honorarios employees' perceptions regarding the value of labour in their lives.
2.3. MEANINGS OF LABOUR IN THE LIVES OF HONORARIOS EMPLOYEES.

"Working to live and not living to work."

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

This thesis's theoretical approach showed how labour in classical sociological reading was essential to understand society. Since the worldwide transformations since the 1980s, scholars have questioned the place of work. One of the initial premises of this dissertation assumes labour still plays a relevant role for people today since it is still the form of access to social rights, and many people depend on a job. To understand the relevance of labour to the respondents in this research, this section analyses the question posed directly to respondents: "what is the relevance of labour in your life?" This question makes sense for the hypothesis raised in this chapter. The answers show the importance of this issue among precarious workers also reflect the interviewees' different socio-educational backgrounds.

One starting point based on the analysis interviews reveals labour plays a role in most respondents. However, the level of importance attached varies among respondents and reflects in answers such as personal fulfilment, survival or contribution to society, appearing again moral readings. The difference in perceptions regarding labour varies according to the socio-educational origins of the interviewee.

In cases where respondents come from high social origins, labour is vital as part of everyday life but not necessarily a priority. For this type of respondents, work does not relate with an economic need, but rather as personal fulfilment, a contribution to society or as part of a personal project. The next respondent, who has a higher socio-educational background, describes how work is not a priority.

It is important, but if you make me categorise it, I would give 30% of importance…. Being the rest my family and friends

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Similarly, the next respondent points out that labour for her is not a priority. She, as the previous respondent, has a high socio-economic background.
It is significant, but it is not the most important. The most relevant to me…. Well, it is maybe large…. Being happy. And that is composed of the people that surround me; therefore, one could say love is the most important

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

In these social sectors, labour does not associate with an economic necessity. As they have a good position in the social division of labour with high wages, work is neither a priority nor a response to a financial need. Nevertheless, they also give a moral reading regarding labour, but one different from the lower social sectors (as shown below). From a high socio-educational background, the following respondent describes that work means contributing to society.

It is a crucial part of my life but does not constitute my life. It is important because what I hope by working is being a contribution to society, which is why my job is important. But it is not the only thing that I do in my life.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Understanding labour as a contribution to society appears in the discourses of interviewees from high social backgrounds. The choice of a college degree does not have the same restrictions as for the lower classes. For this type of interviewee, choosing a career is a freer choice, as they are not restricted by money or by scores on the higher education administration test. Therefore, they can interpret the labour place in their lives from a sort of philosophical reading. The next respondent, who has a higher socio-educational background, also gives an analytical reading of the role labour plays in his life. For him, it is the extension of a political position.

It is essential. I have always been in politics… I have ever worked on education, so [labour] is the realisation of one political project, do you understand? Therefore, [labour] to me, it is very relevant, because it constitutes the world fulfilment. To me, labour is relevant and plays a key role in my life.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

In the previous speech, the respondent refers to his job as part of a previously political project in his life. His interpretation is possible because his path was the product of a free choice (university, professional career, even his job). In the middle
and lower social sectors, the place of labour relates with a need for survival, i.e., a job constitutes a means to obtain economic resources. Labour permits earning a salary, and step to achieve other goals in life. The following respondent, who comes from a low socio-economic sector, develops this type of arguments in her speech.

A lot... because thanks to it one survives. If you don't have a job you can't survive, keep your life. Because you plan over time, to achieve goals, for instance, if I want to travel, I need money, and I need to work to get it because I can't get money in another way.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The next respondent points out that his family is more fundamental than his work. In this case, the family's relevance associates to the fact that labour constitutes a means of obtaining resources for other purposes. Especially, work allows her to maintain the well-being of her family.

I will always prioritise family over labour. If I didn't have a job, I wouldn't have economic resources to sustain my family; therefore, the priority number one is my family and then my job.

Female Honorario, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The moral reading of work moves toward the family in lower sectors, and economic constraints permeate the view of labour. The next respondent comes from a middle socioeconomic sector and one regional university. In her discourse, work constitutes a medium to achieve other objectives; material things and stability. Although she does not state it explicitly, the moral reading in her case moves again to another sphere, the need to live a stable life.

The most important thing is how I feel, I'm not sure if spirituality would be the correct word, but my immediate circle makes me feel good. Labour to me is what I need to earn money, to get things and stability, but is not my goal.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

This section shows how work embodies "being a better person", in a moral or economic sense in the more moderate social sectors. The next respondent comes from low socio-educational background. For him, labour is also a means to achieve
other goals in life and represents the idea of being someone better than when (and where) he was born.

To me, labour is what makes you achieve things…. Each person always pretends to have more than he/she had when he/she was born and was in the crib. One goes having more responsibilities, and these responsibilities must carry out.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

This section concludes by observing that labour plays a role in Honorarios employees' lives. However, in none of the analysed social sectors, labour appears as a priority. The difference between the two appears in where the moral reading situates: while for the upper class, work has a moral connotation, for the lower sector, it is a means of covering other moral needs. Because in high social sectors, university and career choices is usually a free choice, labour is not primordial and acquires an individual view.

In the lower classes, work is not a personal priority and serves to cover economic needs. Just as economic factors constrained their decisions about universities and careers, work restrains Honorarios possibilities in financial terms. Therefore, labour does not represent personal satisfaction and quite a means of obtaining economic resources that cover other moral or material needs.

The previous analysis gives feasibility to this chapter's guiding hypothesis since it shows a correlation between the interviewees' socio-educational origin and their current positions in the social vision of work. Honorarios employees perceive work, higher education and professional careers differently. Next chapter studies the experience of recognition in Honorarios employees, based on the differentiations founded in this section.
CHAPTER IV

Experience of non-recognition in *Honorarios* employees of the public sector.

This chapter discusses how *Honorarios* employees inhabit their experience of non-recognition in the context of labour precariousness. Based on the theoretical approach, the following section analyses the perceptions of *Honorarios* regarding denial of labour rights and social esteem denial.
INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the perceptions of Honorarios regarding their experiences of non-recognition in the public sector in terms of labour rights and social esteem. Although Honorarios indeed have different socio-educational backgrounds that influence their perceptions, the shared experience lacks recognition of their civil servants' labour rights. The statute does not provide for labour rights corresponding to an employment contract, a legal vacuum which the Chilean state has exploited by generating a labour relationship in disguise. This chapter begins by highlighting the main theoretical points to address the analysis of the following sections. The main theoretical points to address the analysis of the following sections.

The main theoretical grounds of the perceptions studied in this chapter, based on the Axel Honneth’s approach. The author distinguishes three experiences of recognition: love, social rights and social esteem. While the first experience involves the most intimate group of people, the second and third imply a relationship with society in a broader sense. These two last ones are the most significant to understand the perceptions of Honorarios. According to Honeth, the experience of non-recognition in contemporary societies constitutes the source of social reproduction and individual identity.

As explained in the theoretical framework, each experience of recognition has its correlative experience of disrespect. Social rights\textsuperscript{77}, the second experience, implies decently inhabiting the social milieu. Recognition of social rights leads to social appreciation, enabling human beings to claim their social demands and respect from others. The denial of social rights constitutes the base of the non-recognition experience. In social esteem, the negation relates to individuals' disregard as useful for society; not recognising them as valuable human beings. The denial of this experience leads to a socially uselessness feeling, questioning one's abilities in the community. Addressing the case of Honorarios, this chapter analyses the two mentioned experiences of non-recognition by considering the Chilean state consider

\textsuperscript{77} Axel Honneth, in his book "The struggle for recognition", distinguishes three forms of rights within this second experience: social, political and civil rights. This research studies only social rights since they relate to labour rights.
them as civil servants, neither their colleagues nor even their friends. The study complements with the approach of Kathya Araujo.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. The first section analyses the respondents' perceptions around the experience of denial of labour rights regarding their state and their colleagues, considering their socio-educational backgrounds. The second section explores Honorarios perceptions concerning their social esteem since their job does not receive the same value as civil servants. The third section examines the consequences of the experiences of non-recognition, which relate to the respondents' fears and projections in the frame of instability.

1. Denial of labour rights. The common experience of all Honorarios

This dissertation has shown the different components of the precariousness situation of Honorarios in the public sector. The analysis has focused on statistical data, legal aspects and different socio-educational backgrounds influencing the job options of Honorarios. This chapter enters fully on the qualitative exploration of this research, by analysing the experiences of non-recognition of Honorarios. The starting point is all Honorarios employees share the experience of denial of labour rights.

According to the discourse analysis, each respondent experiences a situation of unfairness. Some elements from Kathya Araujo approach emerge, such as the feeling of not having the same rights as others, personal experience is far from what it should be (distance from the norm), or equality as a lie. Although the perceptions of Honorarios coincide in this type of general analysis, each one's perception varies according to the position in which they find themselves (socio-educational background, work position, age, gender, etc.). Therefore, the analysis considers commonalities and differences.
1.1. THE LACK OF LABOUR RIGHTS: PERCEPTIONS AROUND IT.

Employment under the *Honorarios* modality has become practically the only way to get into work in the public sector, explaining why *Honorarios* are a young and continually growing workforce; a view by most respondents.

"We work as *Honorarios*, we know the reality of the game, we know we will not have holidays nor administrative days. I must pay my social contributions, my social welfare independently, but I do not feel there is abuse from their part [the state]. After all, there is a deficit (...) I'm aware of the rules of the game. But you don't have any choice. Today the only way to enter to the public services is by *Honorarios* statute."

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The previous respondent is critical of the *Honorarios* statute, showing high awareness of the injustice involved and the lack of labour rights. However, given that it is the only way of entering the public sector, the respondent assumes this reality with resignation. The same feeling confirms the following respondent, who explains he has a job and a monthly salary despite the marginalised feel and precarious conditions.

I feel an outcast. I become fed up with not getting bonuses. I have a fixed salary, which is okay (...) but it bothers me not having the same benefits than others... Then, you think: Damn, I have a job, fixed salary.

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Even though the interviewees share a criticism of the *Honorarios* statute, they assume it. The following respondent complains about the *Honorarios* regulation and conceives it as a human rights violation. However, he declares the situation has become the norm.

*[Honorarios statute] violates people's human rights, working as *Honorarios* is something that one normalises, it's like that. If you go to a job interview, you already know it is to work as *Honorarios*, because it is naturalised. You know it is like that."

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The respondents also perceive *Honorarios* situation as a custom since people start to get used to precariousness. For example, the next woman tells she has spent...
several years without holidays, constantly changing contracts (renewal of the Honorarios agreement), but she got accustomed.

"I'm used to it. Indeed, I was three years without holidays, because of the same situation, I had one Honorarios contract, which ended, and then another come, and again."

Female Honorarios, Regional University (Municipality)

The feeling of resignation does not appear in the respondents occupying the higher positions in the social division of labour, although the lack of rights is a shared view. The next respondent is aware of having a good job position with a high salary, but acknowledging the labour precariousness that the Honorarios statute implies.

For instance, here, in the ministry, I'm well paid… it is a right working environment… but viewing the contract conditions, all of that, it isn't good.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

The precariousness associated with Honorarios labour is so widespread in the public sector that it becomes normalised, so it is important to highlight it. Although the Honorarios situation becomes the norm, all the respondents condemn it, regardless of their conditions. This form of criticism becomes an essential factor of shared identity among the interviewees.

The following woman considers that the Honorarios statute is reasonable for the beginning of a career as a civil servant, but it is not sustainable in the long term.

I think, it's okay working as Honorarios, but at the beginning, at the very first I could keep that up…Nevertheless, later, if this one was my first job, I was older, I had children, and I was thinking in my old age, in that case, I would disagree.

Female Honorarios, Regional University (Municipality)

Within the framework of criticism of their situation, Honorarios employees are highly aware of the rights they lack, as noted in the following speeches.

Because you are a worker, everybody has the same right to have the same labour conditions, regardless of how much one earns. But the guarantees concerning health, and the minimum requirements, should be assured for all Honorarios, despite the fact if they are professionals or not.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)
I can't be sick. I'm not entitled to rest. I can't miss job if I'm sick, I must work Saturdays and Sundays without regulation.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The lack of labour rights generates anguish as other aspects involving the situation appear. An interesting example is the payday that causes severe anxiety levels if it does not arrive on time, as the next woman explains.

To me, being Honorarios means having fewer benefits, that's why I don't like being Honorarios. I don't like it because one week before the end of the month, we must worry if they [administration] are going to pay us or not. It is a tense week…..

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Although there is a shared experience of precariousness, Honorarios face it differently according to the respondent's position in the social division of labour. For the best jobs - located in the ministries - precariousness supposes another preoccupation type since working conditions are better and wages are higher. The following respondent is an example of this.

Usually, all public services have a welfare service, to which one can access to have discounts, go to the gym, have complementary insurance… we cannot have that. About the marriage leave, we don't have access either.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

These aspects show a different type of concern for Honorarios employees at the top of the social division of labour. The better salaries they receive, allow them to bypass the lack of rights in a less distressing way than those Honorarios working in the municipalities.

Another critical aspect of analysing in the Honorarios situation concerns the system of social contributions. Until 2019, Honorarios statute contemplated the voluntary payment of social contributions to health or retirement. This section examines this point, but first, it explains how social welfare contributions work in Chile. Table Nº10 below shows the distribution of contributions between the employer and the employee.
TABLE 10: CHILEAN SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION DISTRIBUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligatory contributions</th>
<th>Dependent worker</th>
<th>Independent worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>Employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFP (Pension Fund Administrator)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability insurance and survival</td>
<td>1,41%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFP commission(^{78})</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0,40%- 1,48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health (Isapre or Fonasa)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational accident</td>
<td>0,93%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment insurance; fixed term</td>
<td>3,0%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment insurance; indefinite term</td>
<td>2,4</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Self-translation from: https://englobally.cl/englobally-payroll-seguridad-social-en-chile/\(^{79}\)

Three relevant institutions participate in the contribution system: AFP, FONASA and ISAPRES. The Pension Fund Administrators (AFP)\(^{80}\) is the institution responsible for managing and controlling Chileans' contributions for their retirement. Among these private financial institutions, employees must choose one. AFP is a system of individual capitalisation, where subjects save during their working life. As a financial instrument, the AFPs seek to generate profits in the financial market with people's savings (each AFP charges a specific commission). The compulsory percentage contribution to these institutions is only for dependent workers, which deducted automatically from people wages. The AFPs provide three types of pension: old age, invalidity and survival.

