

VOLUNTARY TEACHER WORK AT HIGHER EDUCATION: PRECARIOUSNESS OF WORK CONDITIONS IN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL AND CHILE¹

TRABALHO DOCENTE VOLUNTÁRIO NA EDUCAÇÃO SUPERIOR: PRECARIZAÇÃO DAS CONDIÇÕES DE TRABALHO NA ARGENTINA, BRASIL E CHILE

TRABAJO DOCENTE VOLUNTARIO EN LA ENSEÑANZA SUPERIOR: PRECARIZACIÓN DE LAS CONDICIONES DE TRABAJO EN ARGENTINA, BRASIL Y CHILE

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ABSTRACT: Teaching work has undergone profound transformations resulting from successive and overlapping educational reforms promoted in higher education in recent decades, which seek to meet the requirements of capitalism. In this process, the emergence and / or growth of volunteer teaching work has been verified. This fact has driven studies on this theme. This article offers a contribution in this regard, exposing the experience of this type of work in three countries: Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Based on a literature review, the exploratory study that gave rise to this article included interviews with professors from these countries. The guiding assumption of the study takes voluntary teaching work as a contribution, among many, to the precariousness and intensification of teaching work in universities. The interviews pointed out elements that ratify this assumption and show the need for broadening and deepening theoretical research on the subject and its articulation with the transformations of work in general, in contemporary capitalism.

KEYWORDS: Voluntary teacher work. Precariousness. Higher education. Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

RESUMO: *O trabalho docente tem passado por profundas transformações resultantes de sucessivas e imbricadas reformas educativas promovidas na educação superior nas últimas décadas, que buscam atender requerimentos do capitalismo. Nesse processo tem-se verificado o surgimento e/ou crescimento do trabalho docente voluntário. Tal fato tem impulsionado estudos sobre essa temática. Esse artigo oferece uma contribuição nesse sentido, expondo a experiência desse tipo de trabalho em três países: Argentina, Brasil e Chile. Partindo de*

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revisão de literatura, o estudo de caráter exploratório que originou este artigo contou com entrevistas com professores desses países. O pressuposto orientador do estudo toma o trabalho docente voluntário como um contributo, dentre tantos, para a precarização e a intensificação do trabalho docente nas universidades. As entrevistas apontaram elementos que ratificam tal pressuposto e evidenciam a necessidade de ampliação e aprofundamento teórico de investigações sobre a temática e sua articulação às transformações do trabalho em geral, no capitalismo contemporâneo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Trabalho docente voluntário. Precarização. Educação superior. Argentina, Brasil e Chile.

RESUMEN: *El trabajo docente tiene pasado por profundas transformaciones resultantes de sucesivas y imbricadas reformas educacionales promovidas en la enseñanza superior en las últimas décadas, que buscan atender requisitos del capitalismo. En ese proceso pódense verificar el surgimiento y/o crecimiento del trabajo docente voluntario. Tal facto tiene conducido estudios acerca de esa temática. Ese artículo ofrece una contribución en ese sentido, exponiendo a la experiencia de ese tipo de trabajo en tres países: Argentina, Brasil y Chile. Partiendo de una revisión de la literatura, el estudio de carácter exploratorio que ha originado ese artículo contó con entrevistas con profesores de esos países. El presupuesto orientador de ese artículo toma el trabajo docente voluntario como una contribución, entre tantas, para la precarización y la intensificación del trabajo docente en las universidades. Las entrevistas apuntaran elementos que ratificaron tal presupuesto y evidenciaran a la necesidad de ampliación y profundización teórica de investigaciones acerca de la temática y de su articulación con las transformaciones del trabajo en general, en el capitalismo contemporáneo.*

PALABRAS-CLAVE: Trabajo docente voluntario. Precarización. Enseñanza superior. Argentina, Brasil y Chile.

Introduction

In the midst of a process of capitalist restructuring that has expanded in recent decades in an attempt to respond to a deep global economic and political crisis (BERNARDO, 1991), successive and overlapping reforms in Higher Education have been promoted in several countries to adjust it to the new capital requirements (SILVA JUNIOR, 2017).

Such university reforms, guided by international organizations and assumed as a commitment by the heads of state of several countries, have been studied by several authors (SILVA; ANDRADE, 2016; FERREIRA, 2015), which reveal the context in which they are inserted, the project in implementation, its meaning, some of its consequences and challenges, among others.

In Brazil, the cuts in funding for higher education, privatization, commodification, productivism, precariousness and intensification of teaching work, the disruption of careers and

the exclusive dedication regime, the loss of labor and social security rights, outsourcing, the illness of teachers, struggles for public and free university are some of the themes already addressed in the literature of the area (RHODEN; BOLZAN, 2019; CABRALES SALAZAR, 2018; FERRO; SILVA, 2017; MOREIRA; SILVA, 2017; KRAWULSKIL *et al.*, 2017; KRAWULSKIL; RIBEIRO, 2013; GUIMARÃES; SOARES; CASAGRANDE, 2012; SGUISSARDI; SILVA JÚNIOR, 2009).

Thus, in Brazil, the successive attacks on higher education since the 1990s have increased and intensified since 2004 and, especially, since 2016, with the rise of Temer followed by Bolsonaro to the federal government. Constitutional Amendment no. 95/2016, which limited public spending on education and health for twenty years, among other bottlenecks in the budgets of federal higher education institutions (FHEI), plays a key role in this process, as it strangles outdated budgets FHEI and forces the exit by privatization.

In this complex scenario, the emergence and/or growth of the figure of the volunteer teacher in Brazilian public universities has been observed.

The voluntary teaching work in these institutions is being widely disseminated under the argument that there are demands for teachers to continue at FHEI, in support of teaching and research activities, among others. However, this type of work seems to be contributing a lot to the expansion of the precariousness of teaching work in the area of education.

The approval of Resolution no. 02, 11 of September 2018, of the National Council of Education (CNE) and the Ministry of Education (MEC), gives more strength to this process, as it affects even more the intellectual work of teachers, especially in federal public universities. This Resolution established guidelines for the modality of voluntary work in basic and higher education, which has already been used in public universities based on Law no. 9,608/1998, approved by the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. According to Article 1 of this Law, voluntary service is considered to be unpaid activity provided by an individual to a public entity of any nature or to a private non-profit institution that has civic, cultural, educational, scientific, recreational or social or assistance to the person objectives.

Voluntary service does not create an employment relationship, nor does it have a social security or similar obligation. The figure of the volunteer professor in public universities is also supported by specific resolutions of each FHEI and is, once again, endorsed by the MEC in Resolution No. 02/2018.

The literature review carried out revealed motivations that mobilize the volunteer teacher to (re)invest in the teaching career after retirement. In general, this option is the result

of an intertwining of projects and experiences lived in the career path and professional trajectory, which are linked together, forming a web of meanings, present in the entire professional cycle, which is updated, expanding new modes, times and conditions (RHODEN; BOLZAN, 2019; KRAWULSKIL *et al.*, 2017; KRAWULSKIL; RIBEIRO, 2013; GUIMARAES; SOARES; CASAGRANDE, 2012; RIVIERA, 2012; RIBEIRO; SMEHA, 2009; BOSI, 2007) .

In this sense, the aim of this article was to discuss the characteristics of this type of work in three countries in Latin America: Argentina, Brazil and Chile. It was assumed that voluntary work is one of the characteristic elements of the precarious conditions of work and employment of teachers in public universities and, at the same time, leads to its deepening, with a view to achieving the precise objectives of governments and entrepreneurs.

As for the methodology, we opted for exploratory research with a qualitative approach organized in two stages. The first consisted of a literature review in order to verify how the theme was approached in the three countries, and its results enabled knowledge of aspects of the reality of volunteer teaching work in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The second stage aimed at conducting a semi-structured interview with three teachers, one from each country. The interviews were conducted from a common script, containing identification data and twelve questions.

It was intended to show in this article how the voluntary teaching work in higher education in the countries surveyed is carried out in the current way, how it is constituted, under what arguments, and how the interviewees perceive this type of work.

The expectation is that the present article will contribute in some way to the debate on the theme and open new questions about this type of work, about public policies in education as a whole, about the ongoing transformations in society, and ways of confronting challenges posed to the working class in this regressive framework of social, labor and social security rights that plagues the planet.

Volunteer Teaching Work in the perception of the interviewed teachers

This topic presents the most significant excerpts from the answers given to the study questions. The objective of the interviews was to capture the context in which volunteer work in general and teaching emerged in each country; how it was standardized nationally and in public universities; how it takes place in teaching practice; and how it has been perceived by the teachers interviewed. For that, university professors from three countries were invited, with

an intellectual profile critical to society and public policies in education, located in different stages of the teaching trajectory, being two active teachers, with experience for more than 10 years of teaching practice; and a retired professor with 27 years of work at the university.

The Argentine experience was portrayed by Adriana Graciela Migliavacca, Adjunct Professor at the National University of Lujan, in Ordinary work regime with exclusive dedication, and had 10 years and 5 months of work at the university. Master in Politics and Management of Education (UNLu), graduated from Education Sciences.

For the Chilean experience, the interviewee was Felipe Andres Zurita Garrido, Professor and Researcher at the School of Pedagogy in History and Social Sciences, at the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, effective professor, who has 12 years of work at the university. PhD in Education (UFMG), graduated in History and Social Sciences. In Brazil, the interview was conducted with Antonio Julio de Menezes Neto, Full Professor at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, post-doctor in Education (UFRJ) and in Development, Agriculture and Society (UFRRJ), graduated in Social Sciences, on a work of exclusive dedication, retired for eight months that, currently, performs the voluntary work (P1⁴).

