Contemporary Dimensions Of The Outsourcing Process In Brazil: A Setback Horizon Already Announced

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ABSTRACT

This text aims to promote a critical reflection about the process of outsourcing in the Brazilian contemporary context from two of its dimensions: the historicity of the legal transformations related to this process and the possible effects of the labor reform for the subjects involved in it. It is believed that recent political decisions open the way to the reproduction of practices of labor domination and catalyze processes of suffering and loss of rights. In this context, collective resistance movements present themselves as powerful devices to obstruct the flow of this scenario that seems to point to a horizon of setbacks already announced.

Keywords: Outsourcing, Labor reform; Precariousness of work, Suffering at work, Resistance, Collective of workers.

Introduction

The outsourcing process represents a practice that is found, in the Brazilian political-economic scenario, a propitious terrain for its propagation. The paradox that exists between the possible economic benefits of this practice and the effects of its propagation to the working class gives rise to embarrassments that invite us to reflect on this theme in contemporary work contexts.

According to Marcelino & Cavalcante (2012; p.331), outsourcing is "(...) all process of hiring workers by interposed company, whose ultimate goal is the reduction of costs with the workforce and (or) outsourcing of labor disputes." In this same direction, a report prepared by the Department of Statistics and Socio-economic Studies (Dieese, 2014) states that outsourcing is characterized by a dynamic between a "contracting company or parent company" that transfers the execution of an activity, which would be carried out by a directly contracted subject, to another worker linked to a "third party or contracted company".

Antunes & Druck (2015), affirm that outsourcing is the guiding thread of the precariousness of work in Brazil. In this sense, it is observed that this practice is directly associated to the process of precariousness of work, whose effects represent a threat to the social protection mechanisms, health and organization of the working class.

In this dynamic, it is possible to observe that the speed of dissemination of outsourcing in the country is not accompanied by a greater guarantee of rights or fewer health risks for the workers involved in this process. Academic productions from different fields of knowledge represent tools that justify this assertion by pointing to the gloomy horizon for which the Brazilian labor scenario is moving.

In the light of this clarification, we can observe the contributions of some authors around this theme: the report prepared by DIEESE (2014) and a study by Filgueiras & Cavalcante (2015) point to the great wage discrepancy between outsourced and non-outsourced employees (effective, direct, etc.); this same report shows the high turnover of outsourced subjects in the Brazilian economic scenario when compared to other professional categories; Filgueiras & Dutra (2014), when observing the call center sector, reveal that outsourced people have longer working hours; Barros & Mendes (2003), when conducting a research with outsourced workers of the civil construction sector, confirmed the hypothesis that the flexible production models, majoritarians in this context, potentiate the suffering of these workers; a report by the COGE Foundation (2013) on employees in the electricity sector in Brazil found that outsourced workers die 3.4 times more than others, since they are allocated to perform the most dangerous tasks; in an important study, Filgueiras (2014) reflects on the relation between the outsourcing and the work analogous to the slavery in the country; Figueiras & Druck (2014) and Lima (2010) emphasize in their publications the presence of discriminatory practices in the daily work of the subjects involved in the outsourcing dynamics.

In parallel, the effects of this process on mental health have also been - and are - the subject of study in different fields of knowledge (Guimarães Junior & Ferreira, 2018; Seligmann-Silva & Heloani, 2017; Barbati, 2016; Druck, 2013; Franco & Druck, 2013; Franco, Druck and Seligmann-Silva, 2010; Barros & Mendes, 2003). From the analysis of the results of such research it is possible to observe the harmfulness and deleterious consequences of this contractual model for the health and well-being of the outsourced subjects.
Considering these data, the thrust for the preparation of the present article was mainly due to the need to reflect critically on this subject in the present, given its social importance and its impacts on the lives of thousands of people. In this sense, this text aims to promote a critical reflection about the process of outsourcing in the Brazilian contemporary context from two of its dimensions, considered here as vectors of analysis: the historicity of legal transformations related to this process and the recent approval of the Labor Reform in Brazil (Law 13467/2017), considering its effects for the workers involved in this dynamic.