In health contributions, the Chilean system has two institutions: ISAPRE and FONASA. The first one corresponds to private insurance companies, and the second is the public institution that distributes and manages health resources in the country\(^{81}\). As for the public institution (FONASA), people must contribute 7% of their salaries, deducted automatically from their wages. Concerning the private system (ISAPRES), the minimum amount to quote is 7%, which can be higher since there is less public regulation. These institutions design health coverage plans according to people's

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\(^{78}\) This is the payment made by AFP members for their account management services.


\(^{80}\) http://www.spensiones.cl/portal/institucional/594/w3-channel.html. Last review: 09.10.2018

\(^{81}\) http://www.supersalud.gob.cl/portal/w3-channel.html. Last review: 09.10.2018
needs, and they can reject or accept any person. Both FONASA and ISAPRE function separately and do not constitute complementary health insurances.

There is a massive rejection of AFPs and ISAPRES in Chile due to the high profits each system obtains. Beyond the criticisms of both systems, these institutions work better for employees with a formal contract than those who do not have one (e.g. Honorarios). Among Honorarios, there is a general criticism regarding both contribution systems, especially concerning AFP. Honorarios feel that if they contribute, they should deduct that money from their salary.

There is stuff to which I don't have the right: social contributions, health, labour insurance. All that I must pay by myself (...) I spend my contributions to AFP, I pay my ISAPRE. All that, I must do by myself.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

*Honorarios* highly criticise the failure of the contribution system in Chile. There is consensus among the respondents regarding the malfunctioning of the Chilean welfare system, but that primarily affects Honorarios employees. The next man points out the Chilean state uses the Honorarios workforce to save money, highlighting the problem is not the statute but the abusive use of it in the public sector.

I don't have anything against Honorarios recruitment, but it must be real Honorarios recruitment. Not a lie, thanks to it the state saves money in welfare [at the expense of Honorarios]

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

The irregular situation of Honorarios employees concerning the contribution system poses a significant problem in the future. Beyond the criticisms, the case of Honorarios is problematic because they have a large gap in their contributions, an issue highly worrying for future public policies. Although Honorarios are active in the labour market, they will not have support in their old age. Many of the respondents are aware of the problem, but they live it without concern.

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82 In 2016 the citizen movement against the AFPs was born, called: No + AFP.
83 The following chapter discusses this topic more profound because a law project pretends to oblige Honorarios to contribute to the AFP system. The strategies against precariousness and the mandatory contribution subject constitute an essential point of the strategy developed.
One explanation is they see as distant trouble since they are young, as the next man explains.

I have always been a Honorarios, that's why I don't have any clue what I'm missing of. I've never paid contributions; till now it hasn't affected me in anything. Maybe in 30 years more, when I retire, then it may affect me. I haven't had accidents either; therefore, I haven't been affected. Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

Some Honorarios decide not to pay their contributions because their salaries are insufficient, thinking about the present forgetting the future. The retirement contributions are one of the most complex aspects of the labour precariousness of Honorarios. Not being able to pay the contributions voluntarily usually occurs in the cases of Honorarios at the bottom of the social division of labour, as the next respondent shows.

I'm not paying contributions (…) If I did that, my salary would reduce much more. That's why in this whole time I haven't done it. Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Another problematic aspect is the denial of labour rights concerns women. Since they are in their childbearing age, a fear to have children appears because of labour conditions. Among them, the topic of getting pregnant occupies an important place in their discourses. They must postpone or reject the idea of having a child since the system punishes motherhood, an experience just described by Honorarios women.

If I become pregnant, I don't believe that I will continue in this job, because I'm Honorarios, and obviously, it's the most probably there won't be [contract] renewal Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

One knows if one becomes pregnant, there won't be contract renewal, because everybody knows that one has difficulties in going to work when one has young children. They get sick, and one must ask for permission to miss work. Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

One of the hypotheses among Honorarios women is that bosses prefer to hire men to avoid pregnancy. Although there are no specific data on this matter, the respondent's discourses proof it.
I think they [the administration] prefer hiring a man, because… my age. Having the option of becoming pregnant, it's not convenient for any municipality (…) I know cases where they [the administration] hire women, trust them, and later become pregnant… they don't see that as "We are delighted you are pregnant."

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

All interviewees shared this fear, regardless of their position in the social division of labour, constituting a common identity factor among Honorarios women. An unfair situation that affects all equally. This lack of respect implies direct interference in women's life projects, which they face with great anguish. To a certain extent, it is a situation of injustice and punishment against women. The following interviewee enjoys a good position in the social division of labour yet shares the same fear.

Thinking of the maternity topic, it is something discriminatory. The truth is if I become pregnant, I don't have any social protection, nothing to protect me as a mom, either childcare access because I don't have welfare protection.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Although Honorarios men also live precariousness, they do not suffer the fear of having a child, since the statute ends up punishing women more harshly. The next respondent illustrates why women' situation is more complicated.

In the Honorarios case, women are even more harmed. Although Honorarios already comports precarious, for a woman in childbearing age is even more difficult. She is not going to have a salary during her prenatal and postnatal.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The problematic around the situation of Honorarios women constitute an essential identity factor, a disrespectful experience shared by the majority, particularly in women on their childbearing age.

1.2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HONORARIOS EMPLOYEES AND THEIR FELLOW CIVIL SERVANTS. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THEM AND US.

The experience of disrespect acquires another level in comparing Honorarios experience with civil servants. This section observes situations of discrimination and
inequality. A first constatation is Honorarios employees have more problems with planta employees (indeterminate contract) than with the contrata employees (fixed-term contract). Since the contract is fixed term for the latter, Honorarios consider them to be in a precarious situation. Therefore, this section mainly analyses the relationship between planta employees and Honorarios.

The comparison between these two types of employees becomes in "them" and "us", a construction that sometimes is diffuse since there is not necessarily a bad relationship. The rapport between both is neither a relationship of enemies in the sense of Touraine. However, the experience of denial of labour rights generates a character of them, reinforced by negative clichés, producing a positioning of Honorarios as: "we are better employees, and still we suffer discrimination".

The relationship between Honorarios and planta dilutes in many public institutions. Due to the high proliferation of the Honorarios agreement in the public sector, there are institutions where both employees do not coexist. The following respondent tells about the relationship with planta employees in the Ministry where he works, by narrating how planta employees are practically non-existent.

There are people under contrata and Honorarios statute, very few under planta. If I knew somebody planta, I take them a picture, and I ask them for an autograph …. There are some bonuses they get [planta and contrata], and you don’t… And worst of all, they have the bad taste to inform you about it.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

The above example shows a reality that is becoming more common within public service: the proliferation of Honorarios and the decrease of formal work in public institutions. In this relationship, there are elements of discrimination reinforced by the administration, not by employees.

A disposition of the public administration, which puts employees in direct competition, is known as the "achievement of objectives". It seeks to provide economic

84 Touraine, when analyses the consciousness of workers, establishes three principles: identity, opposition and totality. They must operate together. Under the enemies principle, identity develops by the opposition, based on antagonism. This situation does not arise between Honorarios and planta because there is no antagonism as such. According to Touraine, this principle appears in a conflict, usually against the employer. In Touraine Alan, "The Return of the Actor. Social Theory in Postindustrial Society", University of Minnesota. Unite States of America. 1998
incentives through the accomplishment of specific goals intended only to civil servants. Every two or three months, the administration proposes particular aims, which if achieved, civil servants receive extra bonuses. The problem arises when these objectives necessarily involve the work of Honorarios employees. Since Honorarios employees perform similar tasks to civil servants, they also work to achieve the institution's goals- without the rights to extra bonuses. Therefore, the administration is the one putting workers in a conflictive situation. The consequence is open discrimination against Honorarios by the state. The following respondent speaks about this situation.

One helps with the achievement of goals during the whole year, and the bonuses earned are substantial. And they are taken by planta and contrata... planta who many times don't do anything... and we [Honorarios] are the ones who do the whole job. Thanks to that the conflict emerges, although it is not severe, it leads to gossips.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Although the employer causes this situation, and it is not the fault of planta employees, some Honorarios do not perceive it that way. Some interviewees consider that planta employees ask for their help to obtain bonuses.

We [Honorarios] have worse conditions. Planta employees earn bonuses every three months, but they earned them by asking us for help.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Some Honorarios think their colleagues owe them something, at least a thank you. The previous situation reinforces the "them" and "us" construction, where they are the ungrateful and us the ones doing favours.


Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

A cliché appears regarding planta employees, which means we, Honorarios, work a lot and they, planta, are lazy. Honorarios share the perception that they assume a more significant workload, evidence that Honorarios carry out similar tasks as civil
servants without the same rights. The next respondent talks about the inequality about the *Honorarios* workload.

We are equally workers, planta and *Honorarios*. Nevertheless, we [*Honorarios*] do the same and much more, which does not reflect our labour agreement.

Female *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The cliché that civil servants are lazy and do not do their job correctly leads some *Honorarios* to think that planta employees do not deserve their contract. In addition to the shared perception that planta do nothing, *Honorarios* perceive their fellows are always on leave, as the next woman points out.

I have heard many people under planta regime, who shouldn’t be because they don’t work well, are always with job leave, or are always lazing around.

Female *Honorarios*, Regional university (Municipality)

The open discrimination against *Honorarios* employees by the public administration generates damage to colleagues' relationship within public institutions. The negative perception of planta repeats in the following discourse.

We call them [*planta*] a cactus plant, they don’t move either by the wind. It's evident.

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The cliché among *Honorarios* concerning planta employees becomes a pejorative qualification.

The public employee has another rhythm, much careless, looking at Facebook and web pages the whole day. It's a much slower rhythm because the public employee fulfils a working day and must not produce so many things.

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Ministry)

The pejorative perception towards planta employee translates into a feeling of pity in some cases. In this regard, the next woman explains how she feels about her colleagues.

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85 *Planta* means plant in spanish
I pity people who decided to remain as planta, staying their entire lives in a municipality, very quiet. It's lame because you don't have any projection, no desire for promotion… a boring professional livelihood.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

This qualification is eye-catching since the respondent criticises stable working conditions of their colleagues as a promotion. Appropriate working conditions do not necessarily have to be associated with professional stagnation. The next aspect in the discourse of the Honorarios regarding the mentioned cliché is that planta employees are untouchable.

They are careless by the fact that nobody can't move them.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

One of the guarantees of being a planta employee is having a permanent contract. To be dismissed from this position, it is necessary to initiate a highly complex administrative process. A sensitive point for Honorarios, since they can suffer dismissal unilaterally and without notice. Consequently, some Honorarios feel disposable. The next respondent tells about it, raising, besides, a crucial point. When Honorarios face an unjustified dismissal, they do not have any institutional support. On the contrary, planta employees count with a permanent contract and a powerful union behind them.

What happens is the planta employee feels safe because he/she can't be fired. To be fired, that employee must go into an indictment. Instead, one is drifting; if there is no contract renewal, it ends there. If you blunder, nobody supports you and you are left out. In planta cases, instead, there is a trade union. Honorarios don't have one.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Among some Honorarios, the feeling against planta employees creates anger. The cliché is not only "they" are lazy and untouchables; instead, they do not care.

It generates conflict. For instance, I had a problem with a jerk today, but he can't be fired, because he is planta. The jerk can tell you: "I won't do a crap" and it doesn't matter. And if that means less money for the municipality, it doesn't matter. That jerk can't be fired, you can't move him, because he is headship and doesn't give a shit… Excuse my language.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)
Another problematic aspect is the administrative work. According to the mentioned statute, *Honorarios* are not allowed to perform administrative work, which can only be achieved by civil servants. Therefore, the previous disposition hinders the work done by *Honorarios* employees. In effect, *Honorarios* employees accomplish administrative tasks but in a covert manner: such as official signatures, are done by officials. But it is only a formality, because, at the end of the labour chain, the *Honorarios* employees perform the administrative tasks, only through an official's help. The following respondent relates how this formality hinders the work of *Honorarios* employees.

As *Honorarios* employee, there is some paperwork related to administrative faculties, faculties which I don't have… everything becomes annoying, papers that I can't sign on, responsibilities I cannot handle. At the same time, I'm in charge of; therefore, I'm always begging for signatures.

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Ministry)

*Honorarios* employees perform administrative duties, evidencing a disguised working relationship. For example, the next respondent oversees paying salaries of a municipality, an administrative task that involves civil servants signatures. However, the respondent makes the entire previous process. Although she is not entitled to do the job described, her duties consist of administrative work, proving another contradiction of the system. She shows how this contradiction hinders her daily work below.

Sometimes you can't assume specific responsibilities because you are under *Honorarios* regime. There was a time they [administration] told me: "Don't touch the checks, because you are *Honorarios*"

Can you imagine it?

Female *Honorarios*, Regional university (Municipality)

Failures in the public administration organisation and the incorrect distribution of tasks (which are not in the regular *Honorarios* assignments) enter in contradiction with reality. Because *Honorarios* perform civil servant duties, the relationship between them becomes conflictive, showing the problem origin lays in the difference in labour rights between the two types of employees. Thus, the labour rights disrespect experience emerges from the statute and the relationship between *Honorarios* and planta. The following respondent narrates how overtime distribution represents a right that differentiates the two types of employees.
We must work weekends, Sundays. It is a waste of time for us [Honorarios] because there is no reward. For planta and contrata means paid overtime, and we [Honorarios] know that.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The public administration generates discrimination against Honorarios for the lack of labour rights and benefits. For instance, the following discourses narrate special days where the administration celebrates staff members', granting them economic compensations and leaving out Honorarios. Those occasions demonstrate that non-recognition experience happens at the level of rights and daily experiences and conviviality.

It's lame. It was the psychologist's day, and I had to see how planta psychologists had fabulous lunches, they received flowers, and we [Honorarios psychologists] nothing, not even "hi", "congratulations", "happy day."