When asked about the **meaning of volunteer work in general** (P2), the interviewees presented answers that point out some common and other singular aspects. What is noteworthy is the fact that it constitutes unpaid work, which can be carried out both in workplaces themselves, as well as in political, religious, philanthropic, cultural activities, etc. For Felipe, voluntary work in Chile is understood

In relation to two conditions: 1) as the work done by a person who does not receive a salary in exchange for doing it and 2) as that type of work done willingly, motivated by some interest in addition to earning a salary, which could be of a different nature: status; religious; political; cultural; supportive; among others. In this way, I understand volunteer work as a phenomenon that breaks with the more general situation of the relation between someone who buys and someone who sells work. At a different level, voluntary work, in some cases, can also be a more or less mandatory way to access a salaried work situation, directly or indirectly.⁵

Antonio Julio, in turn, highlighted the theme in Brazil and states that

⁴ “The respondents' answers to the questions in the interview script were added throughout the text by the content, followed by the letter P and its respective number.”

⁵ *en relación a dos condiciones: 1) como el trabajo realizado por una persona que no recibe un salario a cambio de la realización del mismo y 2) como aquel trabajo realizado por la propia voluntad, motivado por algún interés distinto a la obtención de un salario que podría ser de diversa naturaleza: estatus; religioso; político; cultural; solidario; entre otros. De esta forma, entiendo al trabajo voluntario como un fenómeno que rompe con la situación más genérica de relación entre alguien que compra y alguien que vende trabajo. En un nivel distinto, el trabajo voluntario en algunos casos también sea una vía más o menos obligatoria para acceder a una situación de trabajo asalariado, de manera directa o indirecta*

*In our capitalist society, voluntary work could exist in activities of citizenship, militancy, totally philanthropic or temporary work in situations of calamity. For example, work in political parties or unions, with management positions for a limited time or work in social actions linked, for example, to church activities for vulnerable populations.*⁶

Antônio Julio draws attention, however, to the fact that in the latter case, “[...] public work by the state must be the main activity and workers must be paid. For this reason, voluntary work is not a substitute for paid work. In capitalism, the worker sells his workforce, which is already exploited, to another”⁷.

Adriana addressed the issue in Argentina, for her, in the same sense as the previous interviewees, admits that “[...] in certain circumstances, it can be carried out within the scope of some political or social activism activity that outlines a commitment to the needs of the most vulnerable sectors. neglected society”⁸.

However, it draws attention to the fact that it constitutes an element of precarious work and access to it. In his words:

*[...] in many cases, it is a figure that promotes or motivates precarious working conditions. In many situations and in certain activities, it can constitute a perverse mechanism for access to any labor field, or to add some valued formation in the personal curriculum vitae. In this sense, it is important to keep in mind that this is a form of work that can deepen the unequal conditions of access to certain professional fields. The idea of a volunteer hides that, most likely, nobody chooses to work without receiving any remuneration.*⁹

As for the existence and functioning of voluntary teaching work in the country (P3), the responses of the interviewees show that, although under different names, this type of work is present in universities, including state public ones. While respondents from Argentina and Brazil responded positively, finding its emergence in national regulations in the 1990s and

⁶ *Em nossa sociedade capitalista, trabalho voluntário poderia existir em atividades de cidadania, militância, trabalhos totalmente filantrópicos ou temporários em situações de calamidade. Por exemplo, trabalhos em partidos políticos ou sindicatos, com cargos de direção por tempo limitado ou trabalho em ações sociais vinculados, por exemplo, a atividades de igrejas para com as populações vulneráveis.*

⁷ “[...] o trabalho público, do estado, deve ser a principal atividade e os trabalhadores devem ser remunerados. Por isto, o trabalho voluntário não substitui o trabalho remunerado. No capitalismo, o trabalhador vende sua força de trabalho, que já é explorada, a outro”

⁸ “[...] en determinadas circunstancias, puede llegar a realizarse en el marco de alguna actividad de militancia política o social que se traza algún compromiso con las necesidades de los sectores más postergados de la sociedad”

⁹ *[...] en muchos casos, es una figura que promueve o motoriza la precarización de las condiciones de trabajo. En muchas ocasiones, y en determinadas actividades, puede constituirse en un mecanismo perverso para el acceso a algún campo laboral, o para sumar algún antecedente valorado en el curriculum vitae personal. En este sentido, es importante tener presente que es una forma de trabajo que puede profundizar las desiguales condiciones de acceso a ciertos campos profesionales. La idea voluntario esconde que, muy probablemente, nadie elija trabajar sin percibir remuneración alguna*

2000s, the Chilean said that this is not regular work in their country, although it is presented in regulations of higher education institutions since the beginning of the 1980s, in the figure of the *ad-honorem* professor.

Antônio Júlio states simply and categorically that in Brazil the voluntary teaching work “Unfortunately, it exists in public universities”. Felipe replies that national legislation does not regulate voluntary work in basic education and it is not common.

Voluntary teaching is not a regulated issue in Chile. In the case of Teachers of Elementary and Secondary Education in the Public Sector, their activity is regulated by Law no. 19,070 Statute for Education Professionals (promulgated on 27/06/1999) and by Law no. 20,903 on Teacher Professional Development (promulgated on 04/04/2016). Voluntary work is not considered in these legal bodies. In the case of Teachers from Elementary and Secondary Education in the Private Sector, their activity is regulated by Decree with Force of Law no. 1 Labor Code (promulgated on 31 July, 2002) and by Law no. 20,903 on Teacher Professional Development (promulgated in 4 March, 2016). In these legal bodies, voluntary work is not considered.¹⁰

However, says Felipe, voluntary work regulated for higher education in the figure of the professor *ad-honorem* is common in Public and Private Higher Education Institutions.

*In the case of Teachers working in Higher Education in the Public Sector, they have the status of Public Officials and their activity is regulated by Decree with Force of Law no. 29, which systematizes the Administrative Statute (promulgated on 16/06/2004) and by the regulations that each State University establishes for itself. In the Decree with Force of Law no. 29, the question of voluntary work is not considered. However, in the regulations that originated in the context of each State University, it was possible to identify a space for voluntary work. This is the case of University Regulation no. 553, called the Academic Staff Regulation Ad Honorem of the University of Chile, promulgated on 25 January, 1982 in the middle of the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Such Regulation continues to be used, for example, at the College of Law of the University of Chile, where recently it continues to make calls to Academic Competitions that consider the figure of voluntary or *ad-honorem* work. In an Academic Contest at the beginning of the year 2020 of the aforementioned Academic Unit, 14 Regular Academic Positions and 10 *Ad-honorem* Academic Positions were called, establishing that they had 6 hours of work per week and that they would be mainly oriented to support Teaching activities. This figure of work resembles that of Assistant Professor Work. In the case of Teachers working in Higher Education in the Private Sector, their activity is regulated by Decree with Force of Law no. 1 Labor*

¹⁰ *El trabajo docente voluntario no es una figura regular en Chile. En el caso de las y los Profesores de Educación Básica y Educación Media del Sector Público tienen su actividad regulada por la Ley N° 19.070 Estatuto de Profesionales de la Educación (promulgada el 27.06.1990) y por la Ley N° 20.903 de Desarrollo Profesional Docente (promulgada el 04.03.2016). En estos cuerpos legales no se considera el trabajo voluntario. En el caso de las y los Profesores de Educación Básica y Educación Media del Sector Privado tienen su actividad regulada por el Decreto con Fuerza de Ley N° 1 Código del Trabajo (promulgado el 31.07.2002) y por la Ley N° 20.903 de Desarrollo Profesional Docente (promulgada el 04.03.2016). En estos cuerpos legales no se considera el trabajo voluntario*

Code (promulgated on 31 July, 2002). In this legal body, voluntary work is not considered. In addition to what has been said previously, a common ad-honorem workspace for Public and Private Higher Education Institutions is the Assistant Professor Job. This work consists of an activity of support to the Teacher responsible for the Chair and to the Students participating in it.¹¹

Felipe clarifies what the Assistant Professor¹² is, his activities, who can occupy this position, how he is recognized in universities and what they aspire to:

[...] Collaborates in different types of activities in a Course or Discipline: in the activities of Teaching, in the preparation of assessments, in making advices to Students, among others. The Assistant Professor can be a Regular Student at the University who performs this function in parallel to his Undergraduate or Postgraduate Studies, as well as a Professional already graduated who performs work functions both within the University and outside it. Regarding the performance of Assistant Professor activities, what changes in relation to each University is that the Assistant may or may not receive a salary for his activities. In any case, carrying out the activity of Assistant Professor is something that is recognized as an important formative activity in the context of the University Academic Career, in fact, it is often considered as a gateway to it, which continues later in the conclusion of the postgraduate studies.¹³

¹¹ *En el caso de los Profesores que trabajan en la Educación Superior en el Sector Público tienen la condición de Empleados Públicos y su actividad está regulada por el Decreto con Fuerza de Ley N° 29 que sistematiza al Estatuto Administrativo (promulgado el 16.06.2004) y por regulaciones internas que cada Universidad Estatal construye para sí misma. En el Decreto con Fuerza de Ley N° 29 no se considera la figura del trabajo voluntario. No obstante, en las reglamentaciones que se han originado en el contexto de cada Universidad Estatal fue posible identificar un espacio para el trabajo voluntario. Este es el caso del Reglamento Universitario N° 553 denominado Reglamento del Personal Académico Ad Honorem de la Universidad de Chile promulgado el 25 de Enero de 1982 en plena Dictadura Cívico Militar. Dicho Reglamento sigue siendo utilizado, por ejemplo, en la Facultad Derecho Universidad de Chile, donde de forma reciente se continúa haciendo convocatorias a Concursos Académicos que consideran la figura del trabajo voluntario o ad-honorem. En un Concurso Académico de inicios del año 2020 de dicha Unidad Académica se convocaba a 14 Cargos Académicos Regulares y 10 Cargos Académicos ad-honorem, estableciendo que tienen 6 horas de trabajo semanal asociado y se encuentran mayoritariamente orientadas al apoyo de las actividades de Docencia. Esta figura de trabajo se asemeja a la del Trabajo de Ayudantes de Cátedra. En el caso de los Profesores que trabajan en la Educación Superior en el Sector Privado tienen su actividad regulada por el Decreto con Fuerza de Ley N° 1 Código del Trabajo (promulgado el 31.07.2002). En este cuerpo legal no se considera el trabajo voluntario. Más allá de lo señalado anteriormente, un espacio de trabajo ad-honorem común para las Instituciones de Educación Superior Públicas y Privadas es el Trabajo de Ayudante de Cátedra. Este trabajo consiste en una actividad de apoyo al/la Docente responsable de la Cátedra y a las y los Estudiantes participantes de la misma.*

¹² Ayudante de Cátedra.