In this way, the present article is structured in the following way: first, it will be pointed out the transformations that have occurred in the world of work, which allowed the advancement and consolidation of the practice of outsourcing in Brazil. Next, the changes of legal scope regarding this process and its effects in the Brazilian labor context will be presented. Subsequently, an articulation between outsourcing and the Labor Reform will be promoted through the analysis of its possible unfolding for the working class. Finally, a reflection on the possible forms of resistance and confrontation of this reality will be developed through collective movements of workers.

**Conditions Of Possibility Of The Practice Of Outsourcing In The Brazilian Context**

According to Antunes (2014), certain practices based on more flexible, informal and precarious policies prevail in the world of work. In this movement, it is observed that the imperatives of the labor context reflect in the subjective sphere, attributing flexible and ephemeral dosages to the life of the subjects. Thus, as the central sphere of life and the constituent element of the subjects' identity, work was also influenced by such transformations. In this context, Fonseca et al (2004) argue that the Taylorist and fordist economic and productive models of a centralizing and stable character have given way in control societies to toyotist practices translated by the flexibility of relations, increased competitiveness and the presence of innumerable daily uncertainties.

According to Assunção-Matos (2016) over the years, the term work has expanded and in a very intense form has become part of the daily life of society. The transformations of the world of work occurred so intensely that according to Antunes (2002), these were broadened and inserted in the productive structure, in the forms of union and political representation and had a profound repercussion on the subjectivity of people, impacting on their forms of life.

The way of thinking and acting has changed; the operating modes of production were changed; everything has been transformed and practically everything has been constructed and constituted through the various forms that work cohabits and how it has an immense power of transformation of society, from the behavioral part to the economic spheres, Boltanski & Chiapello (2009). In a dialogue with this movement, Assunção-Matos (2016) says that the concept of work is broad and changes according to different epistemological perspectives, the feeling of belonging to what is produced and satisfaction with the work done becomes very particular and changes from the field of vision of the subject, and can be something that brings or not well-being and achievement.

If we think of a society divided by the working class and capitalists, we must also analyze the contradictions between labor and capital. The search for "more humane" solutions, as well as the reduction of conflicts in the world of work, emerge phenomena related to labor relations as a key to solutions in organizations and in professional relations as a whole. We can identify more humanized discourses and absent practices, but we can also find coherent practices and discourses (Veire et al, 2013).

Dejours (2004) makes an important mark in the field of work for the subject, saying that it is circumscribed in different and controversial ways among the fields of sociology, economics, psychology and engineering - and even within the same field. Some treat it as above all a social relation, such as the relation of work versus salary; others treat it as an employment relationship or social production activity. The fact is that work is what implies from the human point of view, the fact of working, that is, gestures, know-how, an engagement of the body, the mobilization of intelligence and the capacity to reflect, interpret and to react to situations. In other words, work can be considered as the capacity to feel, to think and to in-vent. Work is the first instance, followed later by wage or employment relations, it is the way the subject engages in order to respond to a task delimited by pressures of social and material order.

In this sense, it is observed that, in a dichotomous process, the current management techniques lose their disciplinary character and they move toward self-control and self-monitoring by the working subjects themselves (Gaulejac, 2007). Following the rule of capitalism and its dazzle, high levels of competitiveness, demands and insecurities in the face of imminent unemployment, form a set that opens the way to experiences of suffering at work that, in turn, lead to serious physical and mental illness, especially when it comes to, for example, the subjects involved in the outsourcing process (Antunes & Druck, 2015).

It is believed that in Brazil, this procedural phenomenon is characterized mainly by the articulation of the domination of the forms of flexible capital accumulation with the bases of financial capitalism and the neoliberal precepts, of emergency more accentuated in the decade of 1990. Combined amidst the oscillations of the socioeconomic context, these elements paved the way for the characteristic forms of flexibilization, informality and precariousness of work, predominant in the contemporary scenario (Druck, 2011).

In this direction, the procedural phenomenon of labor precariousness is considered as an object of study by different epistemological fields and reveals a consensus on the part of different authors regarding their nature. In a convergent way, it is affirmed that its conditions of possibility are linked to the predominance of the financial logic in the global economy - accentuated in the decades of 1980 and 1990. Antunes (1999) emphasizes the concept of capital as being a flexible accumulation, focused primarily on commodity production.
and capital appreciation (money), and also affirms that this movement that occurs today has caused the most diverse transformations in the world of work, impacting directly on the daily life of the subject who works.