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

There are many inconsistencies. For instance, when it is the public employee's day, all public employees are invited to a promenade, and one [Honorarios] stays working at the office (...) when Christmas comes, those gift little boxes with products arrive. Some workers get them, and some don't. It is violent. Everybody on 23rd December goes to their homes and some of them with gift boxes and some not. Then you see who is Honorarios and who isn't.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

The denial of labour rights is evident in this separation that the employer makes between types of employees, forcing the "them" and "us" manufacturing and a series of clichés. Although stereotypes can be unfair, the problem arises when the state discriminates against particular workers, by granting rights and benefits only to some, generating discrimination between employees, as the following respondent tells.

Sometimes there is discrimination from the same colleagues. They say things as: "why do Honorarios have the right to that?" "Why are they going to the party?" "Because of Honorarios, they [administration] took [our benefits] away from us [planta]". I don't feel appreciated because it is not my fault for not having a contrata or planta contract. It doesn't depend on me.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Therefore, the Chilean state and civil servants classify employees in different groups. Planta employees also discriminate against Honorarios by highlighting their rights. The following respondent narrates this type of situation.
Yes, there are differences (…) I have seen some planta telling cleaning staff: Hey, you are under me, I have more power than you”. It's clear. They tell that.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Based on some interviewees' perceptions, the relationship between "them" and an "us" becomes more extreme because of planta employees. According to some respondents, sometimes planta employees want to hamper the life of Honorarios deliberately. The next woman indicates how in the municipality, planta employees hinder the delivery of the Honorarios salaries.

Yes. Sometimes planta employees don't want to manage the Honorarios' salary or do it at the last minute.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

A final aspect of this relationship concerns to power. Honorarios point out that their planta fellows have authority. There is the cliché among some Honorarios employees that planta can dismiss an Honorarios employee if they want. Although the administration can unilaterally dismiss Honorarios, this power remains in its hands alone and not in the hands of any planta employee.

I have heard that planta have a lot of power. I have listened to they can send [Honorarios] you to an administrative inquiry. One planta has a different status. You can't fight with him. He has all the power to send you to an administrative proceeding. I haven't seen it myself, but I can't imagine what happens if you get along badly with one planta employee, he can do you any crap.

Female Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

This section reveals how the Chilean public administration divides its officials into two types. This classification generates "them" and "us" in the collective imaginary of Honorarios employees. The construction of "them" only highlights the experience of non-recognition among Honorarios employees. Honorarios build up the "them" based on a series of clichés, a revealing Chilean discourse characteristic addressed by Araujo in the theoretical framework. These stereotypes against planta are the expression of the distribution of privileges or power, inequalities, and above all, non-compliance with the norm: what should be but is not. The "them" and "us" constitute a shared identity factor. The next section analyses the experience of denial in terms of social esteem.
2. SELF-ESTEEM: CONSEQUENCES IN THE PERCEPTION OF ONESELF HONORARIOS EMPLOYEES.

According to Honneth, one of the consequences of suffering non-recognition experiences is the devaluation of people's social esteem, leading to questioning the social contribution each one brings to society. A fundamental element within social integration and recognizing social rights is acknowledging human beings as persons who give something useful to society. Honorarios employees suffer from a constant denial of labour rights, which implies negating their work and their status as public employees; experimenting from questioning their social value.

This section analyses the problem of social esteem in Honorarios in four parts. First, it analyses respondents' perceptions concerning the denial of being civil servants. Second, it explores if Honorarios see any intention from the state to recognise them. The third part examinates the Honorarios' impressions regarding the formal contract, whether formally hiring implies a recognition. The final part observes respondents' perceptions about social recognition, within their working circles, i.e., their colleagues and direct bosses.

2.1. THE RECOGNITION AS A PUBLIC EMPLOYEE.

The Chilean public administration has permanently used the Honorarios workforce to hire them under fixed-term social programs with constant renewal. Honorarios perform temporal activities which become permanent, transforming them in long-term workers. Thus, the Chilean state employs Honorarios, denying them their rights, as the next respondent tells.

In some services, they [administration] change the product stipulated in the Honorarios' agreement. By changing the product, one assumes that one is not doing permanent functions. Me, myself, I have delivered many products during the last nine years. Someone could say: "you haven't performed any permanent function. You performed in four years one task, three years doing another one; in consequence, these do not constitute permanent function."

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)
The contradiction between working as a public employee without the corresponding legal statute appears in several respondents' discourses, as the next woman narrates.

While it is true that I'm *Honorarios*, I have duties that don't correspond to *Honorarios'* functions. I have tasks of a public employee. I'm a person who is the whole day in her job, by performing activities like everybody else.

Female *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

This situation generates a feeling of injustice among *Honorarios* employees, a sentiment that the following respondent raises.

If there are people who have the same duties as you, but with different contractual systems, I believe there is a great injustice.

Male *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

The unfairness feeling becomes, among some *Honorarios*, criticism against the state. The following respondent points out that the state should be an example: working for the public sector should be a motive of proud. This discourse represents the demand for better working conditions.

The state must be something exemplary, isn't it? Working for the public sector should be good. One should feel proud of working in the public sector, of being a public employee. In other countries maybe, but here in Chile… a bullshit

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The following respondent directly addresses the topic of the lack of social recognition that *Honorarios* suffer. His discourse denotes the perception of not being socially valued, not considered part of the institution he works.

You can stay ten years working in the municipality, but you will never be part of the institution because you are delivering services. You are a professional who works, in quotation marks, independently. You go to the municipality and provide your service as an architect, psychologist, and then go home. There is no recognition in that sense, and that should happen at any time.

Male *Honorarios*, Regional university (Municipality)

The following respondent points out that the existence of *Honorarios* is not a problem when this statute applies for its original purposes, which is not the case. In
his discourse, one can observe a demand for recognition as a public employee, asking for social acknowledgement.

It is a weird situation. I understand there are Honorarios, but the real ones. But we [Honorarios] are public employees. We sign documents and the state doesn't assume any responsibility with us.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

One of the most damaging consequences on the social esteem of Honorarios employees is to feel part of a residual category. The state fosters this feeling by generating different types of employees. The next respondent approaches this perception, indicating that an Honorarios employee is a passing worker within the public administration.

It's complicated. When you are Honorarios, everybody knows, one knows who has a contract and who hasn't. Although you do the same tasks as hired people, they [planta] reproach you the fact of being Honorarios, sometimes that it's very awkward. Not everybody says so, but I believe the word "Honorarios" makes you feel dispensable. You aren't 100% inside. You are a passing worker.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The next respondent's discourse shows that Honorarios employees are considered simple collaborators. She points out that there will never be recognition of Honorarios as public employees.

One can stay the whole life as Honorarios and never becoming a public employee. One will always be a collaborator. That lets you a sad feeling. From that point of view, it [Honorarios labour] isn't valued.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The majority shares the experience of non-recognition among interviewees, the feeling of belonging to a lower category appears in the interviewees' discourses, such as the following respondent.

Being Honorarios means occupies the lowest hierarchy level. It is unworthy. And being part of the public system should mean the contrary.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The above analysis reveals that public employees' lack of recognition leads to a devaluation in Honorarios social esteem. The respondents' discourses repeatedly indicate the perception of belonging to a lower category. This section
demonstrates social-esteem damage as a shared identity factor among Honorarios. According to the interviewees' perceptions, the following section addresses whether a state's willingness to recognise Honorarios as public employees.

2.2. IS THERE A WILLINGNESS ON THE CHILEAN STATE TO RECOGNISE HONORARIOS AS PUBLIC EMPLOYEES?

This section analyses the Honorarios perceptions regarding state willingness to recognise them as civil servants. It begins with a real story that happened in Chile, reflecting questioning the state's role. In doing the research field, one respondent talked about an accident in 2009 that implied a group of Honorarios. Together with his testimony, Ciper, a Chilean magazine, published an article covering the incident.\(^1\)

On January 21, 2009, there was a tragic accident in Olmué, a city near Santiago, the Chilean capital. That day there was an activity organised by FOSIS (Solidarity and social investment fund) to expose the institution's future programmatic lines. This service depends on the Ministry of Social Development. On the way to that activity, the bus transporting the employees had an accident and rolled over on the highway. Unfortunately, there were four deceased staff members and around 20 injured. This tragic accident became even worse when the first irregularity came to the fore: none of the employees had signed a contract. However, in the following days, the administration managed to get the contracts signed.

The administration forced the victims' close relatives to sign the contracts because it was the only way to obtain compensation, regulate the next steps to follow, and avoid further legal proceedings against the institution. However, a second irregularity appears in this process. Among those injured were two types of employees: Honorarios and civil servants. Due to the legislation's provisions, only officials had access to indemnification, leaving aside Honorarios.

The victims' families initiated a series of lawsuits and demands against the state without any response, except by the manager dismissal and

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compensating Honorarios financially. The indemnity was insufficient to cover all the medical expenses— as accident insurance would do. After this accident, public institutions forced Honorarios to pay for occupational accident insurance on their own. The solution is incomplete since it is the employee responsibility to take occupational assurance and not of the employee.

This dramatic story synthesises the state's unwillingness to regulate Honorarios employees' situation in an extreme manner. It also shows the high risks involved in the precariousness labour situation of Honorarios employees. The previous report proofs the need for legal and symbolic recognition. However, there is an unwilling state, as the next man indicates.

If it were valued [Honorarios job], there wouldn't be many people as Honorarios. There is no personal valuation.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The next woman points out an essential argument regarding a legal vacuum regarding Honorarios; the non-regulation of false relationships in the public sector—which the private sector does.

It's unbelievable. Ironically, the state imposes rules to the rest when it is the worst employer. The state demands much more from the private sector; after a period, Honorarios must be hired. However, they [the state] washes its hands-off.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Honorarios think the Chilean state demonstrate passivity, as the following respondent points out. She thinks the state prefers having some of its employees under precariousness.

Until now I haven't seen anything, I haven't seen people becoming planta. I believe it's convenient for the state to have a lot of Honorarios. There's a will of having workers under precariousness.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Some respondents acknowledge that sometimes bosses thank them for their work. However, as the next respondent indicates, a gratitude attitude is not enough.
They [the administration] have thanked me many times. But I have been here for three years, and I can't live based on gratitude.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The state's lack of recognition achieves a point that some bosses do not even thank Honorarios for their work, as the next woman says.

Most of the time it is just a "thanks" (…) Sometimes there is no even a "thanks" and you spend your days working hard and sometimes there's not even an acknowledgement of receipt for your work.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The Chilean state's non-recognition of Honorarios as civil servants again impacts their perceptions of justice. The respondents argue that doing their job well should translate into acknowledgement. However, in the absence of such recognition, a feeling of injustice appears, as expressed by the following interviewee.

The problem is injustice. You do your job, and when you want recognition, there isn't.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The following interviewee points out that the best way to achieve recognition as public employees by the state is entitling them with social rights.

The notion of work should include respect and recognition of labour rights. Having Honorarios does not imply any concern; it is carelessness about labour rights.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Another form of non-recognition of Honorarios employees appears in periods of government change. When new political authorities come into power, Honorarios risk dismissal. The new governments work with people on their political side, excluding those in the opposition. Since Honorarios is the single statute easy to cut up, these employees are in constant risk. This experience is what the next respondent narrates.

My job has been a contribution, but that doesn't assure anything… because by working for the public sector, you are under the risk of authorities change and government change. You can be fired, even if you have been a contribution.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)
Due to many factors, including the change in government, *Honorarios* perceive they are disposable, increasing the non-recognition sensation, as the following woman expresses.

I think workers are not dispensable… but here I feel we [workers] are just a passing product; when used, it doesn't serve anymore and goodbye. Because of that, one can get fired overnight. I know my direct boss value us, but this situation goes beyond him. We [*Honorarios*] are disposable, unpaid by years of service, no benefits.

Female *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

Despite the state's lack of recognition, many interviewees affirm their bosses and colleagues acknowledge them. The next woman feels her job is positively valued, although it does not translate into labour rights entitlement. Her case shows a contradiction between a good job and an absence of labour rights.

My job is valued; that's why I'm telling you it is full of contradictions. In everyday life, the differences are not evident. But there are contradictions in the discourses: if my job has the same value, it should have the same conditions that all other workers have. By starting by social security, health, and welfare contributions… At least.

Female *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

This section demonstrates the unwillingness' state to recognise *Honorarios* as civil servants. The lack of acknowledgement goes beyond legal aspects since *Honorarios* face different fears and feelings of injustice in their everyday labour life. The sensation of being rotational, disposable, the lack of gratitude on the part of the authorities, among other aspects, increases the precariousness of the *Honorarios* employees. Returning to Paugam's theory, *labour precariousness* implies *job insecurity* and *symbolic devaluation*. *Honorarios* employees are victims of both.
2.3. Meanings Associated with Having a Formal Employment Contract.

Of course, of course. I have a colleague who was under contrata regime and the things that he told me... I was surprised. It was like "Brave New World" of Huxley; everything was different.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

In analysing Honorarios discourses, one wonders whether this way of working is optional. Since it is an agreement intended for independent workers, one can think this type of job is a free choice, as it happens in the private sector. In this case, Honorarios employment stands as the beginning of a professional career (in a company, for example), or providing specific services. However, in the public sector, Honorarios statute has become practically the only option to enter and stay there. This section analyses whether the hypothetical possibility of having a formal contract symbolises a form of recognition for Honorarios employees.

One starting observation indicates that the value associated with a formal contract depends on the socio-educational background. For instance, in the highest positions in the labour division, a contract does not represent a needed form of recognition. The next respondent highlights he receives higher salaries as Honorarios than as a civil servant.

The only option of being hired would be as planta, where the salaries are restricted. Contrata, the other option, doesn't even equalise my current payment. Therefore [to stay in the public service as a public employee] it should appear a new contract

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The next respondent also occupies a privileged place within the social labour division, holding a political trust position. According to some, such jobs must operate under the Honorarios statute, because they depend on the political authority's confidence and removal. These positions have excellent labour conditions, and the political bodies elect them among a range of options. Against this background, for the next respondent, the Honorarios statute represents a free and comfortable choice.