¹³ *[...] colabora en diferentes tipos de actividades al interior de un Curso o Disciplina: en las actividades de Docencia, en la elaboración de evaluaciones, en la realización de asesorías a las y los Estudiantes, entre otras. El Ayudante de Cátedra puede ser un Estudiante Regular de la Universidad que realiza esta función de forma paralela a sus Estudios de Pregrado o Posgrado, como así también, puede ser un Profesional ya titulado que ejerce funciones laborales tanto dentro como fuera de la Universidad. A propósito de la realización de las actividades de Ayudante de Cátedra, el o la Ayudante puede o no recibir un salario por sus actividades, lo que varía de Universidad en Universidad. De todas formas, la realización de la actividad de Ayudante de Cátedra es algo que es reconocido como una actividad formativa importante en el contexto de la Carrera Académica Universitaria, de hecho, se considera muchas veces como un canal de ingreso a la misma que continúa con posterioridad en la realización de Estudios de Posgrado*

Adopting another line of reasoning, Felipe problematizes the existence of this type of work in Chilean higher education, providing data on this level of teaching and the precariousness of teaching work in the institutions, which maintains precarious, temporary labor ties, without legal protection and without seniority; vacation; medical leave; among other rights. According to Felipe,

[...] Perhaps the image of voluntary or ad honorem work in Teaching Work in Higher Education is not fully necessary, considering that there is a type of organization in which a large number of male and female teachers have a precarious link with the Institutions. In the case of Universities it is very striking, since there are currently 59 Universities: 18 Federal and 41 Private which jointly employ 73,109 male and female teachers. Of this total, 14,492 Professors work in 2 or more Universities. Likewise, a total of 29,920 have less than 11 hours of work hired during the week. These data reflect the figure of the employment bond to Fees, which corresponds to a bond for which the Teacher performs in a course or Discipline in a semester and the University pays him exclusively for the hours of work performed in this Course or Discipline. This type of employment relationship is widespread in the University System and implies that this profile of teachers develop precarious employment relationships, limited in time, without legal protection (it is not considered seniority; it is not considered vacation payment; it is not considered sick leave; etc.) and it is obviously convenient for Universities from an economic point of view, given that, in addition to the savings already mentioned, Teachers who work by the hour carry out other activities that are not considered in the payment made, namely: participation in meetings; participation in academic committees of various types and with emphasis on the quality evaluation processes of Universities and Academic Programs of Undergraduate and Postgraduate courses associated with Accreditation; preparation of teaching activities; feedback to students outside of school hours, among others.¹⁴.

¹⁴ [...] quizás la figura del trabajo voluntario o trabajo ad honorem en el Trabajo Docente en la Educación Superior no es del todo necesaria, puesto que existe un tipo de organización del mismo en que un número masivo de Profesoras y Profesores tienen un vínculo precario con las Instituciones. El caso de las Universidades es muy llamativo, puesto que actualmente existen 59 Universidades: 18 Estatales y 41 Privadas que emplean en conjunto a cerca de 73.109 Profesoras y Profesores. De este total cerca de 14.492 Docentes trabajan en 2 o más Universidades. Del mismo total cerca de 29.920 tienen menos de 11 horas de trabajo contratadas a la semana y cerca de 18.776 tienen entre 11 y 23 horas de trabajo contratadas a la semana. Estos datos reflejan la figura del vínculo laboral a Honorarios, que corresponde a un vínculo por el cual el o la Docente desarrolla un Curso o Disciplina en un Semestre y la Universidad le paga exclusivamente las horas de trabajo asociadas a la realización de ese Curso o Disciplina. Esta tipología de vínculo laboral está ampliamente extendida en el Sistema Universitario e implica que ese perfil de Profesoras y Profesores desarrollen vínculos laborales precarios, acotados en el tiempo, sin protección jurídica (no se considera antigüedad; no considera el pago de vacaciones; no considera licencias médicas; etc.) y es evidentemente conveniente para las Universidades desde el punto de vista económico, puesto que, además de los ahorros ya mencionados, las y los Docentes que trabajan a Honorarios realizan otras actividades que no están consideradas en el pago realizado, a saber: participación en reuniones; participación en comisiones académicas de diversa naturaleza y con destaque en los procesos de evaluación de la calidad de Universidades y Programas Académicos de Pregrado y Posgrado asociado a la Acreditación; preparación de las actividades de Docencia; retroalimentación a Estudiantes fuera del horario de clase; entre otras

Felipe draws attention to the effects of this type of precarious link and cites the publication by Cantillana and Portilla (2019) as a reference for dimensioning them. However, it highlights the naturalization of this situation. In his words: “The situation of this Teacher profile is complex and extensive; therefore, its existence is assumed to be normal in the scenario of Chilean Universities”¹⁵. Felipe also stresses that teachers, in the absence of unions in the category, seek to organize themselves collectively to defend their demands: “In view of the absence of a National Union of University Teachers, in some large Universities this profile of Teachers has advanced until the organization of Teachers' Unions for Fees in order to carry out their own guidelines within their institutions”¹⁶.

As in Chile and Brazil, Adriana informs that voluntary teaching work exists in formal Argentine education at the university level. She states that it occurs in different forms, and is also developed through projects and foundations:

*I have no information about its current existence at other educational levels in the formal system. It exists, in many forms, in various projects carried out by social organizations or foundations. I understand that the regulatory scope is the law of voluntary work, since within this regulation, educational activities are contemplated. I do not have quantitative information in the case of volunteer teaching work at a general level.*¹⁷.

Adriana clarifies the existence in the Argentine state universities of a national norm called “collective work agreement for university professors”, which establishes the teaching categories, but draws attention to the fact that not all universities adhered to it, and are guided by its own statutes. This is the case of the main university in the country, the University of Buenos Aires (UBA).

At the university level, the collective labor agreement for university teachers, approved in 2015, includes the following categories of teachers: Regular or ordinary; Interim; Substitutes; Extraordinary. This category is considered for cases in which, with an exceptional character, professors are appointed who, due to their recognized trajectories, have been appointed as Consultants, Emeritus, Honorary, Visitors and Guests. This category does not fit into that of “volunteer teacher” or “ad-honorem”, in addition to the fact that these

¹⁵ “La situación de este perfil de Docentes es compleja y extendida, por lo tanto, su existencia es asumida como normal en el escenario de las Universidades chilenas”

¹⁶ “Frente a la ausencia de un Sindicato Nacional de Docentes Universitarios, en algunas Universidades grandes este perfil de Docentes han avanzado hacia la organización de Sindicatos de Profesores a Honorarios con el objetivo de llevar adelante pautas propias al interior de sus Instituciones”

¹⁷ *No tengo información sobre su existencia actual en otros niveles educativos del sistema formal. Existe, bajo múltiples formas, en distintos proyectos llevados adelante por organizaciones sociales o fundaciones. Entiendo que el marco regulatorio es la ley de trabajo voluntario, ya que dentro de esta normativa se contempla a las actividades educativas. No dispongo información cuantitativa en el caso del trabajo docente voluntario en un nivel general*

teachers can be summoned for some specific task that does not imply the payment of any fee. It is important to clarify that not all universities have joined the collective bargaining agreement. This is the case, for example, at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). The statute of this university contemplates the figure of ad-honorem and defines them as those who ‘with an ad-honorem character collaborate with teaching: authorized teachers and free teachers [...]’.¹⁸

It points out data on the amount of voluntary teaching work in the country and at UBA, the areas that most welcome this type of work and the union demands on the subject.