Dejours (1999) analyzes, in a global way, the main effects of this process of precariousness, they are: mechanisms of intensification of work, with consequent increase of the suffering of the subjects; weakening of collective actions and movements against domination and suffering at work; defensive strategies of subjects who are “denying the suffering of others and silencing theirs” (Dejours, 1999, p.51); and the growth of individualism due in particular to the constant threat of dismissal present in these contexts.

According to Brito (2000), precarization is a process that is linked to poverty and has been growing even in industrialized countries. Other factors that interfere in the framework of poverty and precariousness are the so-called social assets: wages, benefits, goods and services to which an individual has access through their social ties; in addition to the cultural assets: formal education and cultural knowledge that allow an individual to develop in their environment.

Mészáros (2004), on the other hand, starts from the idea that ideological discourses are not confused with the actual actions of collective or individual subjects: it is a set of values, beliefs and recommendations, but it is not the exact translation of actions and behaviors actually printed. The current inscription of the precarious labor scenario can be observed through the weakening of the labor arrangements - which create "outsourced, temporary, part-time, work tasks" (Costa & Gomez 1999).

According to these authors, the vulnerability produced by these various forms of pre-cariousness tends to recurrent unemployment, and consequently to social exclusion, since this process increases structural unemployment caused by the replacement of human labor by technology while hindering the access and re-entry to the jobs. Antunes (2002) names the society that emerges from this scenario "society of the excluded and precarized".

Marx (1985) in *Capital* highlights among these relations of production the economic-social relationship between producers and owners of the means of production:

"[...] It is always in the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers - a relation from which each form always corresponds naturally to a certain phase of the development of the working methods, and therefore its productive force - that we find the most intimate secret, the hidden foundation of all social construction, and therefore of the political form of relations of sovereignty and dependence, in short, of each specific form of state." (Marx, 1985, p.251).

According to Assunção-Matos (2016) with the emergence of new requirements and prerequisites in the world of work, the ways of working assume other contours. There is predominance of temporary and outsourced work, inserted in a more dynamic market, with requirements of greater flexibility and polyvalence. The rescue of the historicity of labor relations is configured as a discursive strategy that produces arguments necessary to analyze the Brazilian Legislature against outsourcing as a management model and its implications for precariousness and flexibility of work.

Throughout history, the process that leads to the emergence of outsourcing models is more clearly revealed, especially when the phenomenon of automation of production, triggered since the Industrial Revolution, is combined with redefinition of production strategies, which also demands the promulgation of laws that would not only flexibilize relations but, above all, previously consolidated labor rights (Antunes, 1999).

If we look closely at labor relations, we will see that the ways of working are going counter to the Fordist production lines - which within a historical context frame what was "the society way of work" - in its wide dissemination in the historical-social scenario. In addition to the manufacturing activities, we observed an increase in outsourcing, in the service sector, in informal work and, consequently, in legislation (Sato et al, 2008).

This political-economic movement now demands the enactment of laws that allow flexibility not only in relations but, above all, in the previously conquered labor rights. At this moment, the legislative apparatus comes on the scene as a strategy to promote, in the legal field, the already announced flexibilization that, in this text, will be specifically analyzed by means of outsourcing. And, for this, it will be necessary to deepen what we call here the dimension of outsourcing related to the Brazilian legal context.

**The Dimension Of Outsourcing Related To The Brazilian Legal Context**

Outsourcing (terceirização in Portuguese) is a complex process, paradigmatic of flexibilization as the precariousness of work, formed by a performance between companies and outsourced contractors, with a view to accomplishing part of their tasks (Druck, 2013). Among paradoxes and controversies, Asunção-Matos & Bicalho (2016) affirm that there is an important digression regarding the etymology of the Brazilian term, which differs from the meaning of its equivalent in English, "outsourcing".

The word in Portuguese refers in our culture to the idea of something coming from a third party, that is, from work done by third parties (by others), while the literal meaning of the term refers to a supply coming from outside.

Discussing the vulnerability in the world of work from outsourcing with a critical perspective is a necessity of extreme relevance. According to Asunção-Matos and Bicalho (2016), the way of demanding and choosing new workers for the market from the transformations occurred by the historicity has changed, the ways of working have assumed other contours, with a predominance of temporary work activity and outsourced, inserted in a more dynamic market, with requirements of greater flexibility and polyvalence.
The regulation of the outsourcing activities in Brazil, according to the Antunes & Druck (2015) survey, began in the 1970s, with the enactment of Laws 5.645/1970 and 6.019/1974. Krein (2013) points out that it is difficult to measure and define outsourcing due to its complexity, but it is still possible to affirm that this is the main form of hiring flexibilization in Brazil, especially since the 1990s.