My job position as other similar ones should be Honorarios because they are positions of trust. I can't imagine another type of contract for my job. From that point of view, I think my job is valued and should be Honorarios. Maybe it is a little fascist what I'm saying. Still, some positions in the state
should be under *Honorarios* statute (…) If I had to choose between stay as *Honorarios* or planta, I would prefer to stay as *Honorarios*.

Male *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

The latter speeches represent specific and privileged cases within the sample of interviewees. A formal contract does not mean a necessary form of recognition for these respondents because their positions have better working conditions. However, as an exceptional case, the previous example does not represent all. The following man indicates a formal contract means a recognition.

Of course, I would feel safer. But I know the situation. I don't worry about it. However, getting hired implies a recognition, a sort of appreciation as a professional.

Male *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Ministry)

Most of the respondents share the previous view. Behind this demand, there is a need for protection and minimum guarantees that a job must provide, as the next woman notes.

The appreciation to your job…. And protection. These are things that go together well.

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Municipality)

For the next respondent, a formal contract as a civil servant is a synonym of respect. It also means obtaining bonuses for the goal's achievement. As described in previous sections, the fulfilment of objectives is a disposition of the administration so that the civil servants receive economic compensations. However, *Honorarios* also participate in the achievement of the goals without bonuses- a form of discrimination. The next respondent indicates that a contract permits avoiding discriminations and implies respect.

[By being planta] I become fixed. I'm not going to get bonuses by being the best colleague... I would get respect by having the same level as planta.

Female *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

One of the consequences of the precarious employment situation of the *Honorarios* is instability in the future. For some interviewees, a formal contract means counteracting this fear. The next respondent poses this problem and points out that a contract translates into more stability and motivation.
[By having a planta contract] one would have a solid base to develop your job. Because if one is Honorarios, you do your job, but under great insecurity, without any certainty that tomorrow you will have the job. With a bit of confidence and stability, one could perform better one's job, without thinking if one will get fired.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The following woman also tells about the relevance of having a contract as a meaning of stability. However, in her case, she sees it as a very distant possibility.

I do like this job. Damn it! I hope any time soon getting a contract. That is important for a worker. The stability that means a contract, hopefully, planta -but it's so hard.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The next respondent points out that an employment contract is a synonym of better working conditions.

I would like to be hired. I would like to have that stability, to have those rights. I don't believe my job would be more appreciated with a contract, but labour conditions would be better.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

Although a desire shared by several interviewees is to have a contract as a civil servant, they consider it practically as an impossible option, as the following man indicates.

I know people who have been a long time as Honorarios. People who have been for 10-15 years, therefore, the option of getting hired is almost impossible, you know?

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

The sensation of being unable to get a formal post appears clearly among respondents who have been under the Honorarios statute for an extended period. The next respondent had been seven years as Honorarios, and she shares the same hopelessness perception.

I think the option [of having a contract] must exist, but it's hard. I'm from 2008 till now under Honorarios regime. I have seen a few position openings for planta or contrata. Forget it. You must kill somebody to get a planta, so to speak. In reality, planta are untouchables. The vacancies planta positions are scarce. Here there is one or two planta, and the rest is Honorarios.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)
This section analyses the relevance that Honorarios give to getting a formal contract. Most of the respondent - except for those in the better labour division positions - associate a standard contract with recognition. In those cases, the Honorarios statute does not appear as an option or desirable condition, but the only alternative from which the respondents would prefer to scape. The following section observes if the non-recognition experience reduces thanks to the Honorarios' colleagues.

2.4. THE LABOUR CIRCLE OF Honorarios: THE SOCIAL-ESTEEM PROMOTERS

In all social relations, the role played by the closer circle is crucial. As Axel Honneth explains, being recognised by the most intimate one is essential in developing one's self-esteem. As rights recognition, the social-esteem is critical in the self-esteem construction. As an employer, the Chilean state denies Honorarios' self-esteem in two essential aspects: the labour rights and the social-esteem (by denying their civil servant statute). This section analyses the respondents' recognition perceptions regarding their colleagues, whether they manage to remedy the social-esteem damage that the state causes to Honorarios. The topics to observe are whether the interviewees maintain good relations with their colleagues, whether they perceive a positive evaluation of their work (from their bosses and colleagues), or whether they consider they have friends. Most of the respondents mention having a pleasant working environment, which contributes to relieve the negative feelings about precariousness.

We are a young team, on average, 35 years old. There is a beautiful dynamic between us. I think this is one of the jobs with better labour environment that I ever had. There is a strong feeling of fellowship. We have a WhatsApp group with our colleagues. We go out after work. Thanks to our coordinator as well, she has opened spaces to have a good environment.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

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87 Interviewees' close labour circle usually corresponds to colleagues under the same Honorarios statute. Section 1.1 of this chapter shows the production of "them" and "us" between Honorarios and civil servants (planta), and one of the reasons is because many times respondents do not even share same space with planta employees. In many cases, even bosses are under Honorarios statute.
In most cases, there is a perception among the respondents that besides the positive working environment colleagues have become friends.

We have become friends… we have been together for a while. For instance, when I got married, or when somebody goes on holidays… we are very close. Or, a colleague that found another job, we are still in touch with him. Or if I need help in my job, I get it.

Female *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

The fact that colleagues become friends translates into positive feelings at the labour place. It leads to seeing their colleagues as part of the close circle of people.

Yes, we have here a good group of friends. I have three closest friends. But with other colleagues, we are friends as well. Sometimes we go out after work. That's why I'm happy because I see my friends at my job.

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Municipality)

Just in some few cases, the respondents claim not having fellows at the labour place. Somehow, it reveals the consequences of the modernity, i.e., the separation of the private life of the other life aspects as labour. According to this view, friendship and work do not go together, as the next woman declares.

I don't like to mix it up, personal life with my job. One stays the whole day in one's job, many times more at the job than at home. Therefore, one must take care of those spaces. When one gets involved with your colleagues, there is a risk of generating hostilities.

Female *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Beyond a few respondents who feel they do not want to mingle friends and labour, most believe in colleagues’ centrality in aspects such as friendship and any type of support. The colleagues usually back in the tasks related to the job.

Colleagues are willing to help. In extreme cases, when there is a lot of work, we distribute the tasks to take some air.

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Municipality)

But the colleagues’ support can go beyond labour tasks. According to some respondents, the back-up of the colleagues translates into solidarity.
We show solidarity with each other. We go out a lot. Moreover, in many cases, we must work outside the office, and then personal life starts to mix up with labour life.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Although Honorarios share various precarious conditions, there were just a few mentions to empathy among them. The interviews reveal a complete understanding among Honorarios of their shared precariousness situation. Nevertheless, only a few respondents consider it as an inducement to have good relationships at the labour place.

Excellent relationships. Indeed, the Honorarios instability creates an identity; we are equals. That's a starting point to generate good relationships.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

Even though there are just a few mentions to empathy, there is a generalised feeling among the respondents that their colleagues and bosses appreciate them, which relieves Honorarios of the non-recognition experience.

I'm lucky that I have a specific formation in my job area. Therefore, I'm a specialist to my colleagues. That's highly appreciated... by the colleagues and my boss.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Another shared perception among Honorarios is the crucial role played by supervisors. Although Honorarios do not perceive their employer's recognition – the Chilean state- they feel it from their direct bosses.

My direct boss appreciates my job. She knows I work hard. We work together. But they [higher bosses] don't see it.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

One crucial aspect that reveals this section is colleagues and supervisors of Honorarios relieve the non-recognition experience caused by the state, materialising their contribution as professionals to the society. Although the Chilean state does not recognise the labour rights of Honorarios and their worthwhile social participation, the circle at the labour place alleviates these negative feelings.
3. **Honorarios and precariousness: their fears and uncertainties**

The previous sections analysed how Honorarios cohabit with their precariousness experience. Several identity factors appeared by confronting Honorarios regarding labour rights denial and the non-recognition as civil servants. The last aspect of studying in this chapter consists of Honorarios future projections considering their precariousness situation - the umbrella under which they analyse their tomorrow. The imagined future may differ from each, but in general concerns to the short-term projection, as having family, and long-term problems as health or old-age.

One of the first apprehensions of Honorarios regarding their near future is the difficulty of getting bank loans. In Chile, the banking sector punishes the contractual precariousness, demanding high requirements and prioritising workers' stability. Honorarios do not fill those conditions even they prove to have been their job for an extended period.

They [the bank] tell you right away: "no, We don't care about you at all". It's hard for the bank to trust you. But it's true. You don't have anything. You can be fired any time soon.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

The Chilean society discourse attaches great importance to "the dream of homeownership," reflecting the high valuation of neoliberal societies' ownership. For Honorarios, their labour situation stops this dream's achievement. As the next respondent points outs, having a formal contract showing stability, constitutes a mandatory requirement to get a loan.

In some moments, I want to buy a house, to get some stability. To do that I must justify the bank my situation to get the credit because it's sure I can't afford it in cash. I'm going to need a more stable contract. Before it was easier because I had an indefinite contract.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

Another crucial concern in Honorarios discourse is having children, which plays a pivotal role in short-term planning, especially in women discourses. Although some men mention the idea of having family, the specific topic about children, and its fears associated, appears only in women regardless of their position in the labour division.
The next woman expresses her worries regarding being alone -without a partner- and having a child, due to its high economic costs.

If my partner breaks up with me, I don't have labour stability and a child…. It's costly to have a child. I restrict myself because of it. I've been limited myself in buying a car, because... running up debts… ugh! Impossible! I can't incur debts for longer than eight months, because I can get fired at any time.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

What is highly problematic in women Honorarios’ situation refers to the pre and postnatal periods. Since the denial of this right is a fact, Honorarios women must deal with this reality when they decide to have children. In this context, the worry about having a child is well-founded, as the next respondent points out.

What I'm worried about if one wants to have family… I don't know what the conditions would be… prenatal and postnatal. One friend got pregnant, and they [the administration] had to hire her under contrata to get pre and postnatal… She got that opportunity, but If I don't [get such chance], nobody will pay me then, I should pay them by my-self… In that sense, I'm worried.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Another common fear among Honorarios is the labour instability given their contractual situation. Due to the Honorarios statute's nature, which intended to regulate occasional work, there is no standardisation in the agreement renewal- which in most cases lasts one year.

It's so unstable… in our job, there is one-year contract… each year we are frightened, wondering what will happen... you can't project yourself.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

In some cases, the irregularity associated with Honorarios statute leads to monthly renewal agreement as the example shown in the following discourse.

As I told you, I'm getting contracts for one month. At the end of the month, I'm always wondering, wow, would I get hired?... Always begging for some information [about your situation]. On the other hand, [although] your boss tells you: "don't worry, you'll stay with us”… anyhow, there are never certainties… and since it is just each month [renewal], why can't it be a one-year contract?

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

The one-year agreement renewal leads to some particular problematics. These problematics appear by December when the period of Christmas is coming. For
instance, one of the most common concerns for Honorarios refers to the Christmas gifts purchase. The next respondent illustrates his own experience of it.

The agreement renews at the end of each year, that is what creates some bizarre situations in December. [Once] I waited until 15th December to see if I bought Christmas gifts. I had to think about it since I didn't know if I would get a salary by 1st January. One trusts in self, and if I were dismissed, I would find something [another job]. Anyway, instability is always there.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

As analysed in the previous sections, Honorarios feel as disposable workers against certain situations. One reason is the change in government, with short-term labour agreements that depend on the political contingency. This topic becomes a significant fear in the Honorarios’ labour projections, as the next respondent explains.

I project myself but with caution… because we [Honorarios] live under a continuing instability… by the end of the year, the uncertainties appear. One knows the limit is the change of government, a limit very hard to overcome.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

The uncertainty generated by the change in government is real and becomes part of the Honorarios’ everyday life matters. The next woman clearly describes the consequences of the change in government with an example, pointing that half of the team had to go under the mentioned circumstances.

When there is a change in government, heads change as well. Therefore, it has been a hard-transitional time here [due to recent authorities' change]… indeed, we were a team composed by 50 people, and 24 already have gone, half of the team… people who wanted to go away, some have gotten fired.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Together with the political conjuncture, another topic appearing in the Honorarios discourses refers to the long-term concerns. A helplessness feeling emerges against the health topic and old-age period linked to a lack of social protection, as the next woman tells.

For me, the health topic is a constant concern, because getting a complex disease, for instance,….of the top of my head, cancer, which is extreme… One Honorarios who gets cancer is fucked up… but something simpler as appendicitis, I would be covered 15 days, and the rest runs on my own.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)
It is worth saying a problem runs the whole Chilean society referring to old age concern. As explained in the first section of this chapter, the pension system is a private one, without no public institution countering it. One of the main critiques against it is the profits that the system has made at the expense of the Chileans' contributions, without assuring decent pensions. Since the Honorarios until 2019 did not have an obligation to contribute, the old-age period's care increases among the respondents. Even if one Honorarios would decide to pay contributions voluntary, sometimes the low salaries do not allow it. Many Honorarios have already significant gaps in their contributions.

I'm incredibly concerned about the future. I started to contribute [to social security] just this year. Last year, I didn't contribute at all… therefore, the old-age, future, everything is so complicated, I can't project myself.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Although most of the respondents coincide about their fears and concerns, there is a small group to which the precariousness is not an issue. One of these exceptions explains because of the youthfulness of some respondents. For some Honorarios, this statute is an initial step in one's career, which is why the question about the labour future does not arise.

Now I'm very young. I should care about it, but I don't. To be honest, I'm not worried. However, if the Honorarios situation extents for ten years more, then I would be concerned. I hope it changes.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Some young respondents think in self, which explains why they do not concern about precariousness. The next respondent explains that he is not concerned about his current labour situation since he does not have a family.

When I have my family, I'll be under pressure, I'll worry about it, I'll look for a better contract, having a formal contract or going to work to an enterprise… but now I'm alone. Therefore, I don't care much.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)
For other respondents, the *Honorarios* situation does not represent a worry because the **precariousness becomes a habit**. When one *Honorarios* has been under the same statute for a long time, uncertainties and fears stop to arise.