*At this educational level, in 2018, it was estimated that there were 14,000 teachers working ad-honorem (on a voluntary basis). Of these 14,000, 9600 (68%) were from (UBA). In the case of UBA, its Faculty of Medicine is the one that concentrates the majority of ad honorem. According to an article in *Diário Página 12*: ‘The data come from a survey conducted by the universities themselves after, in the last assembly of the sector, the Government pledged to advance, in 2019, in the regularization of these professors - a repeated demand from educational unions -. To start, was decided to contribute starting with 50 million pesos. Now the Secretariat for University Policies (SPU), union leaders and university presidents are negotiating to define the criteria for the distribution of these funds. The unions have warned that the 50 million is insufficient, as they have covered just over 400 positions: less than 3 percent of those affected. (“Fourteen thousand teachers work without pay”, *Diário Página 12*, 9 November, 2018).¹⁹*

In her response, Adriana highlights how ad-honorem work was expressed in the country in 2013. “According to the last statistical yearbook published by SPU, in 2013, the total number

¹⁸ *En el nivel universitario, el convenio colectivo de trabajo para docentes universitarios, homologado en 2015, contempla las siguientes categorías de docentes: Regulares u ordinarios; Interinos; Suplentes; Extraordinarios. Esta categoría se contempla para los casos en que, con carácter excepcional, se designen profesores que, por sus reconocidas trayectorias, hayan sido nombrados como Consultos, Eméritos, Honorarios, Visitantes e Invitados. Esta categoría no se ajusta a la del “docente voluntario” o “ad-honorem”, más allá de que estos docentes puedan ser convocados para alguna tarea puntual que no implique el cobro de alguna retribución. Es importante aclarar que no todas las universidades han adherido al convenio colectivo de trabajo. Éste es el caso, por ejemplo, de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA). El estatuto de esta universidad contempla la figura de los ad-honorem y los define como aquellos que ‘con carácter ad-honorem’ colaboran en la enseñanza: los docentes autorizados y los docentes libres [...]*

¹⁹ *En ese nivel educativo, en 2018, se calculaba que había 14000 docentes trabajando ad-honorem (en forma voluntaria). De esos 14000, 9600 (el 68%) eran de la (UBA). En el caso de la UBA, su Facultad de Medicina es la que concentra la mayoría de los ad honorem. Según un artículo del diario *Página 12*: ‘El dato surge de un relevamiento realizado por las propias universidades después de que, en la última paritaria del sector, el Gobierno se comprometiera a avanzar en 2019 en la regularización de estos profesores – un reiterado reclamo de los gremios docentes –. Para comenzar a hacerlo, resolvió aportar una partida de 50 millones de pesos. Ahora la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias (SPU), los dirigentes sindicales y los rectores de universidades negocian para definir los criterios de distribución de esos fondos. Los gremios advirtieron que los 50 millones son insuficientes, ya que cubrirían poco más de 400 cargos: menos de un 3 por ciento de los afectados. (“Catorce mil docentes trabajan sin cobrar”, *Diario Página 12*, 9 de noviembre de 2018)*

of professors working at national universities and university institutes was 121,208. Of these 121,208, 2,095 work *ad-honorem*”²⁰.

Asked about the teaching union's position on this problem, Adriana highlights the role of a more combative organization, the force measures adopted above all a strike in 2005 and the government's responses, supposedly to resolve the issue of voluntary work.

The problem of ad honorem teachers was addressed by unions, especially by those who join CONADU Histórica. According to the information obtained, the issue played an important role on the union agenda, in the context of a prolonged strike that took place in 2005. In the case of UBA, where there is a greater representation, it was the Teaching Union Association (AGD) (adhered to by CONADU Histórica) that gave dynamism to the claim. In this context, a specific union commission was created to carry out the claims for wages, insurance for work risks (ART), social assistance, formation, licenses, scholarships, research projects. Since then, the claim has been included in all claims raised in union conflicts and at joint negotiation tables. At the last meeting of 2019, the Government committed to advance the regularization of ad-honorem professors and contributed 100 million pesos, to be shared between universities. However, the unions claimed that these funds were insufficient to remedy the situation. In the case of UBA, the funds were not sufficient to pay 10 percent of the ad honorem. Likewise, this income financing program only contemplates “pure” ad honorem teachers, that is, those who are only first-rate assistants with partial dedication and have no other paid position at the university (teaching or non-teaching). (Negotiation to pay 10 percent of UBA's ad honorem faculty, Diálogo Página 12, 20 of September, 2019). In the case of UBA, the fund provided by the Ministry of National Education will allow 875 positions of professors who had been working without receiving a salary to become effective. From the AGD, there was a need for this regularization to be carried out according to the seniority criterion. In this context, they criticized 'against the managements that impose their discretion as employers' and expressed 'we also defend the right of ad honorem commissions to raise to public authorities the standards carried out and ordered, prioritizing the criterion of greater seniority, starting from the valuable work of fellow employees, organize and battle to defeat free work at our university'. (Information extracted from the AGD website)²¹.

²⁰ “Según el último anuario estadístico publicado por la SPU, en 2013, el total de docentes que trabajaban en las universidades nacionales y en los institutos universitarios era 121.208. De esos 121.208, 2.095 trabajaban ad-honorem”

²¹ *El problema de los docentes ad-honorem ha sido tomado por los sindicatos, en especial por aquellos adheridos a la CONADU Histórica. De acuerdo con la información obtenida, el tema tomó un importante protagonismo, en la agenda sindical, en el marco de una extendida huelga que se desarrolló en 2005. En el caso de la UBA, donde toma mayor representatividad, fue la Asociación Gremial Docente (AGD) (adherida a CONADU Histórica) la que le imprimió dinamismo al reclamo. Allí se constituyó una comisión específica del gremio que lleva adelante los reclamos por salario, aseguradora de riesgo de trabajo (ART), obra social, capacitación, licencias, becas, proyectos de investigación. Desde entonces, el reclamo es incluido en todos los pliegos reivindicativos que se plantean en los conflictos gremiales y en las mesas de negociación paritaria. En la última paritaria de 2019, el Gobierno se comprometió a avanzar en la regularización de los profesores ad-honorem y aportó una partida de 100 millones de pesos, a repartir entre las distintas universidades. Sin embargo, los gremios planteaban que estos fondos eran insuficientes para solucionar la situación. En el caso de la UBA, los fondos no llegaban a alcanzar para rentar al 10 por ciento de los ad honorem. Asimismo, este programa de financiamiento de renta sólo contempla a docentes ad honorem “puros”, es decir, a aquellos que solamente sean ayudantes de primera con dedicación parcial y no tengan ningún otro cargo rentado en la universidad (docente o no docente). (La*

Concluding her answer, Adriana presents more data on voluntary work (*ad-honorem*), bringing contributions from articles by left-wing political groups, and conclusively, reveals the meaning of this type of work, which can be defined as an overexploitation of workers teachers:

Some interesting data to measure the situation: in an article by 'La Izquierda Diario', Matías Alcántara, professor ad honorem states that, in the College of Medicine: [...] more than 60% of the professors are ad honorem and many students. It is a critical situation. It is imagined that future professionals are being formed by students. It's a terrible system of exploitation because they haven't been paid for many years. It was also stated that at the College of Economic Sciences, 56% of the teaching staff is ad honorem. At the Faculty of Social Sciences, from revelations made by teachers, it was estimated that 800 worked ad-honorem. Teachers who work ad-honorem are deprived, in fact, of a set of rights acquired by those who receive a salary. They face the situation of having to pay, on their own, daily rates, formation and study materials. They do not have social assistance, retirement contributions or insurance against labor risks. The AGD union proposed the creation of a register of teachers in this situation. A specific union commission has been set up to carry out wage claims, Work Risk Insurance (ART), social assistance, formation, licenses, scholarships, research projects. That is, the set of rights enjoyed by university teaching and research workers.²²

Regarding the existence of voluntary teaching work at the university where he works (P4), Felipe informs that at the private university where he works, ad-honorem work is recent and coexists with symbolic or low-paid work.

The University Academy of Christian Humanism is a Private University with progressive political-academic orientation, it was created in 1975 by

negociación para rentar al 10 por ciento de los docentes ad honorem de la UBA, Diario Página 12, 20 de septiembre de 2019). En el caso de la UBA, el fondo aportado por el Ministerio de Educación Nacional permitía efectivizar 875 cargos de docentes que venían trabajando sin percibir salario. Desde la AGD, se planteaba la necesidad de que esta regularización se llevara adelante según el criterio de antigüedad. En este marco, deslizaban sus críticas 'contra las gestiones que imponen su discrecionalidad como patronal' y expresaban 'defendemos asimismo el derecho de las comisiones ad honorem a elevar ante las autoridades los empadronamientos públicos realizados y ordenados priorizando el criterio de mayor antigüedad, a partir del valioso trabajo de los compañeros que se empadronan, se organizan y batallan para derrotar el trabajo gratuito en nuestra universidad'. (Información extraída de la página web de AGD)

²² *Algunos datos interesantes para dimensionar la situación: en un artículo de "La Izquierda Diario", Matías Alcántara, docente ad honorem afirma que, en la Facultad de Medicina: [...] más del 60% de los docentes son ad honorem y muchos estudiantes. Es una situación crítica. Pensemos que los futuros profesionales están siendo formados por estudiantes. Es un sistema terrible de explotación porque no perciben salarios por muchísimos años'. Asimismo, se planteaba que en la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, el 56 % del plantel docente es ad honorem. En la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, a partir de relevamientos realizados por los docentes, se calculaba que 800 trabajaban ad-honorem. Los docentes que trabajan ad-honorem se ven privados, de hecho, de un conjunto de derechos adquiridos por quienes perciben un salario. Se enfrentan a la situación de tener que costear, por su propia cuenta, los viáticos, la formación y los materiales de estudio. No gozan de obra social, de aportes jubilatorios ni de seguro de riesgo de trabajo. Desde la gremial AGD se ha propuesto la confección de un padrón con los docentes en esta situación. Se ha constituido una comisión específica del gremio que lleva adelante los reclamos por salario, Aseguradora de Riesgo de Trabajo (ART), obra social, capacitación, licencias, becas, proyectos de investigación. Es decir, el conjunto de los derechos que gozan los trabajadores de la docencia y la investigación universitarias.*

Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez in order to protect the Academics who were expelled from Traditional Universities (Public and Private) by its political orientation, all this in the context of the Military Civic Dictatorship. Currently, there is at the same University the figure of the Assistant Professor who traditionally was paid with a low value. As of the end of the year 2019, that has changed, now the work of Assistant Professor is ad honorem, due to the fact that the University is currently in a delicate financial situation and the people who carry out the same have chosen to reduce costs in that area. The work of Assistant Professor is regulated by a Regulation that only regulates the said position and its selection through competitions. The requirements to be an Assistant Professor are of an academic nature, that is, to have qualifications located at the top of the respective Courses. The rights of Assistant Teachers are diffuse, they are not clearly established, we only speak of the conditions that the tasks they must address must have. The number of Assistant Teachers is variable in each of the Semesters, due to the fact that one Assistant Professor works for each Course or Discipline. The privileged place of their action is during the development of the activities of the Course or Discipline, since they are expected to be present and collaborating in Teaching activities. Outside this space, they work in coordination meetings with the Professors responsible for the Courses or Disciplines. The working conditions of Assistant Teachers are precarious, they do not have work spaces or teams for the proper development of their activities. In general, their weekly dedication is limited, not exceeding 5 hours of work, considering assistance to classes and preparation of materials. The latter, of course, often depends on the relation profile they establish with the Teachers and Professors responsible for the Courses or Disciplines, since it is known that their attitudes are variable, ranging from indifference to excessive workload at extreme points. In the case of the University Academy of Christian Humanism, I understand that there is no organization of Assistant Teachers. From my point of view, this type of work is complex to assess, since it is usually ad honorem or symbolically remunerated. In the case of the ad honorem figure, it does not seem appropriate to me and this semester would be the first time that I would try it at the Institution. In the case of being paid, this low or symbolic payment was often a valuable remuneration for students with great economic difficulties and who, in turn, are interested in carrying out activities that enable them to pursue an Academic Career. On the other hand, it is necessary to think about this with the conditions of a general study that are developed in Chile, marked by a high level of indebtedness and limited access to the University Gratuity policy²³.

²³ *La Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano es una Universidad Privada de orientación político-académica progresista, fue creada en el año 1975 por parte del Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez con el objetivo de cobijar a Academias y Académicos que estaban siendo expulsados de las Universidades Tradicionales (Públicas y Privadas) por su orientación política, todo esto en el contexto de la Dictadura Cívico Militar. Actualmente existe en dicha Universidad la figura de Ayudante de Cátedra que tradicionalmente era remunerada con un valor pequeño. Desde fines del año 2019 esto cambió, ahora el trabajo de Ayudante de Cátedra es ad honorem, debido a que actualmente la Universidad atraviesa una situación financiera delicada y las personas que dirigen la misma optaron por reducir costos en dicha área. El trabajo de Ayudante de Cátedra está regulado por un Reglamento que sólo regula lo referido a su selección a través de Concursos. Las exigencias para ser Ayudante de Cátedra son de carácter académico, o sea, tener calificaciones ubicadas en la parte alta en los respectivos Cursos. Los derechos de los Ayudantes de Cátedra son difusos, no están establecidos con claridad, sólo se habla de las condiciones que deben poseer y las tareas que deben abordar. La cantidad de Ayudantes de Cátedra es variable en cada uno de los Semestres, debido a que se trabaja en razón de un Ayudante de Cátedra por cada Curso o Asignatura. El lugar privilegiado de su acción es durante el desarrollo de las actividades del Curso o Disciplina, puesto que se espera que estén presentes y colaborando en las actividades de Docencia. Fuera de este espacio, trabajan en reuniones de coordinación con las y los Profesores responsables de los Cursos o Disciplinas. Las*

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Antônio Julio replies that university teaching work exists at the university where he works, the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), and states that he himself is in this situation. Adriana, in turn, states that at the university where she works there are two types of voluntary teaching work - *ad-honorem* and second assistant - and that the rules on the subject are defined differently by the academic units or departments of the institution.

The National University of Luján (UNLu) statute allows auxiliary professors to be able to perform their duties ad-honorem. The last version of the statute is from the year 2000, but it is very likely that the possibility of ad-honorem work was already included since the university's structural statute. In general terms, and according to my knowledge, professors who are in the following situation are appointed as ad-honorem: foreign professors who participate in some university project. The condition to participate, for example, in a research project is that the professor is a professor at the university. In this context, an ad-honorem appointment is made; student assistants (formally called "secondary assistants"). UNLu is organized into four academic units or departments: Education, Technology, Basic Sciences and Social Sciences. Each department dictates its rules on this situation. In the Education department, student assistants cannot be appointed on an ad-honorem basis. These students earn a fee. In the other departments, ad-honorem appointment is enabled. The Department of Social Sciences has all student assistants appointed ad-honorem. The departments of Basic Sciences and Technology do it in a mixed way. All of these assistants are appointed by a public exam, have a workload equivalent to a simple dedication, that is, nine hours a week, of which six need to be in person. The years worked are calculated as seniority and paid social assistance²⁴.

condiciones de trabajo de los Ayudantes de Cátedra son precarias, no cuentan con espacios de trabajo ni de equipos para el adecuado desarrollo de sus actividades. En general su dedicación semanal es limitada, no superando las 5 horas de trabajo, considerando asistencia a las clases y preparación de materiales. Esto último, ciertamente depende muchas veces del perfil de relación que establecen con las Profesoras y Profesores responsables de los Cursos o Disciplinas, puesto que es conocido que sus actitudes son variables, yendo desde la indiferencia hasta el exceso de carga de trabajo en los puntos extremos. En el caso de la Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano entiendo que no existe una organización de Ayudantes de Cátedra. Desde mi punto de vista, este tipo de trabajo es complejo de evaluar, puesto que en general es ad honorem o remunerado de manera simbólica. En el caso de la figura ad honorem no me parece adecuado y este semestre sería la primera vez que se experimentaría en la Institución. En el caso de ser remunerado, ese pago bajo o simbólico muchas veces era un ingreso valioso para estudiantes que con dificultades económicas importantes y que, a la vez, están interesados en desarrollar actividades que les permitan seguir una Carrera Académica. Por otra parte, es necesario pensar esto con las condiciones de estudio general que se desarrollan en Chile, marcado por un alto nivel de endeudamiento y acceso aún limitado a la política de Gratuidad Universitaria.

²⁴ *El estatuto de la Universidad Nacional de Luján (UNLu) contempla que los docentes auxiliares y profesores puedan desempeñar sus funciones ad-honorem. La última versión del estatuto es del año 2000 pero es muy probable que la posibilidad del trabajo ad-honorem ya estuviera incluida desde el estatuto fundacional de la universidad. En términos generales, y de acuerdo con mis conocimientos, son nombrados como ad-honorem, los docentes que se encuentran en la siguiente situación: profesores extranjeros que participan de algún proyecto de la universidad. La condición para participar, por ejemplo, de un proyecto de investigación es que el profesor sea docente de la universidad. En ese marco, se hace el nombramiento ad-honorem; ayudantes estudiantiles (formalmente denominados "ayudantes de segunda"). La UNLu está organizada en cuatro unidades académicas o departamentos: Educación, Tecnología, Ciencias Básicas y Ciencias Sociales. Cada departamento dicta su normativa sobre esta situación. En el departamento de Educación no se puede nombrar a los ayudantes estudiantiles en forma ad-honorem. Estos estudiantes cobran una retribución. En el resto de los departamentos está habilitado el nombramiento ad-honorem. El Departamento de Ciencias Sociales tiene a todos los ayudantes estudiantiles nombrados ad-honorem. Los departamentos de Ciencias Básicas y de Tecnología lo hacen en forma*

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Adriana draws attention to the fact that *ad-honorem* professors still exist at UNLu, since she adhered to the collective bargaining agreement that predicted its extinction within a year after its approval and does not admit the figure of second assistant, which demonstrates that laws are not being complied with at her university, which should also occur at other universities in the country. Precarious work and exploitation persist, as a rule.

Since UNLu joined the collective bargaining agreement in 2015, there should be no professors appointed ad-honorem (this situation should be regularized one year after joining this agreement). However, the collective agreement does not include students²⁵.

According to Adriana, volunteer teachers participate in the category's union, with the same rights as paid teachers. Your union contribution is optional, however, only when it occurs can they have access to the subsidies offered by the organization.

In the UNLu teaching union (ADUNLu) there are full rights, like any paid teacher. They can vote in assemblies and participate in elections on the steering committee. They can join the union without making any kind of contribution. They have the right to strike and participate in all types of union claims. They can also choose to pay a union fee that gives them access to all the subsidies that the union grants (to participate in congresses, to Xerox, etc.). The value of this fee is equivalent to 2% of the salary established for primary assistants (currently about \$ 200 monthly).²⁶.

Asked about **the main motivations of governments for the creation of this type of work (P5)**, the interviewees highlighted the State's lack of responsibility in relation to the rights of the population, the encouragement to commercialize higher education, the precariousness of teaching work, and the deepening of competitive and meritocratic logic among teachers. Felipe says that in Chile, the voluntary teaching work of university professors fulfills the function of providing access to the academic career, to meet the demand of workers from private universities that had a great expansion since the 1980s, with the sale of services (teaching), enrollment enrollment (students) and state subsidies (university credits). In his words:

mixta. Todos estos ayudantes son nombrados por concurso público. Tienen una carga horaria equivalente a una dedicación simple, es decir, nueve horas semanales, de las cuales seis tienen que ser presenciales. Los años trabajados se computan como antigüedad y se les cubre la obra social.