In Brazil, the legislation regarding outsourcing has as its starting point Laws 5645/1970 and 6.019/74, which, respectively, made legal practice of outsourcing services (transportation, cleaning, custody, etc.) by public sector institutions, and authorized the subcontracting of certain services by financial organizations. In this period, outsourcing of any type of permanent, core (end-activity) activities of the companies was not allowed. In 1993, driven by private forces, the Superior Labor Court issued statement 331 - canceling the previous statement 256, of 1986 - that made it possible to hire any services related to support activities (middle-level activities) of companies, which was forbidden by the previous statement (Assunção-Matos & Bicalho, 2016).

In this sense, it is observed that the growth of labor flexibilization and the precariousness of labor relations that became more pronounced in the 1990s, the “neoliberal decade” continued in the decade of 2000, the “decade of neodevelopment” (Alves, 2000). While in the 1990s neoliberal policies promoted the restructuring of capitalism in Brazil, with visible disruptive impacts on the world of work and with the abrupt growth of open unemployment in Brazilian metropolises, in the decade of 2000 the reorganization of capitalism occurred on the basis of flexible accumulation. In spite of the fall of open unemployment, from 2003 the stain of labor precariousness has widened.

Colli (2000) and Druck (1999) point out that we are not dealing with a new phenomenon, but that, with the new offensive operationalization of flexible capital in production, outsourcing has become a "trend of business administration", being an important compositional element of the new wage precariousness and new forms of management. All this process was disseminated not only by the private sector - industry, commerce and services - but also by the public sector, including the public administration, changing not only the social morphologi-ny of labor, but the labor sociometabolism in Brazil. Thus, the "new precariousness of wages" constituted new dimensions of the precariousness of work, as, for example, what we call "precarization of the man-who-works", manifested by the increase in cases of work-related illness in restructured workplaces (Alves, 2013; 2015).

According to Asunção-Matos & Ribas-Junior (2018) outsourcing is understood in the Brazilian contemporary scenario as a process of dismantling of the country's labor rights. As one of its facts, it is observed on March 31, 2017, under number. ¹13.429 / 2017, the law sanctioned by the current President of the Republic Michel Temer, which amends provisions of Law 6.019, of January 3, 1974, which subject is the temporary work in urban enterprises and provides other measures besides disposing of labor relations in companies providing ser-vices to third parties.

Among other controversies, this new legal framework allowed companies to outsource their end-activities, that is, their essential activities, which are fundamental to their maintenance and survival. As a consequence, there was an increase in the number of contracting by pejotização (term referring to the contracting of services, made by individuals, through a legal entity constituted for this purpose). Another important point is that with the new law, the time allowed for temporary work was extended from three to six months - including internships. As regards labor obligations, the approved text establishes the "subsidiary liability" of the contracting company in relation to the liability of the outsourced company for the labor obligations, which previously included "joint and several liability". However, subsidiary liability is more beneficial to the individual worker, since it guarantees to him/her more security when in the event of the company's bankruptcy, that is, the assets of the contracting company can only be seized by the court if there is no more goods from the out-sourced supplier for the payment of the conviction regarding unpaid rights (Assunção-Matos, Guimarães Junior & Ferreira, 2017).

The social security obligations should follow the rule stipulated in Law 8.212/91, which provides for the 11% payment made by the contracting company and deducted from the amount payable to the outsourced company. Thus, the outsourced company cannot further withhold the employee’s pension, being discounted at source. Concerning the contractual guarantees for workers, clauses have been modified that must be obligatorily included in the service agreement on the relation of the supervisor of the service provider regarding the payment of social security and labor obligations. The new legal framework does not provide for the same medical and outpatient care for the contractor's employees: it makes it optional, including, in this case, access to canteens.