I'm so used to being *Honorarios*... I already normalise it... I'm adapted to that. One gets used to.

Male *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Municipality)

The next woman has been under *Honorarios* statute for ten years. Her case is one of the examples, among many others. She represents how challenging to settle down is *Honorarios* situation in the public sector. A person who has worked in the public service for such a long time is already a civil servant. Nevertheless, for her by **getting used to precariousness, the suffering stops**.

It's so weird what happens with *Honorarios* because one begins to have a permanent instability. After ten years, you get used to it. Because you are always foreseeing the option of getting fired, it starts not to matter. In the beginning, I worried a lot, the first three years, in December. Later you get used to the dynamic of being re-hired in January. Maybe it's a bad habit, but healthy, because I no longer suffer.

Female *Honorarios*, Regional university (Municipality)

Certain cases constitute an exception to the rule, for whom there are no significant concerns about the future, due to the privileged position they hold. As analysed in chapter III, the best labour positions in terms of salaries and conditions are in the ministries. What characterises these *Honorarios* is they have a high socio-educational background, enabling them to occupy privileged positions in the social division of labour. This situation guarantees them enough economic resources to save and make their social contributions voluntarily.

The social origin and the elite university assure relying on an important social network. In such cases, future concerns do not appear, and neither limits personal projections. The next respondent has studied in one public- elite university and earns a significant salary.

May I be honest with you? It doesn't affect me. I'm young. I know this job won't be for my whole life... I feel I have the tools. I've saved money, I've studied, I have other backups... other incomes.

Male *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)
Furthermore, the highest positions in the labour divisions correspond to profitable professions, as the next respondent, who is highly aware of his comfortable position. In case of losing his current job, he says, he would quickly find another one. His incomes, socio-educational background and network assure him.

I've been fortunate to have studies that lead to a profitable career, in one university that got me a network, I studied at the Universidad de Chile. Besides, I'm an excellent professional. If I got fired, I would find a job immediately. Under this perspective, I don't have any problems with being Honorarios, nor fears, no risks, anything, you know? I have a good salary, I can save, therefore, if I got fired, I can go on holidays two months, and coming back to search another job, And I'm sure I'll find it.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Both examples represent a reality which is far away from the common one. In most cases, there are significant fears in Honorarios life projections due to their precarious labour situation. When there are no such concerns, it is because of youthfulness or a certain level of habituation. Nevertheless, in the highest labour positions, the future is not a concern since they have another social capital.
CHAPTER V

The Honorarios' strategies against precariousness.

The present chapter refers to the strategies developed by Honorarios to bypass the labour precariousness. Within the framework of the theory of Serge Paugam, the following sections analyse the Honorarios' around two lines of action. The first one relies on families' support. The second characterises by using institutional backing, basing on the creation of trade union.
INTRODUCTION

The present chapter refers to the strategies developed by Honorarios against their situation of precariousness. According to the discourse analysis and empirical observations, these strategies emerge in the personal and labour spaces. The first one includes tactics relying on relatives, friends and the self. Facing the lack of rights, Honorarios look for ways to compensate for their situation, designing alternatives to confront their old-age period, for instance, by buying an apartment or demanding for help to their relatives. The second place, at labour, they pursue recognition as workers, mainly by conforming trade unions. While the strategies imply relief and security in the personal space, at work involve collective struggling.

The leading theory to understand these strategies relies on the work of Paugam. One crucial part of his academic approach consists of the analysis of social bonds. According to Paugam, social bonds are the base of understanding how the subjects connect and society, describing the dynamics where the "other" and "self" together develops. Recognition (compter pour) and protection (compter sur) are the two dimensions that compone social bonds. While protection refers to the resources and supports that one can rely on to face life’s difficulties, recognition alludes to the social interaction that gives individuals the mutual confirmation of their existence and social value.

The author proposes the following kinds of social bonds: lineal, elective participation, organic participation and citizenship bond. According to Honorarios strategies, one observes they develop their tactics basing on the lineal and the organic participation bonds. The lineal bond refers to the recognition (emotional support) and protection (physiological support) that immediate circle offers, usually, the family. The organic participation bond consists of the world of labour integration of someone by having a function. In this light, labour guarantees social integration by giving a position in society associated with rights.

These two areas of strategies' development reflect what happens in Chilean society, due to the state decrease and public-services downsizing. As shown in chapter II, dismantling the Chilean state brought the consolidation of its subsidiary role since it reduces public services and decreases public employees' number. A series of
services pass to municipalities decentralizing some state functions. The market starts to compete in the public services provision, assuming the leading role and leaving families the task of paying social services.

The previous situation continues after democracy's return, and families' role becomes crucial to counter the lack of social rights. As observed in chapter III, education is one of the state's outstanding debts because families must overpay for an education that does not guarantee the quality or social mobility. Families' role and the search for alternative options to compensate for the absence of the social rights reproduces at the working life of the Honorarios facing precariousness. One of the main strategies is battling alone, for instance, by finding alternatives funding resources. Another essential tactic relies on people's intimate circle, where Honorarios recur to their parents or couples.

Regarding recognition at labour place (organic participation bond), Honorarios strategies look for existing for somebody, i.e., being considered by the state, it is a struggle for recognition as civil servants. In this area, one observes the same problematic background as the first type of tactic; the state decreases and lacks social rights. Nevertheless, instead of looking for somebody offering protection, Honorarios fight for the rights that they deserve as workers.

This chapter composes of two sections. The first one explores how Honorarios fight against their precariousness labour situation in the private sphere, either by looking for personal strategies or relying on their intimate circle of people. The second section analyses the Honorarios trade union organisations, showing the tactics at the labour place.

1. THE STRATEGIES AGAINST PRECARIOUSNESS DEPLOYED IN THE PRIVATE SPHERE

The strategies that Honorarios deploy in the private sphere include personal and family spaces. Based on the self, the first one has lines of action that account for how profound the market's penetration into people's lives. At this level, Honorarios formulate tactics following a market logic, for instance, buying properties, running a
business or saving money in the bank. Based on family support, the second level shows tactics that are a consequence of Chile's social rights commodification, although the actions do not correspond to market reasoning. In this case, Honorarios rely on their relatives like parents or couples, exhibiting the extent of the state's subsidiary role because families make up for social rights shortfalls. The following sections analyse both spaces.

1.1. Strategies based on the self

The strategies that Honorarios design at the personal level are under a market-driven logic. They try to generate self-resources, showing that Chile's market penetration leaves no other option than follow its logics to escape precariousness. This section analyses the individual logics that respondents apply to design their lines of action.

One of the strategies deployed by many Honorarios is to buy an apartment without distinguishing gender or social origin. This line of action's primary goal seeks to cushion the future effects of not contributing to the AFP. Unlike other workers, for Honorarios employees, the contribution is not mandatory, complexifying their future retirement. Since they already have significant gaps in their contributions, Honorarios search alternatives to save money for the future.

For instance, getting a property, to look for a place to live in, and having another one [another apartment] to rent it. From there, getting the money that the pension system is not going to give you.

That is a fact, the system is under crisis, and I don't play there.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

Behind this type of course of action, respondents always express criticism of the current Chilean retirement system in line with society. By 2016, 87% of the population believed it was necessary to change the AFP system, and 71% said they were not satisfied with it. The next respondent disapproves of the system, which justifies designing another strategy to confront her retirement.

88 Cadem poll in: https://www.laizquierdadiario.cl/Encuesta-Cadem-87-a-favor-de-cambios-en-sistema-AFP-y-71-esta-nada-satisfecho. Last review: 07.11.2018
In the end, everything is going to pop, because [the system] is botched, so severely. Giving money to some jerks, scoundrels, really, I rather not giving money to anybody. Thinking about the future, I believe I must put my money somewhere else, a flat, a house, but never into the AFPs.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Indeed, for most Honorarios, the AFP contribution is synonymous with losing money, and investing in properties is a better option.

I've always believed that AFPs mean sheer losing money. I'm the type of person who prefers investment, saving, buying properties. Investing is more profitable than AFPs. I have that position: saving to purchase real property. One or two properties, then rent them and that'll bear fruits.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

To address non-compulsory contributions in the Honorarios case, the previous and current governments have decided to promote bills to force Honorarios to contribute. So far, none of those legislative projects has materialised. However, facing the possibility of being compelled to contribute, Honorarios prefer to continue with their strategies.

So far, I've been turning a blind eye on contributions… there is a project that forces one to contribute, but I don't want to, I don't like it. There are other ways to invest, and I'm working on that, buying properties, flats, which at the end it's more profitable [than the contribution system]

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The next respondent continues in the same line, unveiling a mistrust by choosing an alternative for the future.

From now on, it'll be mandatory to contribute. But I believe it is so much better to buy a flat, properties and living on that... so much more profitable than the AFPs

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Some Honorarios share their strategies in their families, where is more than one person under this statute. It corresponds with the next man, who inherited the idea of buying an apartment from her mother. The plan of countering the future by following alternatives runs in his family for a long time, since his mother works as Honorarios for twenty years now.

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89 One of the main arguments posed by Honorarios trade unions is that both governments' bills do not address the problem of the employer absence in terms of social contributions.
My mom has been *Honorarios* for 20 years. Finally, what she has done is buying some stuff and live on that. She has a flat, recently she bought a beach apartment, and those are her backup for the old age. She wants to move to the beach and live off the flat's rents.

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

**Another common strategy among respondents is organising their salaries well.** Under conditions of precariousness, and the constant risk of getting fired, *Honorarios* must be orderly and planned.

There is a question of being organised, depends on each one to be responsible, if my contract says that I must pay by myself my contributions, I pay them.

Female *Honorarios*, Regional university (Ministry)

This strategy does not necessarily imply a critical attitude towards the situation of *Honorarios*. Some interviewees adjust to the given conditions, distributing their salaries in an orderly manner to pay what corresponds to them as independent employees.

I pay my ISAPRE as an independent worker and regarding AFP I have a plan as well.

Male *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The previously described strategy, reveals the principle of individualism existing in the Chilean society. Organisation and planning become the only option for people when the state is not present in any social right provision. Therefore, the precariousness context forces *Honorarios* in thinking in themselves.

I pay for everything by myself. I have that principle of paying everything myself: health, contributions, everything. I've always done it.

Female *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

A better position of *Honorarios* employees in the social division of labour allows them to get more organised in the payment of their contributions and general expenses. For instance, in the following respondent's case, he earns a high salary that allows him not incurring in debts, which does not represent most of *Honorarios*. 

https://doi.org/10.5771/9783957102904
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I have a good salary. My principle is: never incurring debts. I pay for everything in cash. Thinking about the future, I don't wanna debts' tsunami coming when I'm laid off, because I may be fired any time. I've been lucky or talented to live like that [without debts]. One must get used to it because one must think about the future.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

**Another type of strategy is saving money to face the fear of dismissal.** Although the mercantile logic is still present in this line of action, there is no other option in most cases. The individualism and market principles emerge in society and impose to Honorarios, who do not have more choice than think in the self.

I have savings in case something happens, for instance, dismissal.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The described strategies function better with higher salaries, thanks to the comfort that a high income produces. The next respondent is an interesting case since he declares being comfortable with his Honorarios situation. He shares the criticism against the retirement system with the other respondents but recognising he is in a better position.

Personally, I love being Honorarios. Maybe it is selfish, but as Honorarios I don't pay for AFPs. Even if one is against AFPs, rationally thinking, they are indeed a bad saving system, you know? For someone who has a high salary with financial literacy, with self-saving capacity, I don't need a mandatory saving system as AFPs. I save on my own, and I can invest it better.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

**The last strategy deployed by Honorarios in individual terms corresponds to design a plan, generally based on self-sustainability, and intended to find survival alternative' forms.**

I aim to buy a plot with friends or somebody to rely on my own savings capacity as a backup for my future. As far, it has worked for me. I'm good at saving up. I don't find it hard. However, If I had a child, I would find another job with better conditions.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

In line with the previous strategy, the next respondent thinks in a self-sustained plan for the future by highlighting two crucial elements: assuming his pension plan will be low and criticising the institutions in charge of the retirement.
Sometimes I think about it [retirement], but it's so far off. I've always pictured having a field, planting potatoes, being self-sustainable. In such a case, I wouldn't need much retirement pension, at least not for food. I'd rather have the money in my house than in a bank or the AFPs.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

The following project goes in line with the notion of self-sustainability but more than looking for survival, it searches to generate profits.

I want to run a business, and I'm gonna try to make it familiar. Hoping that [the business] gives me the chance to work until I want to.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

The different strategies considered by Honorarios in the personal sphere show the strength of the market in Chile, which leaves no other option than following its logic. These tactics are the product of the rise of the individualisation and concrete feelings of being alone. A possible risk appears under the described situation: forgetting that social rights are universal and not trade transactions, leaving aside the social struggles for recognition.

The strategies described in this section represent fighting against precariousness but under an individualism principle. One can argue that Honorarios do not have more alternatives than struggling alone under market logics. If unions approach such tactics, they can consider them in their discussions and propose solidarity networks to combat precariousness collectively.

1.2. STRATEGIES LINKED TO LINEAL BONDS.

Between the two existing strategies at the personal level, there is the one that relies on the lineal bonds, where Honorarios ask for help to their relatives, either parents or couples. The action lines in this sphere reveal the strength of the Chilean state's subsidiary role. Since social services provision is in private hands, families' support becomes essential, a reality from which Honorarios can not escape.

This section bases on Paugam's theory of social bonds, from where the author develops attachment regimes. According to Paugam, in a society where the lineal bonds are strong, the family regime imposes. It appears in regions characterised by
low industrial development or emerging economies, where poverty is often an integral part of the society. It is about societies with substantial social inequalities which their members do not question, leading to a reinforcement of the lineal bonds. In these societies, the welfare system is precarious and client-oriented. According to the characteristics of Chile, one can categorise it as a Familialist regime. It is a country where strong family solidarity exists to fight poverty, unemployment and social isolation. This section observes the strategies that Honorarios develop, considering the state's absence as the employer and social rights guarantor.