²⁵ *Desde que la UNLu adhirió al convenio colectivo de trabajo, en 2015, no debería haber docentes nombrados ad-honorem (esta situación debía regularizarse un año después de la adhesión a este convenio). Sin embargo, el convenio colectivo no incluye a los estudiantes estudiantiles*

²⁶ *En la gremial docente de la UNLu (ADUNLu) tienen plenos derechos, como cualquier docente remunerado. Pueden votar en las asambleas y participar en las elecciones de la comisión directiva. Se pueden afiliar al sindicato sin hacer ningún tipo de aporte. Tienen derecho a hacer huelga y a participar de todo tipo de reclamo sindical. También pueden optar por pagar una cuota sindical que les da acceso a todos los subsidios que otorga el sindicato (para participar en congresos, para fotocopias, etc). El valor de esa cuota es el equivalente al 2% del salario establecido para el ayudante de primera (actualmente alrededor de \$200 mensuales)*

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The assistant professors' ad honorem work is breathtaking. I imagine he managed to position himself from a path that gives him access to the status that would allow students to open spaces to access the Academic Career, as a mandatory toll to pay. The figure of Honorary Professors is also of long standing in the Higher Education System in Chile and has become popular since the 1980s, when the Military Civic Dictatorship created the necessary conditions for the creation of new Private Universities that gradually favored access en masse to the University in the late 1990s and early 2000s, thanks to state support for the policy of university credits that are easily accessible in the short term. Such massification of university enrollment facilitated the demand of Professors for Honoraries for a University System that works based on self-financing through formation of enrollments and sale of services.²⁷

Antônio Julio considers that this is yet another precarious work situation at the university and draws attention to the importance of teaching unions not to underestimate the issue. In his words:

[...] I read the norm, but I don't know since when or the collective justification, to say here. I think that most volunteer teachers are in this situation for reasons of unfinished work. In other words, they carry out part of the same jobs that they used to do when hired. However, working conditions are more precarious, as they lose their link with the University. This is yet another precarious work situation and, therefore, should be part of union struggles. I don't know how much is found in volunteering, but I know that the number is significant. It is an issue that cannot be overlooked by unions, as it concerns the whole of the category. But as it is today, the volunteer worker is deprived of union activities, because he is there, theoretically, because he wants and receives nothing.²⁸

Adriana, on the other hand, says that voluntary work can guarantee the State's lack of responsibility in relation to the rights of the population. On the other hand, it deepens competitive and meritocratic logics.

²⁷ *El trabajo ad honorem de los Ayudantes de Cátedra es de largo aliento. Imagino que logró posicionarse como una vía de acceso a estatus que les permitiera a las y los estudiantes hacer un espacio para acceder a la Carrera Académica, a modo de peaje obligatorio a pagar. La figura de las Profesoras y Profesores a Honorarios también es de larga data en el Sistema de Educación Superior en Chile y se masificó desde la década de 1980 en adelante cuando la Dictadura Cívico Militar creó las condiciones necesarias para la creación de nuevas Universidades Privadas que paulatinamente favorecieron una masificación del acceso a la Universidad a fines de la década de 1990 y principios de la década del 2000, gracias al apoyo estatal a la política de créditos universitarios de fácil acceso y costosos en el corto plazo. Dicha masificación de la matrícula universitaria facilitó la demanda de Profesoras y profesores a Honorarios para un Sistema Universitario que funciona en base al autofinanciamiento a través de la captación de matrículas y la venta de servicios*

²⁸ *[...] li a norma, mas não sei desde quando e nem a justificativa coletiva, para dizer aqui. Penso que a maioria dos docentes voluntários está nesta situação por motivos de trabalho inconcluso. Ou seja, realizam parte dos mesmos trabalhos que realizavam na ativa. Porém, as condições de trabalho precarizam mais, pois perdem o vínculo com a Universidade. Esta é mais uma situação de trabalho precarizado e, por isto, deveria fazer parte das lutas sindicais. Não sei o quantitativo que se encontra no voluntariado, mas sei que o número é significativo. É uma questão que não pode ser menosprezada pelos sindicatos, já que diz respeito ao todo da categoria. Mas da forma como é hoje, o trabalhador voluntário fica privado das atividades sindicais, pois está lá, teoricamente, porque quer e não recebe nada.*

I believe that, when it comes to voluntary work that takes place within the scope of social organizations, it may end up consolidating a scheme in which the State disregards its responsibility to guarantee the rights of the population. In the same way, it is a work system that deepens the competitive and meritocratic logic, since it implies that those who are willing to work without remuneration have complementary material means to support themselves and to finance the expenses that the activity generates.²⁹

It was considered relevant to know **why the university teacher uses this type of work, identifying the benefits and losses (P6)**. For Felipe,

students and professionals who access the work of Assistant Professor in the ad honorem modality do so to seek the academic status and credentials necessary to enter the successful Academic or Professional Career in the future. They gain experience and appreciation in their academic education. They waste time. Teachers who work in the honorary modality, although it does not correspond to voluntary or ad honorem work, come into contact with precarious work. They do this to gain access to employment, in the context of Higher Education in general and in the University in particular, which is organized on the basis of competence and self-financing based on enrollment and sale of services, which generates an inclination to maintain this type of work and keep the costs of hiring Fixed Day Teachers under control. Hourly Teachers earn only to have a job and lose a series of guarantees that implies regular work.³⁰

Still according to Antonio Julio, “one must not forget that the milder teaching work is attractive to retired teachers, who can contribute with their experience. For this reason, another type of bond, other than volunteering, could be instituted”³¹. Adriana pointed out that in Argentina,

²⁹ *Creo que, cuando se trata de un trabajo voluntario que se desarrolla en el marco de organizaciones sociales, puede llegar a afianzar un esquema en el cual el Estado se desentiende de su responsabilidad de velar que se garanticen los derechos de la población. Asimismo, es un sistema de trabajo que profundiza las lógicas competitivas y meritocráticas, ya que implica que quien está dispuesto a trabajar sin percibir remuneración alguna cuenta con medios materiales complementarios para sostenerse y para financiar los propios gastos que genera la actividad*

³⁰ *los estudiantes y profesionales que acceden al trabajo de Ayudante de Cátedra en la modalidad ad honorem lo hacen por buscar estatus y las credenciales académicas suficientes para ingresar a la Carrera Académica o Profesional exitosa en el futuro. Ganan experiencia y valorización de sus antecedentes académicos. Pierden tiempo. Las y los Profesores que trabajan en la modalidad a Honorarios, si bien no corresponde a un trabajo voluntario o ad honorem, si acceden a un trabajo precario. Hacen esto para tener acceso al empleo, en el contexto de un Sistema de Educación Superior en general y Universitario en particular, que se organiza en base a la competencia y el autofinanciamiento en base a la captación de matrículas y venta de servicios, lo que genera una inclinación por mantener esta modalidad de trabajo y mantener controlado el costo de la contratación de Docentes a Jornada Fija. Las y los Docentes a Honorarios ganan solamente el tener empleo y pierden una serie de garantías que conlleva el trabajo regular”. Antonio Julio, na mesma linha de reflexão, afirmou que “o trabalho docente é cumulativo ao longo do tempo. Assim, quase sempre, o docente quando se aposenta, por exemplo, tem sempre trabalhos para terminar, seja relativos a projeto de pesquisa ou orientações de mestrandos e doutorandos*
³¹ *“não se pode esquecer que o trabalho docente mais ameno é atrativo para professores aposentados, que podem contribuir com sua experiência. Por isso, um outro tipo de vínculo que não seja o voluntariado, poderia ser instituído”*

being a university teacher provides prestige and formation that are positively valued in the curriculum vitae. Accepting to work as an ad-honorem can be an opportunity to enter the academic field. According to Adriana, those who win are the authorities, who save on budget. And capital itself, which disputes the fate they are given to public funds. Those who lose are the workers, both those who work without pay and those who receive their remuneration, since it affects the “flexibility” of the working conditions of the entire group of teachers.³².

Continuing, asked about the **consequences of this type of work at the university (P7)**, Felipe argued that “the consequences of the work of ad honorem Assistant Professors at the University result in access to student or professional support for teaching activities at no cost, legitimizing forms of work apart from any due regulation and remuneration”³³.

Still for Felipe,

The consequences of the work of Professors as Honorary at the University, although they are not ad honorem, have as a consequence the legitimation of a precarious type of work, which deposits on the backs of thousands of Professors the support of a University System market and competence oriented.³⁴.

Antonio Julio emphasized that the consequences can be serious. “I cite as an example a competition for History teachers that would be held at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) in the voluntary contract modality. The proposal received opposite reactions and the contest ended up being canceled. I consider it important to analyze the serious consequences it could have for a university the size of UFMG. I also learned about other competitions for volunteer teachers being held at public universities in Brazil”³⁵. For the professor, “there is a whole attempt on the part of the governments to make precarious the university teaching work.

³² *ser docente universitario da prestígio y antecedentes que son positivamente valorados en el currículum vitae. El aceptar trabajar ad-honorem puede ser una oportunidad para ingresar al ámbito académico. Segundo Adriana “Quiénes ganan son las autoridades, que ahorran presupuesto. Y el propio capital, que disputa por el destino que se le dan a los fondos públicos. Quiénes pierden, son los trabajadores, tanto los que trabajan sin ser remunerados como los que reciben su remuneración, ya que repercute en la “flexibilización” de las condiciones de trabajo de todo el colectivo de docentes*

³³ “as consecuencias del trabajo de Ayudantes de Cátedra ad honorem en la Universidad tienen como consecuencia el acceso a apoyo de estudiantes o profesionales a las actividades de Docencia sin costo, legitimando formas de trabajo al margen de cualquier regulación y remuneración debida”

³⁴ *Las consecuencias del trabajo de Profesoras y Profesores a Honorarios en la Universidad, aunque si bien no es ad honorem, tiene como consecuencia la legitimación de un tipo de trabajo precario, que deposita en las espaldas de miles de Profesoras y Profesores el sostenimiento de un Sistema Universitario orientado al mercado y la competencia*

³⁵ “Cito como exemplo um concurso para professores de História que seria realizado na Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG) na modalidade contrato voluntário. A proposta recebeu reações contrárias e o concurso acabou cancelado. Considero importante analisar as consequências sérias que poderia ter para uma universidade do porte da UFMG. Também tomei conhecimento de outros concursos para professores voluntários sendo realizados em universidades públicas no Brasil”

That is why it is very important that this volunteering at universities is replaced by another form of hiring with clearly defined functions”³⁶. Adriana, in turn, recalled that

*in Argentina, it is a type of work that made it possible to follow the process of expanding admission and enrollment at the public university, but at the cost of cutting workers' rights. The university is public, free and with unrestricted admission, but this situation was not accompanied by an adequate budgetary investment. According to Adriana, it is enough to search the data from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) to prove that an important portion of educational service is sustained, at the cost of voluntary work. Adriana added that at the same time, it is a type of work that was functional to the logic of discretionary nomination and to the stagnation of the functioning of public procurement systems. All of these aspects can be thought of as factors that can affect the deterioration of academic quality.*³⁷.