According to Asunção-Matos & Bicalho (2016) according to the new law, outsourced companies are allowed to outsourse their services (process called "quarteirização" in Brazil), since subcontracting of other companies is allowed to perform hiring, remuneration and work direction services to be performed by their workers and employees in the premises of the con-tracting company. It can also be observed that the so-called "outsourced" workers are in-rolled in a context in which forms and practices of work predominate that, in relation to each other, obstruct the possibilities of doing singular and collective action, offering to this workers a normative, regular, prescriptive and linear routine, clearly delimiting a restricted field of possibilities.

In a contradictory way, the content of such political decisions points to the fact that such models must coexist with the maintenance of quality of life and the promotion of social and labor rights. It is observed that the model of flexible accumulation, as Antunes (2004) points out, translates into the intensification of levels of exploitation of the working

¹More details about this law can be found here: http://www.planalto.gov.br/creis/ato2015-2018/2017/lei/L13429.htm

class, which has been occurring through the ever-increasing precariousness of working conditions that assume a privileged form in the practice of outsourcing.

The process of political-economic transformation of the Brazilian labor context develops in a worrisome way because its efforts are directed to meet the needs of capital to the detriment of the maintenance and protection of labor rights and good conditions of work and health for the working class. In this sense, the recently approved Labor Reform (Law 13.429/2017) presents itself as a legal framework that will possibly contribute to the maintenance of this scenario, especially in what refers to the process of outsourcing.

Dealing with this issue seems to be a fundamental task for thinking about the horizons of the Brazilian labor context. Here, this analysis will be developed from what we call the dimension of outsourcing related to Brazilian Labor Reform.

**The Dimension Of Outsourcing Related To Brazilian Labor Reform**

Based on the previously mentioned reflections, it is observed that the embarrassment of outsourcing and Labor Reform brings with it a particular complexity and the development of an analysis about it places us in front of an important starting point: the belief that the effects of such reform will catalyze the negative consequences already announced for the spread of outsourcing in the country as well as pose a threat to social protection mechanisms, health and working class organization.

Such statements can be justified by the observation of recent legal decisions regarding the practice of outsourcing in Brazil. Law 4302/1998, which legally authorized the subcontracting of all activities of the companies - both medium and end activities - and which was subsequently converted into Law 13429/2017 and reinforced by the Labor Reform (Law 13.467/2017) has opened the way to a context of outsourcing without limits whose maintenance and propagation reinforces the process of precariousness and flexibility of the links and modes of work in the present time.

Specifically, with regard to outsourcing, the reform continues this movement of precariousness because it allows the execution of any activities (medium and/or end) by subcontracted company as well as the operationalization and execution of the conditions of food, transportation and ambulatory medical services similar for subcontracted workers and those with a direct contractual link as a strategy to reduce expenses and greater control of the productive force (Guimarães Junior & Teixeira, 2017).

In this scenario, there is an increasingly rapid spread of flexible contracting forms that are rapidly capillarized by the country. In the meantime of this process, multiple sorts of labor relations come to occupy the first level of labor relations such as the individual micro-entrepreneurs, cooperatives, legal entities and many other types of bonds that, in their con-tent, show the fragility of labor relations and market dynamics whose intentions are in the opposite direction to the interests of the working class.

In other words, it can be affirmed that the project of the Labor Reform authorizes legally any type of hiring by the companies as well as the choice of the duration of their contracts and the responsibility for the protection of the workers that maintains them as labor force. A process of loss of contractual responsibilities on the part of the business that, in a certain way, leads the subjects to recognize themselves as entrepreneurs, it means: as the only one responsible for the conduction (successful or not) of their career path.

In this reflective course, it can be observed that the current situation of Brazilian labor legislation is disjointed with the guarantee of rights and social protection at work. Its regulations - especially those relating to temporary work, outsourced work, part-time work, self-employment and intermittent work make labor relations even more precarious, and accentuate the negative effects already observed by the practice of outsourcing in the country here mentioned before.

Despite the multifactoriality of this question, it is observed that in this process the fragile attempts to maintain the social protection network and the health of the working class involved in the outsourcing process are drowned out by the urgent needs of capital, whose gears seem to be fueled by the country’s recent political decisions. This scenario, marked by the premises of flexibility and precariousness, was a contributing factor to the process of dis-articulation of union instances and the fragmentation of collectives of workers - devices that bring in their configuration potential forms of resistance and confrontations in favor of social transformation.