One of the main strategies of Honorarios is to count on the partner, especially for women. This strategy's primary goal is to rely on the partner, who usually have a more secure job position. The next woman tells how his husband earns a lower salary, but with a permanent contract, which secures both in the couple.

In my case, regarding health [insurance], I'm my husband's burden (...) My husband earns less money than I do. However, he has a permanent contract, which gives us a certain level of security. If I got fired, he has a job.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The next respondent illustrates gender differences in her discourse, by expressing her security feelings thanks his partner has a good job. At the same time, she wonders why these differences exist.

Fortunately, my partner has a good job. I'm not afraid of making decisions by the fact of being Honorarios. When we bought our house, he finally had to take out the credit. But as a woman, one wonders, why I can't have the same stability. [The Honorarios situation] generates personal differences.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

In some cases, depending on the partner generates an impotence feeling among women. The gender differences lead to degrading women since relationships are no longer under equality conditions.

[The Honorarios situation] is counterproductive to the couple's relationship. When we must take on specific responsibilities, I can't do it. I can't afford it. Sometimes he [my boyfriend] must double his efforts to make things to work out between us. For example, to go on holidays, to buy an apartment.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)
Some respondents declare organise their lives according to their partner's professional career. Although there are personal decisions in women cases, and confidence and love feelings, the dependency leads them to be in fragile positions. Facing the partner's absence, women are alone and devoid of backing.

I came to Santiago following him. He is from Santiago. He has a stable job, with contract and with all that the law commands. So, I had to come here. And I worry about my retirement, I'll have to live at my partner's expense. I hope to be with him for many years. What I'm worried about is that he bears all the home expenses. It's like my salary didn't exist. He says to me: If you get fired, it won't be so chaotic, because I can pay for everything. I'm already organised (...) If it wasn't for him, I'd have been left alone, childless.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Unusually, the family dependency strategy rests on the woman. In this dissertation, just one man declares to rely on his partner. The exceptionality turns out to be a confirmation that gender inequality punishes women.

My wife has a permanent contract—[That's why] our children are my wife's burden in health. I look after myself. I pay for my ISAPRE.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

In other cases, the strategy consists of mutual dependence when both partners are in an uncertain situation. Facing the precariousness together shows the need for lineal bonds in Honorarios cases. Somehow, the shared fragile situation drives them to develop a communitarian strategy.

One can buy a house being Honorarios. Together with my wife, we bought a house putting together our two salaries and the two of us being Honorarios.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Sharing the same precarious situation diminishes gender differences in the couple.

I didn't plan to have kids, and they arrived. My partner was also Honorarios. Our global situation was being Honorarios. It's hard when the two are Honorarios. It costs you a lot to access to mortgage loans, to everything. But everything turned out. Now, he has changed his [labour] statute, but only recently.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)
In the analysis of lineal bonds, the parents’ figure is usually crucial to face a welfare system’s weakness, and Honorarios are not the exception. The third strategy is relying on the parents, who must help their already adult and professional children. One interesting point about this line of action is one observes it on Honorarios with a socio-educational high background. In such cases, parents have a strong social position, with high security and comfortability levels in economic terms.

I’m not so worried [about the future]. Not so much now. Maybe because I don’t have family, I don’t have a house. I don’t have much responsibility. I have parents that still support me a lot.
Female Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

Since one part of the Chilean health system is in private hands, some of Honorarios's parents can burden their children in their plans.

I’m selfish and individualist. But I’m lucky that I can be my dad’s burden in ISAPRE. He has a very good health plan.
Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Some Honorarios are highly aware of their parents' high social position, relying on the security associated with their economic situation. Respondents from high social sectors inherit their parents’ status, allowing them to face precariousness and other problems.

I’m not worried about the future. I don’t contribute to AFPs. I save a large part of my salary. I’m my parent’s burden on health. I’m in a privileged economic situation. My parents paid for my studies, my Masters. If something happens to me, I can depend on them.
Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The next interviewee does not have the best current position in the social division of labour. However, he comes from a high social class, which means current and future support for him.

I’m my dad’s burden in health, thanks to the exonerated persons’ program. Moreover, my family has money, so in an emergency, I have my family backup. That’s what my safety is based on.
Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

One must consider considerate social differences between Honorarios in analysing their possible constitution as a social actor. Honorarios, in a better social
position, have another approach to the struggles to face precariousness, but this does not mean they agree with the injustice that their labour situation implies. As a result, it is essential to understand that social-educational backgrounds from each influences Honorarios dispositions to inhabit precariousness.

The last strategy relies on lineal bonds, where Honorarios get support from their families, although it works in the other way around as well. Unlike the previous one, this line of action appears when the social origins of Honorarios are lower. Sometimes, it emerges in contexts where the family situation is globally precarious.

I live with my mom, a cousin, and my sister, who is in school. I'm my family's cornerstone.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Similarly, the next respondent admits not to have the best economic situation, but she helps her family anyway.

I don't have the best economic status. Thinking in financial terms, I must bring money into my home. I help my mom so that she can afford stuff that before she couldn't.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

The strategy implements, in some cases, as mutual family support. The lineal bond acts as double assistance when both Honorarios and their relatives are in a precarious situation.

My dad passed away. My mom works with me, she takes care of the children, and I pay her a salary.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

In some few cases, the Honorarios have achieved a much better social position than their parents, which gives them the ability to help their families. Some people in Chilean society reach social mobility thanks to particular conditions (scholarships, for instance). However, those situations are the exception, not the rule.

I'm in a situation infinitely better than my parents. I can afford certain luxuries (…) Earlier on, my mom had a severe medical problem, and thanks to my economic level, we were able to circumvent it without problems.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)
The lineal bond consists of a forced strategy because *Honorarios* and their families do not have other option than relying on mutually in the face of the state absence. However, the lines of actions deploy in different ways, depending on each situation. Women’s case shows essential gender differences since the statute punishes them harder than men, and they finish depending on their partners. Beyond the different positions, lineal bonds demonstrate their force in all cases, revealing a well-installed problem in the Chilean society, i.e. the fragile welfare that families must supply. Trade unions take into account all the different strategies deployed by *Honorarios* in addressing their labour demands.

2. **Creating the Organic Participation Bond**

One of the main strategies of *Honorarios* facing the state’s non-recognition is the Trade Unions’ formation. This section analyses this tactic based on Paugam’s notion of organic participation bond, which describes the integration of someone to the world of work, encompassing the searching for social rights recognition (Honneth) and professional integration (Paugam). The latter implies a double assurance: material and symbolic recognition derived from labour (satisfaction), and social protection from employment (stability). The precariousness that *Honorarios* live transcends the labour field comprising the lack of social security (e.g. health care), leaving them to deal with (non) satisfaction and (non) stability. The author develops an ideal type called intégration assurée (guaranteed integration), including three deviation forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Integration - Ideal type</th>
<th>Deviation forms</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Intégration incertaine</em></td>
<td>Labour satisfaction but with instability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>intégration laborious</em></td>
<td>Labour dissatisfaction with stability</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>integration disqualifiante</em></td>
<td>Labour dissatisfaction and instability</td>
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Source: Based on Paugam’s theory.
In analysing *Honorarios* situation, they are between the first (intégration incertain) and the third (intégration laborious) deviations. Since the statute always involves instability (no social protection), *Honorarios* either feel satisfied with their jobs, i.e., recognition and material satisfaction, or frustration by the lack of social acknowledgement and low salaries. The previous allows analysing the unique collective strategy of *Honorarios* based on the trade unions conformation. As observed in chapter II, *Honorarios* can only form independent trade unions\(^90\), since they are autonomous workers. Facing this tactic, one may ask for the type of recognition that *Honorarios* seek by grouping in unions. Either they search to be recognised as civil servants by the state (full professional integration) or improving the *Honorarios* legal situation, i.e., creating a third type of public employee by keeping the statute's freedom (just labour satisfaction). The following sections address these questions.

### 2.1. *Honorarios* Trade Unions Panorama

This section begins by showing the picture in statistical terms the situation of *Honorarios* trade unions, drawing the first approach to their organisation. Thanks to the data provided by Dirección del Trabajo through the transparency law, it is possible to know the number of *Honorarios* associations existing today\(^91\). However, the data can present some inaccuracies due to the limited Chilean statistical development on *Honorarios* subject. The graph Nº10 represents the total number of active *Honorarios* unions per year between 2006 and 2018.

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\(^90\) An independent union in Chile permits the gathering of autonomous workers. It is a space for grouping, discussion and advice, but without collective bargaining power.

\(^91\) In Chile, it is possible to ask for public data through the transparency law. In collaboration with the sociologist Eduardo Toro, we elaborate on this section's statistics based on the data provided by "Consejo de la Transparencia."
The graph shows an increase during the period analysed, reaching a peak in 2018 with 18 unions formed. Counting the total in the country, the number of Honorarios formations reaches 76 in the active status. If one adds the inactive unions, the total rises to 151, i.e., 75 associations still in force but inoperative. The high number of Honorarios formations ceasing their activities (50%) shows that union strategy still not gaining traction.

There are no statistics per year regarding the number of unionised Honorarios, but one can know which areas they distribute. The graph below illustrates the percentage of unionised Honorarios by the public area. The most considerable portion corresponds to the municipal sector, with 63%, which increases to 70% by adding education, health and other territorial forms depending on municipalities. The lowest rate locates in central administration, ministries and their services, reaching 30%. One hypothesis to explain the higher number of Honorarios in municipal unions is the more precarious conditions there, which makes sense with the previous chapter analysis, which prove less concern about job insecurity in upper social sectors.
In considering the percentage of unionised active and inactive *Honorarios* employees, one observes a decrease in participation. In central administration, considering the whole period analysed (2006-2018), the percentage of active members is 78%. For the municipal sector, the rate of active members is 61%. While the percentage of inactive members in each is not as high, it decreases union strategy intensity.

The following are the labour lawsuits filed by Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Públicos a *Honorarios* (UNPH) at the time of its constitution in the year 2014:\(^\text{92}\):

1. Creation of a new and unique way of hiring civil servants, recognising our real status as public employees.
2. Total rejection of the obligation to contribute to the AFP.
3. Extension of all rights of civil servants (*planta* and *contrata*) to *Honorarios*.
4. Free access to the health system without social security conditions.
5. The constitution of a working group with strategic actors to give solutions to *Honorarios* demands.

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6. Change from the current contributions based on individual savings to solidarity distribution, where generational mutual support operates.

These demands of the UNPH reveal the **Honorarios**' union strategy's goals at the institutionalised level, which aim in **achieving full professional integration**. As points 1 and 3 indicate, one of their main objectives is to seek recognition as civil servants and labour stability based on one unique contract- providing for the same rights for all employees.

The other important struggle banner is positioning against the current Chilean social protection system. As noted above, almost all respondents stand against AFP and ISAPREs\(^{93}\), since private hands manage both, which implies a capitalisation of social contributions. The Chilean social security system operates based on an individualistic principle.

The **Honorarios**' criticism of the Chilean welfare system is not solved by forcing them to contribute. Nevertheless, it is the only solution that recent governments have found. Until 2019, the law established that 10% is withheld monthly for each activity produced as **Honorarios**. This tax accumulates over 12 months, and the following year the internal revenue service refunds it to the worker in full. President Bachelet's government pushed through a bill in 2014\(^{94}\), which sought to force **Honorarios** to contribute by deducting them from their annual income tax. Faced with the **Honorarios** refusal to quote, Bachelet delayed the project until 2018\(^{95}\), when the current government took office. The new President Piñera decided to change the original bill\(^{96}\), by postponing the mandatory contribution to the end of 2019 and increasing the contribution percentage, from 10% to 17%\(^{97}\).

\(^{93}\) To review the role of AFPS and ISAPREs and the distribution of the contributions see chapter IV, section N\(^{\circ}\)1.
\(^{94}\) http://www.fundacionvalidame.cl/single-post/2015/03/02/Nueva-Ley-20255-que-incorpora-a-los-Trabajadores-a-Honorarios-explicada-paso-a-paso. Las review 17.11.2018
\(^{95}\) https://www.emol.com/noticias/Economia/2015/12/22/765090/Camara-aprueba-proyecto-de-ley-que-prorroga-cotizacion-obligatoria-de-independientes.html. Last review 17.11.2018.
\(^{96}\) https://radio.uchile.cl/2018/08/15/gobierno-da-suma-urgencia-a-proyecto-de-ley-sobre-cotizacion-para-trabajadores-a-Honorarios/ Last review 17.11.2018
\(^{97}\) 10% to AFP and 7% to Health insurance.
Several *Honorarios* demonstrations- organised by their Federation- have taken place against the draft bill- one of their main demands. The following sections analyses *Honorarios* perception about the unionisation movement and its current struggles.

### 2.2. The *Honorarios* Unionisation Strategy on the Shop Floor.

Most of the respondents agree on the relevance of trade unions in society, which does not necessarily translate into their active participation in *Honorarios* organisations. Although some *Honorarios* in Chile have already implemented the unionisation strategy, it does not seem to be as well-known or publicised on the shop floor. The following is the analysis of respondents perceptions about the trade unions in general.

For me [trade union] is essential. For me, a trade union is the only tool that workers have to equalise working conditions. Without trade unions, nothing works.

Female *Honorarios*, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Even if the respondents have never participated in workers associations, they strongly appreciate them.

I've always valued [trade union] a lot. I'd form a lot of unions. I've never participated in one, that is a contradiction. I appreciate it a lot as organisation form, but I know as well that specific themes don't allow me to keep me up with them [trade unions]

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Ministry)

The high value assigned to unions as general perception appears in all types of *Honorarios*, regardless of their social origin, gender or job position.

I'm a little supportive of the union figure. If a trade union does its job, and all participants believe in it, the union will achieve its goals. I think it is a good figure for an organisation to represent workers.

Female *Honorarios*, Public elite university (Ministry)

In some cases, *Honorarios* hold the union in such high regard that they think such organisations should have greater power to face the employer.
Very positive. As I told you before, all workers organisations that struggle for their rights, I'll support them. I think it is fine, and hopefully, they [trade unions] may have the most considerable amount of power over the employer.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

The respondents view the trade union as the tool to improve working conditions in society. They think about it as the channel for all kind of labour demands, revealing, in some cases, that the union can be the channel for Honorarios requests.