Then, teachers were asked about **the implications of voluntary work on the work of effective teachers (P8)**. Felipe stated that

*there is no voluntary or pro bono work that competes with the work of real teachers. The figure of honorary work, which I insist is not ad honorem, potentially generates the development of attitudes to protect the work of effective teachers. There are no visible guidelines for the organization and action of effective teachers at the national level in order to put an end to honorary work.*³⁸.

For Antonio Julio,

*it is a political problem that must be taken seriously. This type of teaching work can be implemented to make the work precarious and replace teachers, including in undergraduate courses. But it can also be positive if there is another framework that is not as a 'volunteer' and that has well-defined rules so that the retired teacher is not just a 'substitute' for new teachers.*³⁹

³⁶ “existe toda uma tentativa por parte dos governos de precarizar o trabalho docente universitário. Por isso é muito importante que este voluntariado nas universidades seja substituído por outra forma de contratação com funções definidas claramente”

³⁷ *en Argentina, es un tipo de trabajo que ha permitido acompañar al proceso de expansión del ingreso y de la matrícula de la universidad pública, pero a costa del recorte de los derechos de los trabajadores. La universidad es pública, gratuita y de ingreso irrestricto, pero esta situación no ha sido acompañada por una adecuada inversión presupuestaria”. Segundo Adriana, “basta con revisar los datos de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) para comprobar que una importante porción del servicio educativo es sostenida, a costa del trabajo voluntario”. Adriana ainda acrescentou que “al mismo tiempo, es un tipo de trabajo que ha sido funcional a las lógicas de nombramiento discrecional y al estancamiento del funcionamiento de los sistemas de concursos públicos. Todos estos aspectos pueden ser pensados como factores que pueden repercutir en el deterioro de la calidad académica*

³⁸ *no hay trabajo voluntario o ad honorem que compita con el trabajo de las y los docentes efectivos. La figura del trabajo a honorarios, que insisto no es ad honorem, potencialmente sí genera el desarrollo de actitudes de protección al puesto de trabajo de las y los docentes efectivos. No son visibles pautas de organización y acción de las y los docentes efectivos a nivel nacional para acabar con el Trabajo Docente a Honorarios*

³⁹ *trata-se de um problema político que deverá ser enfrentado com seriedade. Essa modalidade de trabalho docente poderá ser implantada para precarizar e substituir docentes, inclusive na graduação. Mas também pode ser positivo se houver um outro enquadramento que não seja como ‘voluntário’ e que tenha normas bem definidas para que o professor aposentado não seja apenas ‘substituto’ de novos professores.*

Adriana also believes that “the existence of this type of work may be a fact that affects the complexity of the dispute for the improvement of working conditions, in terms of wages, work tools, general rights and also regarding the transparency of the system of access to positions or promotion”.⁴⁰

It was considered important to know if **the presence of the volunteer teacher has any implications on the number of effective teachers at the university** (P9). According to Felipe, for greater understanding, this issue requires internal investigation in the institutions.

For Antonio Julio, it is a

*serious political problem that must be taken seriously. On the one hand, it can be implemented to precarize and replace professors, including undergraduate students. On the other hand, it can be positive if it is implemented in another format that is not as a 'volunteer' and that has well-defined rules so that the volunteer teacher is not a 'substitute' for new teachers.*⁴¹

Adriana, also stated that “to the extent that teachers are hired without remuneration, the university acquires the possibility of performing its functions at the expense of the stagnation of the paid faculty”. For Adriana “this deeply affects the general situation of teaching workers”⁴².

Asked about the **positive and negative points of voluntary university teaching work** (P10), Felipe highlighted that “in the case of Assistant Professors *ad honorem*, their positive point is the open access to ways of valuing the academic trajectory at an initial level, open to all and everyone regarding their academic results”⁴³.

According to Felipe, “the negative point is related to the idea of working in exchange for no economic remuneration, even if it is at a low level. In a deeply commercialized context

⁴⁰ “la existencia de este tipo de trabajo puede ser un factor que incida en la complejización de la disputa por la mejora de las condiciones laborales, en términos de salario, herramientas de trabajo, derechos generales y también en cuanto a la transparencia del sistema de acceso a los cargos o de promoción”

⁴¹ *problema político sério que deverá ser enfrentado com seriedade. Por um lado, poderá ser implantado para precarizar e substituir docentes, inclusive na graduação. Por outro lado, poderá ser positivo se for implementado em outro formato que não seja como 'voluntário' e que tenha normas bem definidas para que o professor voluntário não seja 'substituto' de novos professores.*

⁴² “na medida en que se contratan docentes sin retribución, la universidad adquiere la posibilidad de desempeñar sus funciones a expensas del estancamiento de la planta de docentes remunerados”. Para Adriana “esto lesiona profundamente la situación general de los trabajadores docentes”

⁴³ “en el caso de los ayudantes de Cátedra *ad honorem*, tienen como punto positivo el acceso abierto a formas de valorización de la trayectoria académica en un nivel inicial, abierto para todas y todos en relación de sus resultados académicos”

like the Chilean one, it does not mean that there are spaces for unpaid work in a context of high movement and profit generation”⁴⁴.

Antonio Julio considered that “volunteering should not exist in the public service. It would be important to guarantee another form of contract, remunerated, so that the retired teacher could contribute with specific and limited activities”⁴⁵. On the negative side, Antonio Julio cited “the very concept of ‘volunteer’ in public service, denotes a certain inferiority”⁴⁶. Adriana, in turn, stated that:

*I do not see positive points from the point of view of the collective interests of workers. From the individual point of view of those who decide to work on a voluntary basis, it can be positive that this represents a possibility of access to the field of work, to have a better curriculum vitae, or to access various activities specific to the ‘academic world’. It can also be a personal formation experience. In exceptional situations, as in the case of foreign professors, the ‘voluntary work’ format can result in an opportunity for the development of certain institutional projects of interest. In any case, I believe that this categorization could be revised, which, as far as can be seen, encompasses several situations.*⁴⁷.

As for the negative points, for Adriana they would be, among others: “deterioration of working conditions in several aspects; inequality in access to vacancies, devaluation of wages; increased workload and deteriorating quality of education”⁴⁸.

In the penultimate question, it was considered relevant to know **aspects of the evaluation of the local union and the national union of university teachers on voluntary teaching work at the university, to know the union's actions and an evaluation of the union on this type of teaching work (P11)**. According to Felipe,

there is no National Union of University Teachers in Chile. In the Unions of each University, guidelines for action could be raised. In the University Union in which I work, only progress has been made in including Honorary Professors and access to some of the collective bargaining points. For

⁴⁴ “el punto negativo tiene que ver con la idea de trabajar a cambio de ninguna retribución económica, aunque sea en un nivel bajo. En un contexto profundamente mercantilizado como el chileno, no corresponde que existan espacios de trabajo no remunerado en contextos de alto movimiento y generación de lucros”

⁴⁵ “o voluntariado não deveria existir no serviço público. Seria importante garantir outra forma de contrato, remunerado, de modo que o docente aposentado pudesse contribuir com atividades específicas e delimitadas”

⁴⁶ “o próprio conceito de ‘voluntário’ no serviço público, denota certa inferioridade”

⁴⁷ “no veo puntos positivos desde el punto de vista de los intereses del colectivo de trabajadores. Desde el punto de vista individual de quien decide trabajar en forma voluntaria, puede ser positivo el hecho de que esto represente una posibilidad de acceso al campo laboral, a tener un mejor curriculum vitae, o del acceso a diversas actividades propias del ‘mundo académico’. Puede ser también una experiencia de formación personal. En situaciones excepcionales, como en el caso de los docentes extranjeros, el formato ‘trabajo voluntario’ puede resultar una oportunidad para el desarrollo de ciertos proyectos institucionales de interés. De todos modos, considero que podría revisarse esta categorización que, por lo que se puede apreciar, abarca a una diversidad de situaciones”

⁴⁸ “deterioro de las condiciones laborales en diversos aspectos; desigualdad en el acceso a los cargos, desvalorización del salario; aumento de las cargas laborales e deterioro de la calidad de la enseñanza”

example, Effective and Honorary Professors have discounts on tuition fees, if they have sons or daughters who study at the University. I believe that at the level of each University it is necessary to articulate the and of the Professors, both Effective and Honorary, to influence the conditions in which their work is carried out.⁴⁹.

Adriana, in turn, pointed out that

the national union federations (National Federation of University Teachers (CONADU), National Federation of University Teachers, Researchers and Teachers (CONADUH), Federation of University Teachers (FEDUN) as well as the teaching union of the National University of Luján (UNLu) called Teachers Association of National University of Luján (ADUNLu) share a critical view of ad-honorem work, analyzing it as a form of employment that favors stagnating the budget for education, inequality in the distribution of funds between universities (and colleges) and in accessing positions. It is recognized that the growth of this modality "accompanied" the expansion of entry into the public university and massification.⁵⁰.