**Movements "Despite All That": The Dimension Of The Impossible Forms Of Resistance And Confrontation**

The apparent inexorability of the contemporary scenario of labor precariousization constantly reinforced by the practice of outsourcing configures a picture of a certain hopelessness and pessimism in the Brazilian labor context. The construction of movements "despite all that", which promote quakes and fissures in this area - with the aim of transforming it into something more just - presents itself as a complex and often solitary, deviant and isolated path.

In this section of the present text, we try to remove the veil of invisibility that involves such movements and present certain examples that reaffirm the dormant power of collective actions of resistance and confrontation by the working class, despite everything that is there ("despite all that"). Thus, the intention is to promote a reflection on the impossibilities of creation and maintenance of these movements in the present time.

According to Druck (2011), even in the face of the precariousness of work - whose main guiding principle is outsourcing - it is still possible to observe the existence of collective actions of mobilization of workers in the current conjuncture of widespread flexibility of the labor context. The author also affirms that the progress of the flexibilization of labor is accompanied by the growing fragility of the organization of the working class, reflected in the difficulties of union’s organization and forms of struggle and representation such as strikes and stoppages.

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As a point of tension in the face of such criticality, Druck (2013) brings light to certain cases that can be analyzed as collective movements in favor of the dignity and life of the subjects immersed in the dynamics of outsourcing. Among them are: a commission created by outsourced workers of the Union of Chemists and Oil Workers in the state of Bahia to represent them in an organized manner in their demands for better wages and working conditions; and the active participation of outsourced workers organized in the Petrobras strike in 2009.

Asunção-Matos et al. (2017) highlight the important case of the Association of Outsourced Workers of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro ("ATTUFRJ"), created in 2015. This was mainly due to demands that revolved around late payments of wages and poor working conditions.

As an effect of the creation of this association, we can observe some important achievements for its members, such as the receipt of back wages, greater attention on the part of the bosses for their conditions and working hours, and greater approximation with different spheres of the university: who engaged in food fundraising campaigns for some members of ATTUFRJ - and administrative technicians who assisted these workers to establish critical meetings and dialogues with the direction of the institution.

Here, it is believed that such examples, when shared through academic productions and other means of linkage, produce potent contagions and serve as important fuels for the reproduction of critical analyses followed by resistance movements and confrontation in the face of domination at work in different contexts. Movements that are routinely endowed with a certain strategic invisibility for the maintenance of capital’s needs, but which, nevertheless, are still possible in the face of the impossibilities that surround them.

Conclusion

Based on the reflections developed here, it is observed that recent legal decisions regarding outsourcing in Brazil - such as Law 13.429/2017 and the Labor Reform (Law 13.467/2017) - corroborate with the continued growth of the process of precariousness and flexibilization of work in the country, overshadowing the possibilities of reversion of this framework and serving as support that legally authorizes the decision making by the companies.

These recent political-economic transformations and the intense capillarization of outsourced practices in the country are factors that demonstrate the criticality and relevance of this topic at the present time. Considering these data as vectors of a critical analysis leads us to agree with the fact that it is increasingly necessary to reflect on the outsourcing process and its proliferation in the Brazilian context, mainly due to the deleterious effects that this dynamic - in line with the legal decisions cited above - brings to the working class: among them the threat to the mechanisms of social protection, health, rights and collective organization stand out.

As a counterpoint to the worrying fragilization of the forms of organization of the working class, observed, for example, in the difficulties of union organization, struggles and strikes, stand out collective movements of resistance and confrontation on the part of Workers in the current scenario of extreme precariousness. Movements "despite all that", such as the creation of ATTUFRJ (example cited above), are possible on a terrain marked by multiple impossibilities.

Thus, it is believed that the present text reaches its objective of promoting a critical reflection on these dimensions and fulfills the function of bringing the process of outsourcing to the center of the analytical arena about the current labor situation in Brazil. It is argued that sharing the existence of collective resistance movements can be a stimulus for the creation and emergence of other types of mobilization and confrontation on the part of the working class.

Finally, it is stated that the contemporary dimensions of the outsourcing process are not easy to solve and that their complexity is fermented by retrocessions from the legal framework of the country, materialized in projects and laws that are against the dignity and health of the outsourced workers. This affirmation puts us before a horizon of setbacks already announced that, through actions of struggle and resistance, can reconfigure itself and allow the construction of dignified forms of work that are ethically and politically referenced.

References