I believe it is very positive [the union figure]. The union should be the channel for all of us.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

For other Honorarios, the trade union serves as the space to share with others in the same labour situation.

It's fine, very good. It's a way of organising. It's the space to talk and working with others that are in the same situation. It's the space to improve labour conditions. I think it's fine.

Female Honorarios, Private elite university (Municipality)

However, some few respondents are sceptical about the role that trade unions can play. The next respondent agrees on the relevance of trade unions. Nevertheless, He has the perception that trade unions have become mafias.

I think [the union] is necessary to order, channel the needs, requests, everything that workers need. However, one agrees that some unions work and some do not. When mafias are created… I know it for a fact… I've seen some unions that make more noise than getting benefits for their members.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

The negative perception about Honorarios appears as well in Chilean society. One reason unions decrease relies on the military's labour reforms during the dictatorship. As the next respondent states, the unionism culture has disappeared, showing a hopeless in its capacities to defend Honorarios.

We don't have a union culture. That period is already over. And I believe that the unions have the vices of the political class. There is no trade union education. Indeed, there is a trade union here [in the municipality] that can't defend us [to Honorarios], and not because they don't want, they can't.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

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98 Chile has moved from branch bargaining to enterprise-level from the dictatorship.
Beyond the perceptions about trade unions in general as a useful tool for society, some positive impressions about their role in improving the Honorarios situation appear. The next respondent points out that a union is indispensable for Honorarios.

It may work [Honorarios trade union] if it is functional and protects Honorarios. I think it's indispensable for us [Honorarios], especially considering the conditions under which we work. It's essential the union struggles for our rights.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The next case reveals a need for security at labour, one of the main demands of professional integration, i.e., stability and satisfaction, showing that Honorarios union can help on that matter.

I believe a trade union could work, and I would participate in it. It gives you security as Honorarios, to understand my rights, which are unknown to me.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The Honorarios' trade union strategy reveals a certain level of hope among respondents. As the next respondent expresses, a union can face better the Honorarios struggles concerning precariousness.

[The trade union is essential] to stand up for our rights, which are so few when one is Honorarios, and, at very least, that those few [rights] one union can defend them. There have been some changes from one administration to another, worsening things, in response to which a union can do something.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

The next woman expresses that the Honorarios situation in the public sector makes her realise the absence of rights. She considers a union can bring Honorarios' needs to light.

Now that I'm in public service, I realise that there are many needs of Honorarios, that if they do not manifest them, and there is no one to represent them, they [the needs] do not come to light. That's why I find the union very useful.

Female Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

Some respondents report on the trade union strategy's success, pointing out that they have achieved better conditions because of Honorarios demonstrations.
Thanks to the trade union, it has been achieved a better Honorarios contract. Last year, in the employees’ demonstrations, Honorarios were the leaders.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

Some respondents are already participating in a Honorarios union. The following man tells the story of the Honorarios organisation's birth in his workplace, illustrating the usefulness and necessity of a trade union.

When I arrived here, a social program was cancelled, which implied 40 Honorarios layoffs. There was nobody to defend them. After that, we said: we must shear organise us. It was the organisation into a union that allowed us to keep our jobs the following year. If we hadn't been organised, nobody would have given a shit.

Male Honorarios, Regional university (Ministry)

The next respondent explains how thanks to the union, the conditions for Honorarios in the municipality started to improve. Her discourse shows the relevance of the union's strategy with a concrete example.

Before Honorarios' contracts were so bad, renewed every three months, they [the administration] paid us when they wanted to. We didn't have any right, no holidays. After, when the union appeared, things have become more transparent. Holidays are now included in our contracts, medical leaves…. Honorarios are becoming essential. They [administration] are now understanding that Honorarios do a significant part of the job.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

In some cases, respondents recognise that the union has achieved significant improvements and has brought to light the problem of Honorarios. The following discourse is unusual because it is a person who claims not to have known anything about unionism before. She tells how thanks to the organisation's results, she began to value it, accounting for the power of trade union strategy.

I didn't know anything before about trade unions. I never worked on one. But what I've seen that they've accomplished…. They've achieved that Honorarios have administrative licences, holidays. The union has been in existence for one year, and already they've gained a lot.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

In some cases, although there is no active participation in trade unions, there is a will to do it.
I don’t like that there are so many Honorarios in the state. I think: what are we talking about? If I had time to dedicate and studying the topic, I would participate [in Honorarios trade union].

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

However, one observes the union strategy is not so expanded yet on the shop floor. The next case reveals there are spaces where there is still no knowledge about Honorarios organisations, showing that the strategy still needs to be expanded and deepened.

I’d participate [in a Honorarios trade union]. Indeed, if there were discussion and participation spaces, I’d participate. One can always contribute something. But I don’t believe that there are [Honorarios unions]. I’ve never heard of it.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

Although there are positive signs about the trade union strategy, some respondents remain sceptical. For instance, the next woman thinks that changes that Honorarios need in the public sector depend on the politicians.

[Trade unions] are necessaire. In some enterprises it is cool [to have unions]… but it works better in the private area than in the public one. I don’t believe in the public sector a trade union may change the laws. Some situations depend on laws, the parliament. The enlargement of plantas [permanent state personnel] does not rely on a trade union. It depends on the will of our political lords who can do that.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality).

There are doubts about union strategy for Honorarios because of their employment status and not unionism per se. For instance, the next woman talks about the independent character of Honorarios unions, because of which they do not have bargaining capacity, being ineffective in addressing their labour demands.

I remember Honorarios were grouped in a moment. There is an organisation of Honorarios employees. But we don’t have any legal representation. Unionism has lost a lot of strength due to the high levels of precariousness. In the municipality, there are one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand of professionals… How many of them are Honorarios? More than half?

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

In Chile, civil servants have their union that represent all the public employees in the public sector. Nevertheless, this organisation does not have included Honorarios
in their struggles, opening the debate whether they should consist of Honorarios, or Honorarios should have their union.

Trade unions are necessary. I disagree, however, with Honorarios trade unions. I believe it means a stabilisation of the condition of Honorarios. The formal association of public employees should fight for them and Honorarios. One only union to fight for all. Honorarios trade unions imply to support Honorarios situation consolidation. Honorarios union is a big step back. Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

The trade unions strategy among the respondents is still something nascent. Although there is a reasonable opinion about unionism, it remains at the society level, and not necessarily respondents consider it suitable for Honorarios. Moreover, the union strategy is not well known and not widely disseminated among Honorarios. Professional integration (satisfaction and stability) appears as a shared demand among Honorarios, regardless of who channels it (Honorarios union or civil servants association). The next section analyses the role of bosses and supervisors in the Honorarios perception concerning their professional integration.

2.3. THE BOSS ROLE IN THE PROVISION OF RIGHTS

Beyond the trade union strategy deployed by Honorarios, the boss's will plays an essential role in providing benefits99. In observing the respondents discourses, one can assert that benefits are more standardised in ministries and their services than in municipalities. In the central administration, Honorarios have almost the same advantages as civil servants. For instance, holidays, administrative leaves, and medical licences are fundamental rights that most central administration dependencies have transferred to Honorarios. Overtime payment, maternal leave, marriage leave, among other benefits, are not contemplated in such standardisation, and they usually rely on bosses will. Municipalities present different situations since the mayor's will plays a more crucial role in transferring benefits to Honorarios.

99 This research utilises the word benefits instead of rights because, in Honorarios case, they have not been legalised.
Consequently, there is no regularity of labour benefits for Honorarios; exhibiting each municipality a particular situation.

This section analyses the Honorarios perceptions about depending on bosses (mayors or supervisors) and highlights one institution because of its exemplary practice: Recoleta municipality. Although mayors are not entitled to transform benefits to rights, their actions improve the Honorarios situation.

Look, weird rare things happen nowadays because I'm paid here [as Honorarios], but to some extent, there are contrata conditions that are transferred to Honorarios. For instance, the right to holidays, administrative days and leaves. In cases where there have been pregnancies of Honorarios, they have been applied under criteria as if they were contrata.

Male Honorarios, Private elite university (Ministry)

Although there is a tacit agreement to maintain a level of working conditions in ministries and their services, Honorarios see it as fragile since it depends on the boss in force. Moreover, When a government change occurs, Honorarios layoffs increase, and the tacit agreement can override.

[The boss] He can say "no, you are Honorarios, you don't have any right."

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Ministry)

In municipalities, the situation tends to be worse, since in many cases having some labour benefits ends up being a favour granted by the boss.

I believe my boss is empathetic and understanding of our situation [as Honorarios]- Most of the times, she understands when we have a problem, and she says: rest at home.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The respondents characterise their supervisors by their goodwill and kindness. The previous demonstrates the Honorarios precariousness situation, as their labour benefits are at the discretion of one person.

If you got sick, you don't have any right. Fortunately, bosses are thoughtful, and if one gets sick, they will understand.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)
However, it is problematic when the benefits depend on one person instead of being rights. The following woman illustrates a case that maternal leave rested directly with the boss.

I was working at municipality at that time… I had two colleagues that got pregnant. They were Honorarios, like me. They didn't have the right to maternal leave. Up to a week before the birth, they worked. After the birth [of their babies], they had a month to return. But that month was granted by the direct boss. They did a private agreement that remained between them.

Female Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Ministry)

Some respondents tell how some bosses are not comprehensive with their Honorarios employees and do not grant them benefits, showing that bosses criterion cannot be the standard to get Honorarios rights.

Somehow it is an act of faith… when I get sick, and my boss says: don't come [to work]. But many times, that answer "don't come" is relative, because it means that you must anyway work at home.

Male Honorarios, Public elite university (Municipality)

The benefits are left to the mercy of whoever is your direct boss. If you have a boss who is shit, you won't receive anything.

Male Honorarios, Commercial oriented university (Municipality)

The direct boss's role is a fundamental instance in the provision of benefits in municipalities. As long as the political authorities do not decide to change the Honorarios regulation, the only body for doing so ends up being the mayor. Although mayors do not have the power to increase municipal staff and recognise Honorarios as civil servants, they can slightly improve Honorarios conditions.

The mayor made a renewal of the contract. She established clauses thanks to which the Honorarios now have medical leaves, prenatal and postnatal. Even I get paid half of the childcare.

That was one of the reasons I decided to get pregnant. Because before [when there were not benefits] no way.

Female Honorarios, Regional university (Municipality)

One example of good practice is the municipality of Recoleta. In this municipality, its mayor, Daniel Jadue, standardised Honorarios conditions with those of civil servants. Moreover, he supported the creation of the Honorarios trade union of Recoleta. In speaking with some Honorarios from this municipality, they stressed that
they had satisfactory working conditions and the working environment was exceptional. In 2015 (at the time of the fieldwork), Mayor Jadue was in the process of improving the *Honorarios* agreement, as the following respondent narrates.

Here, there is a trade union of *Honorarios* backed by the mayor. They [mayor and trade union] are trying to give the same conditions to *Honorarios* as the contracted workers. Now I have life insurance. I'm going to have bonuses. Before, we didn't have that. We also have the right to holidays. So far these benefits are agreed by talking, but they're trying to leave them stipulated. In that sense, I feel that we are more valued.

Female *Honorarios*, Private elite university (Municipality)

The following year, 18 March 2016, the mayor and the union signed an agreement to improve working *Honorarios* conditions in Recoleta- a historical moment. The arrangement stipulates: "From now on, *Honorarios* will have the right to holidays, annual labour agreements, accidents insurance, administrative days, bonuses, salary readjustment in the same terms as the public sector, training, sick leave, compensatory days, leave for death and birth, childcare and maternal leave, prenatal and postnatal benefits". Moreover, although municipalities are not allowed to increase the number of planta (permanent contract), they can expand contrata modality, as Jadue did. In 2018, the Recoleta's mayor transferred 40% of the *Honorarios* to *contrata* statute.

The professional integration of *Honorarios* depends on various actors as mayors, supervisors, unions, *Honorarios*, and, overall, political authorities. While there is no regulation of the *Honorarios* statute in the public sector, they will no have other option than the bosses' will.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this research, it is possible to arrive at some conclusions that open the debate around common identity factors and collective identity in Honorarios employees' case. I consider it essential to reflect on some aspects observed during this thesis and some of its premises.

One of the first premises is the research question that guided this research: what are the common identity factors among Honorarios employees of the Chilean public sector based on non-recognition experience? In answering this question, I used Axel Honneth's theory as my primary theoretical approach. This author explores the experiences of recognition and denial of them in contemporary society as a form to understand identities. I continue the debate based on Paugam's theory, which permits analysing Honorarios strategies to face precariousness. The common point between both authors is the idea of recognition. In the case of Paugam, protection and recognition allow one to comprehend the social bonds developed by the subjects. Based on these theoretical inputs, I present the following conclusions.

As first observation, I noted an increase in the number of Honorarios employees during the time of democracy in Chile, explained by the state's dismantling process during the previous stage of the military dictatorship. I pointed out that it is in theory, as there is no comprehensive statistical record of human resources in the public sector during that period. To arrive at this hypothesis, I resorted to the information gathered through the experts' interviews. Although I cannot statistically prove the growth from one stage to another, I showed how dismantling the state took place during the second chapter of my research. The main consequence of this process was the enshrinement of the subsidiary role of the state. Consequently, the military government's public policies and subsequent democratic governments relied on the target efficiency principle.