Adriana added that in this way,

I understand that the perversity of a mechanism is captured by the fact that the system does not take responsibility for allocating sufficient funds to guarantee a real democratization of access to education. I know for sure that, since CONADUH, for at least fifteen years, the situation of ad-honorem teachers has been taken as a problem in the union agenda. In turn, joint negotiations have included the discussion of actions aimed at regulating the situation of ad-honorem teachers.⁵¹.

⁴⁹ *no existe Sindicato Nacional de Docentes Universitarios no Chile. En los Sindicatos Docentes de cada Universidad podrían levantarse pautas de acción. En el Sindicato de la Universidad en que trabajo sólo se ha avanzado en incluir a las y los Profesores a Honorarios al acceso de algunos de los puntos de la negociación colectiva. Por ejemplo, las y los Profesores Efectivos y a Honorarios tienen descuentos en el pago de arancel mensual si potencialmente sus hijas o hijos estudian en la Universidad. Creo que a nivel de cada Universidad y a nivel nacional es necesaria una articulación de las y los Docentes, tanto Efectivos como a Honorarios, para influir en las condiciones en que su trabajo se realiza". Antonio Julio afirmó que "apesar de um pouco afastado das ações sindicais, avalia que as ações são mínimas ou nenhuma. Trata-se de uma pauta muito importante para os docentes que estão atuando como voluntários, para a categoria e para a universidade como um todo*

⁵⁰ *las federaciones sindicales nacionales (Federación Nacional de Docentes Universitarios (CONADU), Federación Nacional de Docentes, Investigadores y Docentes Universitarios (CONADUH), Federación de Docentes de las Universidades (FEDUN) como la gremial docente de la Universidad Nacional de Luján (UNLu) denominada Asociación de Docentes de la Universidad Nacional de Luján (ADUNLu) comparten una mirada crítica del trabajo ad-honorem. Lo analizan como una forma de empleo que favorece el estancamiento del presupuesto destinado a la educación, la desigualdad en la distribución de los fondos entre universidades (y facultades) y en el acceso a los cargos. Se reconoce que el crecimiento de esta modalidad ha 'acompañado' la expansión del ingreso a la universidad pública y la masividad*

⁵¹ *entiendo que se captura la perversidad de un mecanismo por el cual el sistema no asume la responsabilidad de destinar los fondos suficientes como para garantizar una democratización real del acceso a la educación. Sé fehacientemente que, desde CONADUH, desde hace por lo menos quince años que se ha tomado la situación de los docentes ad-honorem como una problemática de la agenda sindical. A su vez, las negociaciones paritarias han incluido la discusión de acciones destinadas a regularizar la situación de los docentes ad-honorem*

In this sense, for Adriana, “you can see some details of the actions taken. For example, research with teachers who are in this situation, formation of commissions. Also, all the work done in the negotiation process of the collective bargaining agreement can be considered an advance in relation to this”⁵².

Finally, it was considered important to know **if the interviewees intended to take up voluntary work when they retired and the reasons for this choice** (P12). Felipe argued that

*in the event that there was a University Teaching Work ad honorem in the Chilean University System, I would not do it because it is not a form of labor that pleases me. If it did, it would be in the case of the existence of a type of Public, Secular and Free University System aimed at serving Chilean society and its most urgent needs, in the manner of a broader current political project.*⁵³

In view of the current scenario, Antonio Julio stated that “my project is to remain at the institution until February 2022, when my students will have completed the course”⁵⁴.

Adriana revealed that

*first of all, I would say no. According to the law that regulates my social security situation, I could only retire in ten years. It is very difficult to risk a definitive answer and exclude the possibility that I may find some opportunity to continue an academic task that, at this moment, could be of interest to me and that the condition to carry it out is to work under the modality ad honorem*⁵⁵

Final considerations

At the end of this article, it becomes relevant to resume the objectives that motivated him, namely: to capture the context in which volunteer work in general and teaching emerged in Argentina, Brazil and Chile through the statements of interviewed teachers and, in addition,

⁵² “se pueden ver algunos detalles de las acciones realizadas. Por ejemplo, relevamiento de los docentes que se encuentran en esta situación, conformación de comisiones. Asimismo, todo el trabajo realizado en el proceso de negociación del convenio colectivo de trabajo puede ser considerado un avance al respecto”

⁵³ *en el caso que llegase a existir Trabajo Docente Universitario ad honorem en el Sistema Universitario chileno no lo realizaría debido a que no es una figura laboral que me agrada. Si lo haría en el caso de la existencia de un tipo de Sistema Universitario Público, Laico y Gratuito volcado al atendimento de la sociedad chilena y sus necesidades más urgentes, a modo de un proyecto político y cultural más amplio.*

⁵⁴ “meu projeto é permanecer na instituição até fevereiro de 2022, quando meus orientandos deverão ter concluído o curso”

⁵⁵ *en primera instancia, plantearía que no. De acuerdo con la ley que regula mi situación previsional, recién estaría en condiciones de jubilarme dentro de diez años. Es muy difícil aventurar una respuesta definitiva y excluir la posibilidad de que llegare a presentarse alguna posibilidad de dar continuidad a alguna tarea académica que, en ese momento, pudiere resultarme de interés y que la opción para llevarla a cabo sea la de trabajar bajo la modalidad ad-honorem*

to verify national norms about the voluntary and institutional teaching work, of universities in each country, as well as to verify how it materializes in teaching practice and how it is perceived by the interviewees.

The issue of voluntary teaching work in public institutions of higher education raises many reflections; it is a controversial issue that brings into question both political issues and personal and collective principles about work, a central category in human existence, specifically in the case of teaching work in a public institution.

The testimonies of the teachers interviewed indicate the occurrence of this type of work in universities in countries for some time, and that it has been gaining more vigor since the 1990s, being recognized, on the one hand, as a way of acquiring experience and access to academic career and, on the other hand, as a precarious mechanism for teaching work, due to the lack of remuneration, the low remuneration of some categories when there is, the denial of labor guarantees that correspond to formal work, the flexibility of the working conditions of the category as a whole, due to the functionality of the discretionary nomination initiatives, the stagnation of vacancies and public tenders, the saving of the State budget in the sector at the expense of the loss of quality of education, which is aggravated with successive curricular reforms of a mercantile character.

It is also relevant to highlight the worsening of the division of the category, which makes it even more difficult for the collective organization of university professors around their common interests and those of the working class.

Although overcoming this type of work has already become a point of demand for some teaching unions, such as in Argentina, Chile, which does not have a national union, and in Brazil, this type of agenda still needs to be valued in the union agenda.

It is noted that, although under different denominations, voluntary teaching work has served to support policies for the exploitation of teaching work by the State/Companies, and that the announced attempts for its supposed extinction, in reality end up creating new and repeated ways to continue this exploration, whether due to the low remuneration of teachers, as teachers in Chile, or the absence of wage retribution, or even by the extension of volunteering to students. The case of collective bargaining agreements in Argentina, and the assistant professor in Chile, are notorious in this regard. In Brazil, there were implantation initiatives in this direction, such as the Pedagogical Residency Program, instituted by Decree in 2016 and regulated in 2018. Such program encourages public and private higher education institutions and country schools in the country to use students/scholarship-residents, to replace teachers in

their impediments, masking the lack of teachers in schools, thus helping to increase the precariousness of teaching work, the devaluation of basic education teachers and the initial formation of teachers, which starts to emphasize practice, to the detriment of the development of critical thinking.

The interviewees showed that they are aware that voluntary work contributes to the precariousness and wear of teaching work in their country. Perhaps for this reason, both Felipe and Adriana stated that they do not intend to become volunteers when they retire. Antonio Julio, who was recently retired and started as a volunteer, claims to extend this position until 2022, due to the he still be advising postgraduates. And it is precisely he who, at various times during his interview, denies voluntary work and claims its extinction/replacement with paid work.

It can be inferred that despite the negative aspects of volunteer teaching at the university, including the interests of government officials and businessmen, and even the probable opportunism of some teachers, there are elements that indicate contradictions in this process. The permanence of the bond with students, with research groups, or political groups of a critical nature, may represent an individual strategy of active resistance, in the sense attributed by Bernardo (1991). It should be remembered that this type of resistance as an individual is condemned in advance to not go beyond the scope of capitalism and not to challenge its main foundation. Although active, since each worker risks open conflict, even if it is hidden, it does not derive from a joint decision, and does not have tactical complementarity between their actions. In any case, it is in the struggle experience that the workers' conscience can advance, to transform the multiplicity of struggles, in collective and active struggle, the only one capable of subverting the capitalist order.

Finally, due to this understanding of the positivity of the workers' struggle, it is considered relevant to highlight that the research on this theme presented in this article can also be considered as actions of resistance. To the extent that this context is problematized in academic circles, one can be alert to the need to overcome the current model of voluntary teaching work, the model of precarious work in contemporary society and society itself in the form in which it is founded. For this reason, we thank the colleagues interviewed, Adriana, Antônio Júlio and Felipe, for sharing their knowledge, perspectives and essential positions in the organization of this article.

In conclusion, it is expected that the discussions generated in this article will stimulate the deepening of the discussions regarding the reasons that lead to permanence in voluntary work at universities, their consequences and alternatives. It is suggested the development of

other possibilities of studies on the subject with volunteer teachers from other federal universities, covering several regions in the country, and also studies compared with teachers from other areas. Still, in the perspective of internationalization, the expansion of the study to other countries in Latin America and other regions.

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