After the transformation of the state, the public sector in Chile has remained reduced. Statistics show that there has been no increase in the number of civil servants. Therefore, in facing citizens demands, the various governments have opted to use Honorarios instead of increasing the public staff. In the first chapter, I analysed the distribution of Honorarios in the public sector, considering central administration
and municipalities. **The most notorious fact is the civil servants called planta has remained stable during democracy, while Honorarios have increased.**

The second chapter addressed the characteristics of Honorarios employees in the public sector. It is a workforce highly qualified, with wages above the Chilean average, and composed of young adults. **A relevant fact is that women earn less money than men.** This chapter also referred to the legal statute of Honorarios employees. The bottom line is the non-recognition of rights defines the Honorarios regulation. All these aspects allowed me to conclude *Honorarios employees are in a precarious situation, which can touch all kind of persons, regardless of their social-educational background.*

In the third chapter, I discussed a hypothesis that emerged from the observations in the research field, which indicates **the respondents' socio-educational background influences the type of work they can access.** In exploring this affirmation, I examined Chilean higher education studies, which suggest higher education in Chile functions as a reproducer of inequalities. Social inequality in Chile is a subject of great academic interest because it is a country characterised by high commercialisation of social services. Regarding Honorarios employees, one can highlight some of the following elements based on this hypothesis:

1. **There is a labour social division in the public sector in the case of Honorarios, with positions with different levels of precariousness associated with them.**
2. **These positions relate to the socio-educational background of the interviewees.**
3. **The social origin position influence respondents' perception of their situation.**

The fourth chapter approached the experience of non-recognition. Although each respondent inhabits this experience from their subjectivity, **there is a common demand for recognition, which operates at labour rights and the symbolic levels.** Some respondents also claim being recognised as civil servants, since they perform as such. Nevertheless, the state and some of the Honorarios colleagues
(planta and contrata) deny them their condition as public employees. These aspects influence the fears and projections that the interviewees have for their future.

In chapter five, I analysed the strategies that Honorarios develop to face their labour precariousness situation, which rely on three lines: family, self, and trade unions. The family line of action accounts for compensating the absence of the state in social services provisions and rights—the strategies based on the self, address mercantile logics since Honorarios situation leaves no other option. The third line of action concerns the trade unions formation. Although there is a favourable view among the interviewees about unions at the society level, it is not necessarily an expanded strategy involving Honorarios. When analysing the tactics on the floor, I observe that the boss’s will, on many occasions, plays a fundamental role in the provision of labour benefits. All these Honorarios lines of actions against precariousness show some common identity factors. In gathering their subjectivities, they share a common bond of struggle.

As an input, this research opened a debate around the difference between the common identity and its construction. While there are some shared identity factors among Honorarios, the study shows several differences between them, leading one questioning about the level of the identity construction process of Honorarios. Therefore, how is it possible to think of a collective actor beyond sharing some common factors?

In Honorarios case, one observes the common factor among them is assessing their labour situation as unfair since the state does not recognise them as civil servants (symbolically and rights). In this sense, it is possible to conclude that there is a common germ in the experience of non-recognition as a source of identity. However, when individual ways of inhabiting the experience of non-recognition are analysed, essential differences are observed that call into question the collective identity constitution.

One of the most significant differences is that precariousness is inhabited and confronted differently according to Honorarios socio-educational background. Honorarios with a higher social origin, have better positions in the social division of labour and wages, allowing them tackling precariousness more comfortably and
distantly. Although they share the moral feeling of injustice concerning the Honorarios situation, they feel distant from instability, less fear of facing the future. They are also better positioned to develop individual strategies as saving, buying a house, among others. In the case of Honorarios from lower positions, precariousness is much more problematic, suffering injustice in their daily lives: not paying contributions, not having their salary for Christmas, fear of being fired, etc.

Another critical difference appears in terms of gender. For women in their childbearing-age, the Honorarios statute is much more punishing and riskier; a problem shared by most respondents women regardless of social origin.

One more type of difference observed in the ways of inhabiting precariousness is found in age. For younger Honorarios the apprehensions are not the same for their more senior colleagues, who have families and other concerns. Younger Honorarios do not see their statute as troubling since the future seems far for them.

However, can the mentioned differences prevent the constitution of collective identity? Not from my point of view, because there is the source of shared identity, which is to suffer the experience of non-recognition and which the vast majority evaluate as an unfair situation. Although there are indeed essential differences in inhabiting the precariousness among the Honorarios, those can channel in common interests, by having the same source and feeling of injustice. According to my theoretical premises, one must consider these individual differences when thinking about a collective actor's identity constitution. Knowing them, allows the individuals to decide freely and voluntarily to articulate their differences in a common struggle. Assuming the differences, lead to individuals identifying with the group an see the injustices that others suffer.

By observing the Honorarios' strategies, it is possible to conclude some aspects regarding articulating common interests. Unions are emerging, so there is an interest in becoming a collective actor. Although union strategy is not yet fully expanded, there is a positive attitude towards it. Individual and family tactics, and differences between Honorarios, are elements to consider in defining their future negotiations and recruiting more members into the unions.
Finally, I can say that the study that I present today as my doctoral thesis constitutes a contribution to labour studies in Chile. My research tackles a new subject, innovatively. The application of different analysis techniques opens the possibility of taking as a basis the results delivered here for future research. Some possible research lines are the following.

The first line is there is a reproduction of social inequality at the labour level, where individuals access specific jobs depending on their social-educational background. A second aspect interesting to address in labour studies is how subjects inhabit their experiences of non-recognition in all its dimensions since it appears as a transverse element in society. One of the conclusions of this study is precariousness is a phenomenon that affects all types of workers. Although Honorarios are public employees with high qualifications, they face high levels of instability. The experience of non-recognition makes it possible to tackle the problem of contemporary job insecurity.

Another line of research is the role of families in combating precarious employment. This type of strategy appears in societies where the state is absent in social matters—family counts in workers' lives and recognising its members. Finally, I would like to highlight as a line of research the experience of non-recognition in women's specific case. In this dissertation, one observes how job insecurity affected women in a particular form. They suffer from the denial of rights and their social esteem; by becoming mothers, they risk losing their jobs. Woman are the ones who rely more on the family to face precariousness. Therefore, the women non-recognition experience opens a new line of research to approach their situation.

During these five-years of doctoral work, I discovered different ways of approaching a subject of study. The research job has become part of my academic and personal interests. With this study, I hope to improve Honorarios conditions in the Chilean public sector, who have suffered the denial of rights and social recognition because of political reasons. I expect my research inputs to serve to the incipient Honorarios trade union movement by revealing victims' precarious situation.
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ANNEXES

ANNEXE N°1: THE METHODOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES TO ADDRESS THE STUDY SUBJECT

To address the analysis and research techniques, I have decided to divide the presentation into three parts, which follow a chronological order. Because it is a chronological distribution, each stage does not contain the same depth in the analysis techniques. I present these stages as follows:

1. The collection of background information before the fieldwork.

The antecedents that allowed me to develop my investigation divided into two crucial moments.

   The first moment comes from my participation in Honorarios employees’ union, ATHONO (association of Honorarios workers) during 2013. This union developed a series of research materials, and I oversaw this. As part of the research exercises, I conducted a discussion group in 2013, with an open-ended guideline. Six people participated in this discussion group. As a union, we drafted a presentation document, including the conclusions of the discussion group. This exercise allowed me to understand that there were common elements in Honorarios employees linked to a need for recognition.

   The second background phase took place at the end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015. At this stage, I conducted interviews with experts with three purposes:

   1. To address the issue of identity in the world of work.
   2. To know the legal statute of Honorarios employees.
   3. To understand the empirical background of this group of workers.

   Table below shows the distribution of the experts consulted and the contributions I obtained from these interviews.
The interviews with experts gave me the first theoretical and empirical foundations to improve my research proposal. Thanks to the information collected in this phase, I was able to design a theoretical proposal according to my thesis's objectives, placing the experience of non-recognition as the basis for the understanding of identity. I was also able to deepen my knowledge of the various aspects involved in Honorarios employees' precariousness in the public sector concerning legal and statistical issues.

2. Statistical work as a context for qualitative analysis.

The second stage of data collection and analysis took place between 2016 and 2018. This stage constitutes the statistical analysis of my research, which allowed me to contextualise the subsequent qualitative study. There are three moments in this analysis, each including a different source of information. The second moment is the
most complex. It corresponds to an investigation carried out in 2016. The statistics produced at this stage are descriptive and were analysed based on the SPSS computer program. For the generation of graphics, I used the computer program excel.

The first moment is an analysis based on official statistics, which indicates the number of workers within the central administration's public sector (the source of information is online at the DIPRES website -Directorate of Budgets, Government of Chile). DIPRES generates annual statistics on the distribution of human resources in Chile. Based on the report it prepares each year, I built my database. I made comparative data from this database considering the three types of employees in the public sector (contrata, planta and Honorarios).

The second moment of statistical analysis was constructing a characterisation of Honorarios employees in the public sector. To arrive at the production of these data, I conducted a review of various databases that include Honorarios in the public sector. In this search, I only found one with a statistically relevant sample addressing the Honorarios issue. This NENE survey contains a specific module on wages, which was crucial in producing some data on Honorarios employees’ characterisation.

NENE survey has been carried out annually by the National Statistics Institute since 1996. However, it is only from 2010 that this survey introduces methodological adjustments, which allow me to address the issue of Honorarios. This survey aims to establish employment and unemployment indicators at the national level and characterisation of working conditions. It applies to a total of 36,000 households throughout the country. The data produced by this survey has quarterly results.

To produce the data for my research, I used the quarter October-December base of the years 2010, 2013 and 2015. The questionnaire used in these periods is the same, so I was able to make the comparison. With the database for each quarter, I established a filter using the computational program SPSS to generate data concerning public sector Honorarios employees.

The third moment of data collection corresponds to the compilation of figures around the municipalities and unions of Honorarios employees in Chile. In
municipalities, I use the official information from the SINIM-Municipal National Information System page and the Chilean Internal Revenue Service (SII). However, the sociologist Eduardo Toro carried out collecting data and generated statistics for the National Union of Honorarios employees. These data come from 2014, and they have been not updated. Regarding Honorarios employees' unions, I obtained the data thanks to the same professional, who collected the information through the Chilean Labour office (Dirección del Trabajo).

3. Qualitative analysis. The development of in-depth interviews.

The third moment of information production corresponds to the qualitative phase. The instrument to produce the information is a questionnaire that deals with various topics about Honorarios employees in the Chilean public sector (see annexe Nº2). This questionnaire is a semi-structured in-depth interview. A questionnaire of these characteristics is defined as a pattern of equally ordered and written questions for all interviewees but the open-ended or free answer (Canales, 2006). This information-gathering technique allows the interviewer to develop empathy with the interviewee, a necessary step to gather information linked to the actors' subjectivity. The in-depth interview allows one to know descriptions, points of view, analysis, feelings, perceptions, stories of processes and experiences that are part of the subjects' experience (Gainza, 2006). For these reasons, I chose the semi-structured in-depth interview as the primary method of data collection. It is the most appropriate technique to address, from individuals' subjectivity, their experiences of non-recognition.

To design this questionnaire, I based myself on my previous work in the union I was part of, where I made the first focus group. I also discussed the questions to be included with my supervisor, Professor Kronauer. To validate this instrument, I made three pre-tests via skype.

To apply the questionnaire, I designed a sample of 60 participants, as the following table shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Administration</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Administration</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interviews I conducted in late 2015 and early 2016 took place in Santiago and Valparaiso’s cities. I approached respondents using the "snowball" method, which consists of a "word of mouth", passing similar subject information.

To analyse the information collected through the interviews, I used the technique "discourse analysis", which allows one to analyse the data from a reorganisation and resignification of the agents' speeches (Canales, 2013). This technique produces "knowledge from the text itself, because it sees it with its own significant materiality, with a semantic thickness: it conceives its discursity" (Orlandini, 2012, p. 24).

This technique allows me to approach the interviewees' discourse as a text that has its meanings, within the social context in which the respondents are inserted. The reorganisation and resignification of speeches worked in two senses. On the one hand, the analysis of discourse allows me to approach the dimensions that I have considered to accomplish my investigation. On the other hand, the resignification of the discourses gives me new dimensions not previously considered.
ANNEXE N°2: GUIDELINE INTERVIEW

My name is Juana Torres, I am a doctoral student at Kassel University, Germany. This interview is part of my doctoral job. It is a conversation not a survey; therefore, there are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to answer as you like; it is an anonymous interview and his/her name will not appear associated to any study or publication. Thank you very much for your time.

1. **Topic: Identity**

   - Firstly, I want to start for you. You can tell me something about you? Who is “Juana”? (the name of the interviewed)
   - How do you feel about your current life? Are you satisfied? do you feel fulfilled?

2. **Topic: working place and how did the person arrived there**

   - Tell me about your current job. Could you describe it in a wide manner? What is about your job? How did you arrive here? What kind of contract do you have? Is the first time working as Honorarios? How do you feel about having this contract? Do you think there are better contracts?
   - What job did you have before?
   - Do you project yourself in this job? Which expectations of growing/promotion do you have?
   - Do you feel your current job give you enough free time to do another important activities outside working hours?

3. **Topic: Working for the State**

   - How would you describe the place where you work for?
   - What kind of good or bad things would you consider of working here? (Relevance of working for the public, wages, etc.)
   - If you could choose, would you change your current job? If is so, which job? Where?
   - When you were younger, did you imagine of having a job like this one? ¿Why?
   - Do you feel your labor is valued? Do you feel valued yourself at work?
4. **Topic: Social relationships inside labor**

- How is the relationship with your co-workers? How do you feel with them?
- Do you feel everybody is equal inside your job? If is not, how would you describe the differences? Why do you perceive them?
- Do you think there is a hierarchy inside your job?
- Are there person who you would prefer to link to? Are there persons who you won’t prefer to link to? Who? Why?

5. **Topic: Social relationships outside labor**

- During your free time, which are your favorite activities? With whom do you do these activities?
- Are you involve in some collective association? (football team, salsa course, music group) Why do you participate?/ Why you don’t participate?
- How would you describe your social life outside job?

6. **Topic: Origins and closer social relationships**

- Could you tell me about your family in general? Your parents? Brothers? Sisters?
- If you could compare, would you say your currently is in a better or worse situation tan your parents? Why?
- In general, thinking about people around you, do you think you are in better/worse situation tan them? (Friends, brothers and sisters, neighbors, anyone that comes out from the interviewed)
- Do you have children? (no/yes) if you have children, do you think they would be in a better/worse situation than you? Which dreams do you have for your children?